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BY

WILLIS MASON WEST

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA



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PREFACE.

MY *Ancient History* has met with a welcome generous beyond all expectation. In many schools, however, there seems to be a demand for a work somewhat easier, and for such schools the present book is written. In it the characteristic features of the *Ancient History* are retained. The order and plan of the two books are alike, and at first glance this volume may seem to vary but little from its predecessor. A careful comparison, however, will show changes of four distinct kinds :

(1) Many generalizations of a philosophical nature have been omitted.

(2) More narrative and more biography have been introduced.

(3) Abstruse ideas have been retained only when essential to historical study, and then they have been explained.

(4) Diction and sentence structure have been simplified.

Besides many radical modifications, it will be found that few sentences of the *Ancient History* appear here without at least a slight alteration. Paragraphs, too, have been shortened ; terms like "civilization," "state," "empire," are discussed in footnotes ; references to maps are more frequent and specific ; more maps and illustrations have been added ; and the suggestions for students' reading have been simplified by the omission of rare and difficult works.

With all this simplification I have tried to avoid "writing down" to a childish level. Whenever a word somewhat unfamiliar to young readers has seemed indispensable for accuracy or highly desirable for force or color, I have not hesitated to use it. A book of this kind would be poor indeed if it did not do something to enrich the student's vocabulary.

The present book is designed for a year's work by first-year high-school classes. In writing it I have tried to bring out the underlying unity in historical development, and to help the student to see the value of the Past in explaining the Present. The romantic but legendary periods of Greek and Roman life are subordinated to the later periods, so much richer in historical meaning; and especially is an effort made to arouse interest in the wide-spreading Greek world after the time of Alexander, and in the Roman imperial world upon which all later European life is so directly based.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
MINNEAPOLIS, June, 1904.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	XXXV
LIST OF MAPS	xxviii

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT PART OF MAN'S LIFE SHALL WE STUDY?

SECTION	
1. Unrecorded ages excluded	1
2. Many races and countries excluded	3
3. The field and the peoples selected	3

PART I.—THE ORIENTAL PEOPLES.

CHAPTER I.—A PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

4. The rediscovery of early Egyptian history	5
5. The three centers: the Nile, the Euphrates, and the road between	7
6. Isolation of Egypt and Chaldea	7
7. The Importance of Syria	8

CHAPTER II.—EGYPT.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

8. Territory	9
9. The significance of the Nile	9
10. Political geography; growth of a kingdom	10

II. PEOPLE, SOCIETY, CIVILIZATION.

11. Population	12
12. Social classes and government	13
13. The position of women	18
14. The industrial arts	19
15. The fine arts	20
16. Literature and the hieroglyphics	23
17. Science	24
18. Religion	25
19. The idea of immortality	26
20. Morality	27

PTER III.—THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES STATE

ery of the Euphrates culture by the Egyptians, ab
B.C.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

70 rivers
d and political divisions

II. POLITICAL OUTLINE.

arly Chaldean empire
syrian empire
abylonian empire

III. SOCIETY AND CULTURE.

ople
orm writing
ture
e
dustrial arts and applied science
ecture and sculpture
ing
classes and relations
codes: "commercial law"
on and morality

IV. ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS

CHAPTER IV.—THE MIDDLE STATES.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

vii

II. HEBREWS.

A. Political History.

SECTION	PAGE
52. Men of the desert : the age of the patriarchs	59
53. Settlement in Canaan ; the period of the judges	60
54. The kings and prophets	60
55. Division — Israel and Judah : decline	60
56. Priestly rule	61

B. The Mission of the Jews.

57. The faith in one God	61
58. Extension of the faith	62

CHAPTER V.—THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

59. The map grows	64
60. Rise and extent of the Persian empire	65
61. Religion, morals, and society	66
62. Persia and the Scythians	67
63. Darius the Organizer : the imperial government	68
64. Post roads	69

CHAPTER VI.—A SUMMARY OF ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION.

65. The bright side	71
66. The dark side	71
67. The question of further progress	71

PART II.—THE GREEKS.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

I. EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC TYPES.

68. Distinctions in culture	73
69. Physical differences between Europe and Asia	75

II. GREECE TYPICAL OF EUROPE.

70. "The most European of European lands"	76
71. Special geographical features and their influence : <i>a.</i> many small units ; <i>b.</i> the sea the bond of union ; <i>c.</i> certain products an incitement to trade ; <i>d.</i> vicinity of the open side to Asia ; <i>e.</i> diversity and beauty of natural features	76

CHAPTER II.—PREHISTORIC GREECE: TO 1000 B.C.

I. SOURCES OF OUR KNOWLEDGE.

SECTION	PAGE
2. The Homeric poems	79
3. The remains in the soil: <i>a.</i> at Troy; <i>b.</i> at Mycenae	79

II. THE TWO EARLY CIVILIZATIONS IN GREECE.

4. The first (or "Mycenaean") civilization	83
5. The second (or "Achaean") civilization	86

III. GREEK SOCIETY ABOUT 1000 B.C.

A. The Industrial Side.

3. A simple society	87
7. Occupations and classes	87

B. The Tribe—Units and Types.

3. The clan	88
2. Larger units: phratry and tribe	89
5. The tribal city	90
1. The city the political unit	90

C. Government.

2. The king	91
3. A council of chiefs	91
4. The folk-moot	91

CHAPTER III.—FROM THE MIGRATIONS TO THE PERSIAN WARS, 1000–500 B.C.

I. A NEW AGE INTRODUCED BY THE DORIAN MIGRATION.

5. The gap in the evidence	94
3. Dorians and Ionians	95

II. THE GREEKS BECOME CONSCIOUS OF A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND OTHER PEOPLE.

7. Unity of Hellenic culture. Bonds: <i>a.</i> language and literature; <i>b.</i> belief in kinship; <i>c.</i> the Olympian religion, with its games, oracles, and amphictyonies	95
3. A table of the great deities	98

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ix

III. COLONIZATION AND EXPANSION.

A. First Period, to 900 B.C.: Colonization of the Aegean.

SECTION	PAGE
89. Movements of population in Greece	99
90. The Hellenizing of the Aegean and of the coast of Asia Minor .	99

B. Second Period, 800-600 B.C.: A Wider Colonization.

91. A period of true colonization	99
92. The method of founding colonies	100

IV. THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

93. The kings overthrown by the chiefs	101
94. The oligarchies overthrown by the tyrants	102
95. The tyrants pave the way for democracies	102

V. THE RISE OF SPARTA TO MILITARY HEADSHIP.

96. Early Sparta — reforms and growth	104
97. Political constitution	104
98. Classes in Laconia	106
99. Social institutions	107

VI. THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY AT ATHENS, TO 500 B.C.

A. Importance of Athens, and Some of the Causes.

100. Place of Athens in History	109
101. The consolidation of Attica	110
102. Conditions favoring a many-sided development	110

B. The First Political Revolution: Eupatrid Rule.

103. Decline of the Homeric kingship	111
104. The organization of the Eupatrids	111
105. Economic oppression	112

C. Some Early Loss of Power by the Eupatrids, and Attempts to overthrow Them.

106. The four classes: political power based in part upon wealth .	112
107. Imperfect results; attempts at tyranny	113
108. Draco: written laws	114

SECTION	PAGE
<i>D. Solon and the Overthrow of the Eupatrids.</i>	
109. Solon : his character and rise to notice	114
110. Solon's appointment as Archon to make over the constitution	115
111. The "shaking off of burdens" (<i>a, b, c, d</i>)	115
112. Political reform (<i>a, b, c, d</i>)	116
113. Additional reforms	117
114. Summary of the constitution and of the changes of a century	117
<i>E. The Tyrants.</i>	
115. Anarchy renewed	118
116. Peisistratus, 560-527 B.C.	118
117. Expulsion of the son of Peisistratus, 510 B.C.	119
<i>F. The Reforms of Cleisthenes : Athens a Democracy.</i>	
118. Vigor of free Athens	120
119. The evils to be corrected	120
120. The unfortunate position of the metics, or strangers	121
121. Reforms : geographical tribes and demes	122
122. The state enlarged	122
123. The power of the Assembly greatly enlarged	123
124. Summary of the main work of Cleisthenes	123
125. Additional reforms	123
126. The institution of ostracism	124
Tabular review of Athenian constitutions	125
VII. DEVELOPMENT OF ART, LITERATURE, AND PHILOSOPHY.	
127. Architecture, painting, and sculpture	127
128. Lyric poetry	129
129. Reference list of early poets	130
130. Philosophy	132
131. VIII. SUMMARY FOR THE PERIOD, 1000-500 B.C.	133
CHAPTER IV. — THE PERSIAN ATTACK.	
I. THE TWO ANTAGONISTS.	
132. Persia	134
133. The three chief sections of Hellas	134
II. THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE : CONQUEST AND REVOLT OF IONIA.	
134. The conquest of the Ionian Greeks	136
135. The Ionian revolt ; Athenian aid	137

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xi

III. THE FIRST TWO ATTACKS UPON THE EUROPEAN GREEKS, 492-490 B.C.

SECTION	PAGE
136. Relation to the Ionian revolt	137
137. First expedition against Greece, 492 B.C. Mt. Athos	138
138. Second expedition, 490 B.C. Marathon	138
139. The moral importance of Marathon	140

IV. ATHENS FROM MARATHON TO THERMOPYLAE.

140. Internal faction crushed	141
141. Themistocles makes Athens a naval power	142

V. THE THIRD AND MAIN PERSIAN ATTACK, 480-479 B.C.

142. The Persian preparation	143
143. The Greek preparation	144
144. The three lines of defense: Tempe, Thermopylae, the Isthmus	144
145. Loss of Thessaly	145
146. Thermopylae	145
147. The strategy of Themistocles	146
148. Salamis	149
149. Illustrative incidents after the battle	150
150. The temptation of Athens	151
151. Plataea	152
152. The meaning of the Greek victory	152

CHAPTER V. — FROM THE PERSIAN WAR THROUGH THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (SUPREMACY OF ATHENS — AGE OF PERICLES).

I. GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

153. Preparation at Athens: the building of the walls and fortifying the Peiraeus	154
154. The League of Plataea: proposal and failure	156
155. The growing prominence of Athens	157
156. Athens assumes leadership of the Ionian Greeks, 479 B.C.	158
157. The confederacy of Delos, 478 B.C.	159
158. Work and growth of the Delian League	160
159. Changes in the character of the Delian League	161
160. The league develops into an Athenian empire	161

II. THE FIRST PERIOD OF STRIFE WITH SPARTA, TO THE THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE, 461-455 B.C.

161. Jealousy between Athens and Sparta	163
162. Athens sends aid to Sparta in her need	163

SECTION	PAGE
215. The Macedonian army	215
216. Chaeronea ; congress of Corinth	216
217. The history of Hellas ended ; a wider history begun	216
218. IV. WESTERN GREEKS IN THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES	217

PART III.—THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD.

CHAPTER I.—THE MINGLING OF EAST AND WEST.

I. THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON.

219. The youth and character of Alexander the Great	219
220. Accession ; restoration of order	220
221. Persian campaigns	221
222. Campaigns in the Far East	223

II. RESULTS OF ALEXANDER'S WORK.

223. Alexander's design to merge East and West in one civilization	224
224. Hellenism the active factor : the many Alexandrias	225
225. Reaction upon Hellas	227
226. Summary	228

CHAPTER II.—TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

I. THE POLITICAL STORY.

227. The "wars of the succession," 323-280 B.C.	230
228. The situation in the third century	230
229. The Gallic invasion, 278 B.C.	231
230. The decline of the Hellenic world	232

II. THE LEADING STATES IN OUTLINE.

231. Syria	233
232. Egypt	234
233. Macedonia	234
234. Rhodes and Pergamum	234

III. SOCIETY.

235. General culture	235
236. Literature	235
237. Painting and sculpture	236
238. Philosophy	237
239. Libraries and museums ("universities")	239
240. Science	240

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xv

CHAPTER III.—EUROPEAN GREECE, FROM ALEXANDER TO ROME.

I. AN AGE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

SECTION	PAGE
241. The political situation	242
242. The leading confederations	242
II. THE ACHAËAN LEAGUE.	
243. Origin	243
244. The constitution	244
245. Expansion beyond Achaea	246
246. Aratus : character and services	246
247. Growth of the league ; Lydiadas	246
248. The freeing of Athens and Argos	247
249. The conflict with Sparta ; social reforms in Sparta	248
250. Aratus calls in Macedonia	249
251. The final decline of the league	250

PART IV.—ROME.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

I. THE PLACE OF ROME IN HISTORY.

252. Summary of previous history : Oriental contributions material ; Greek contributions intellectual	253
253. Rome the representative of government and law	254
254. The Roman and the Greek : work and character	255

II. THE LAND.

255. Limits	255
256. Geographical and political unity	256
257. Geography and the direction of the first outside effort	256
258. Geographical position and external dominion	256

III. PEOPLES OF ITALY.

259. A land of mingled races	257
260. Leading peoples : Italians, Greeks, Gauls, Etruscans	257
261. "Fragments of forgotten peoples" (Ligurians, etc.)	260

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES OF ROME.

262. Roman geography important	260
263. Central position in Italy	261
264. A commercial site	261
265. Rome a "mark state"	261
266. "The Seven Hills" : federation	261

V. LEGENDARY CHARACTER OF EARLY HISTORY.	
SECTION	PAGE
267. Old writers and their sources	263
268. Abstract of early legends	263
269. Attitude of scholars toward them to-day	263
CHAPTER II.—PROBABLE CONCLUSIONS AS TO REGAL ROME.	
I. THE GROWTH OF THE CITY.	
270. Latium and Rome	265
271. Unification of the "Seven Hills"	265
272. Growth beyond the walls	268
II. CLASSES—CITIZENS AND NON-CITIZENS.	
273. Patricians and their clients	269
274. Plebeians	270
III. PATRICIAN ORGANIZATION.	
275. The family: <i>patria potestas</i>	270
276. Gentes and curias	271
277. Exclusion of the plebeians from the patrician organization	271
IV. RELIGION.	
278. Ancestor and nature worship; Greek influence	272
279. Character: abstract and formal	272
280. Priesthoods: augurs, pontiffs, vestals	272
281. A political instrument: prevalence of legal fiction	273
V. EARLY POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.	
282. The King (rex)	274
283. Patrician Assembly (Comitia Curiata)	275
284. Senate	275
VI. TWO PREHISTORIC REVOLUTIONS.	
A. A Centuriate Assembly (containing Plebeians also) replaces the Curiate (Patrician) Assembly.	
285. The plebeians begin to make their way into a political Assembly	276
286. The "census of Servius": the army of centuries	276
287. The Assembly of Centuries	277
288. Aristocratic character of the Centuriate Assembly	277
289. The real gain of the plebs	278

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xvii

B. The King for Life replaced by Two Annual Consuls.

SECTION	PAGE
290. The early kingship followed by a "tyranny"	278
291. Roman legend of the expulsion of the tyrants	278
292. The real expulsion a gradual patrician movement	279

VII. THE CONSULSHIP A MODIFICATION OF THE KINGSHIP.

293. The consuls as "kings for one year"	280
294. The chief limitations: the mutual veto and brief term	280
295. Later checks: the independence of officials and the Valerian appeal	280
296. Roman political moderation the real check	281
297. The dictatorship: a temporary revival of the old kingship to meet a crisis	281
298. The senate and the consuls	282
299. VIII. SUMMARY: THE DEBT TO REGAL ROME	282

CHAPTER III.—CLASS STRUGGLES IN THE REPUBLIC,
510-367 B.C.

300. The expulsion of the kings followed by class conflicts	284
---	-----

I. POSITION OF THE CLASSES AFTER 510 B.C.

301. Rome just after 510 B.C. a patrician oligarchy	284
302. Plebeian loss politically	285
303. Plebeian loss in standing at law	285
304. Plebeian loss economically: patrician monopoly of public land; increase of plebeian taxation; plebeian losses in war.	285
305. Dissatisfaction of rich plebeians with the lack of social and political privilege	287
306. Summary: objects of the plebeian struggle	287

II. STEPS IN THE PROGRESS.

A. Tribunes of the Plebs.

307. The first secession of the plebs	287
308. The tribunes and their veto on single executive acts	288
309. Subsequent growth of the tribuneship: veto on state action; judicial power	288

SECTION	PAGE
<i>B. Rise of the Plebeian Assembly.</i>	
310. Ancient plebeian organization by tribes	289
311. This Plebeian Assembly wins recognition (for plebeian concerns) in the state	290
312. The result a double state; violence over agrarian questions	290
<i>C. The Decemvirs.</i>	
313. The plebs demand written laws	291
314. The two boards of decemvirs	291
315. The Twelve Tables	292
316. The patrician attempt at a counter-revolution (Appius Claudius)	292
317. Another plebeian secession and new gains: Comitia Tributa	292
318. The reorganized Comitia Tributa	293
<i>D. Social Fusion.</i>	
319. Mixed marriages	293
<i>E. Admission to the Consulate.</i>	
320. Consular tribunes and censors	294
321. Patrician maneuvers	294
322. The Licinian Rogations	295
323. The struggle and the final victory of the plebs	295
324. Political fusion completed, 367-300 B.C.	296
325. A catch-word review of the Struggle of Classes	297
CHAPTER IV.—UNIFICATION OF ITALY, 367-266 B.C.	
I. PROGRESS BEFORE 367 B.C.	
326. Gains under the kings, and the reaction to 449 B.C.	298
327. The period 449-367: slow gains; a brief interruption—the Gauls sack Rome, 390 B.C.	298
II. THE REAL ADVANCE, 367-266 B.C.	
328. United Rome and her rapid growth	299
329. Latium and southern Etruria	300
330. The winning of Campania	300
331. The last Latin Revolt, 338 B.C.	300
332. The last struggle for supremacy in central Italy: the Samnite wars	300
333. Magna Graecia: the war with Pyrrhus	302

CHAPTER V.—UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE.

I. CLASSES OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES.

A. The Roman State.

SECTION	PAGE
334. Extent	304
335. Rights and obligations of citizens	304
336. Classes of citizens, including members of Roman colonies and of municipia	305
337. Organization in "tribes"	306

B. Subjects.

338. The three classes of subjects	306
339. Latin colonies	306
340. Praefectures	308
341. Allies	309

C. General Result—A Confederacy under a Queen-city.

342. Advantages and disadvantages of subjects	309
343. Power and policy of Rome	310
344. Roman roads: bonds of union	311

II. THE PERFECTED CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC.

A. Growth of a New Aristocracy.

345. The "nobles"	312
-----------------------------	-----

B. Political Machinery and its Working.

346. The three popular assemblies: apparent growth toward de- mocracy	312
347. The administrative officers	313
348. The Senate the guiding force in the state	314

C. Summary.

349. Democratic theory and aristocratic practice	315
--	-----

III. SOCIETY IN ROME AND ITALY.

350. Economic conditions	315
351. Moral character and ideals	316
352. The reaction of Magna Graecia upon Rome	317

IV. THE ARMY.

SECTION	PAGE
353. The flexible legion (contrasted with the phalanx)	317
354. The Roman camp	319
355. Roman discipline	319
356. Changes with extension of service: a professional army; pro- consuls	319

CHAPTER VI.—EXPANSION CONTINUED, 264–146 B.C.
THE WINNING OF THE WEST.

I. THE TWO RIVALS IN THE WEST.

357. Italy in 264 B.C. one of <i>five</i> great Mediterranean powers	321
358. Carthage the natural rival in the West	321
359. The issue at stake	323

II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR SICILY").

360. Occasion	324
361. Relative strength of the combatants	324
362. Value of the control of the sea	325
363. Rome becomes a sea power	326
364. Rome's patriotism and enterprise	326
365. Peace; Sicily becomes Roman	326

III. FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, 241–218 B.C.

366. The addition of Sardinia and Corsica	327
367. The Adriatic a Roman sea	327
368. The addition of Cisalpine Gaul	328
369. Organization of the conquests: the provincial system	328

IV. SECOND PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR SPAIN"), 218–202 B.C.

370. Occasion	329
371. Hannibal	330
372. Hannibal at Saguntum	330
373. Hannibal's invasion of Italy, to Cannae	331
374. Cannae	331
375. Fidelity of the Latins and Italians to Rome	332
376. Rome's grandeur in disaster	332
377. Neglect of the sea by Carthage and lack of concerted action by her allies	333

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xxi

SECTION	PAGE
378. The Scipios and Hasdrubal in Spain	334
379. Changed character of the war in Italy after Cannae	334
380. "Hannibal at the Gates"	334
381. Hannibal's forces worn out	335
382. Hasdrubal's invasion: battle of the Metaurus	335
383. Scipio carries the war into Africa: battle of Zama; peace	336
384. The result of the war: Rome mistress in the West	337

V. EXPANSION IN THE WEST FROM 201 TO 146 B.C.

A. Spain.

385. Heroic Spanish war for independence	338
386. Romanization	339

B. Africa: The Third Punic War.

387. Rome seeks perfidious excuse against Carthage	339
388. Carthage disarmed; Rome declares war	340
389. Heroic resistance of Carthage	341
390. Carthage blotted out: the "Province of Africa"	341

CHAPTER VII.—WINNING THE EAST, 201-146 B.C.

I. AN ATTEMPT TO STOP WITH PROTECTORATES.

391. Beginnings of influence in the East before 200 B.C.: the Illyrian pirates; the First Macedonian War	343
392. Second Macedonian War (201-196 B.C.): Macedonia a dependent ally; Greek states "allies"	343
393. The war with Antiochus: Syria an "ally"	344
394. Rome drawn on to a system of "protectorates" in the East	345

II. ANNEXATION: THE PROTECTORATES BECOME PROVINCES.

395. A gradual process	346
396. Macedonia a province, 146 B.C.	346
397. Rearrangements in Greece	347
398. The "Province of Asia"	348

III. RESULT IN 146 B.C.—A UNITED GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD.

399. Rome the sole great power	348
400. Distinction between the Latin West and the Greek East	349

CHAPTER VIII.—NEW CIVIL STRIFE, 146-49 B.C.

I. PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

SECTION	PAGE
401. Summary of the periods of the Republic	350
402. The four great evils: strife between rich and poor, Rome and the allies, Italy and the provinces; barbarian attacks	350
403. Plan of treatment in this chapter	351

II. THE EVILS IN DETAIL.

A. In Rome.

404. Economic and moral decline due to the wars (extremes of wealth and poverty); the new monied aristocracy (Equites)	351
405. Rise of luxury	352
406. Gladiatorial games	353
407. Greek culture	353
408. Continued decline of the yeomanry after the wars from economic conditions	354
409. Violence of the rich as an added cause of the decay of the yeomanry	355
410. Political results: growth of the mob and decay of the constitution	355
411. Political results: decline of the Senate	356

B. In Italy.

412. The distinction between "citizens" and "subjects" drawn more sharply	356
413. Growth of Roman insolence toward the subjects	357

C. In the Provinces.

414. Deterioration of the provincial system	357
415. "Marks" of a province	358
416. The governor	358
417. The provinces "the estates of the Roman people"	359

D. Slavery.

418. Extent and brutal character of Roman slavery	360
419. Slave wars	361

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xxiii

III. THE GRACCHI: ATTEMPTS AT PEACEFUL REFORM.

A. Tiberius Gracchus, 133 B.C.

SECTION	PAGE
420. Previous attempts at reform: the error of Cato and hesitancy of Scipio	362
421. Character of Tiberius	363
422. Tiberius' agrarian proposals: reclaim public land; let out in small, inalienable leases; create standing commission	363
423. The struggle: unconstitutional measures; victory	364
424. Further proposals; Gracchus murdered	365
425. The work stands nine years, until the Senate attempts a reaction	365

B. Caius Gracchus, 123-121 B.C.

426. Character and aims	366
427. Political measures to win allies: the populace and the knights	366
428. Economic reform	367
429. Personal rule: an uncrowned "tyrant"	367
430. Attempt to extend citizenship: Caius killed	368
431. Overthrow of the work of the brothers	369

IV. MILITARY RULE: MARIUS AND SULLA, 106-78 B.C.

432. The new character of Roman politics	369
433. The war with Jugurtha: new leaders	370
434. Invasion by the Cimbri and Teutones	371
435. Marius the "saviour of Rome"	371
436. Civil disorder; retirement of Marius	371
437. The social war	372
438. All Italy enters the Roman state	373
439. Civil war between Marius and Sulla; first rule of Sulla	373
440. Rule of Marius and Cinna; the massacre	374
441. Sulla in the East; the war with Mithridates	374
442. The new civil war	375
443. Sulla's second rule: he stamps out the Democrats	375
444. Restoration of senatorial rule	376
445. Sulla's character and place in history	377

V. POMPEY AND CAESAR, 78-49 B.C.

446. General view of the thirty years	377
---	-----

<i>A. Pompey's Leadership, 78-59 B.C.</i>	
SECTION	PAGE
447. Pompey and Crassus	377
448. Sertorius in Spain	378
449. Pompey's first chance at the crown in Rome	378
450. Pompey's second chance; Roman expansion in the East	380
451. New leaders in Pompey's absence: Cato, Cicero, Caesar	381
452. The conspiracy of Catiline	382

B. The Rise of Caesar.

453. Formation of the first triumvirate: Caesar's consulship	383
454. Caesar in Gaul: expansion in the West	383
455. The rupture between Caesar and Pompey	385

PART V.—THE ROMAN EMPIRE: GRAECO-
ROMAN WORLD.

CHAPTER I.—FOUNDING THE EMPIRE, 49 B.C.—14 A.D.

I. THE FIVE YEARS OF JULIUS CAESAR, 49-44 B.C.

A. The Moral Question.

456. Monarchy at Rome inevitable—from (a) corruption at the capital, (b) danger on the frontiers	387
457. Monarchy right to secure good government in the provinces: Caesar the hope of the subject nationalities	388
458. Despotism a medicine for Rome	388

B. The Civil War.

459. Caesar crosses the Rubicon; campaign in Italy	389
460. Campaigns in Spain and Greece (<i>Pharsalus</i> , 48 B.C.)	390
461. The four remaining campaigns (<i>Thapsus</i> and <i>Munda</i>)	390

C. Caesar's Constructive Work.

462. Caesar's policy of clemency and reconciliation	391
463. His plan for the form of the new monarchy	392
464. General measures of reform	393
465. The provinces	394
466. The unforeseen interruption	394
467. Caesar's character and place in history	395

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

XXV

II. FROM JULIUS TO OCTAVIUS, 44-31 B.C.

SECTION	PAGE
468. Antonius and Octavius Caesar	397
469. Formation of the second triumvirate	398
470. The proscription	398
471. Final overthrow of the oligarchs; <i>Philippi</i>	399
472. Dissensions among the triumvirs; <i>Actium</i>	399

III. OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS, 31 B.C.-14 A.D.

473. Final establishment of the Empire; republican forms	399
474. Character of Augustus	401
475. The Augustan Age	401
476. The worship of the dead Augustus	403

CHAPTER II.—THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES: AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN.

(THE STORY OF THE EMPERORS.)

477. Nature of the treatment	404
--	-----

I. TWO CENTURIES OF ORDER, 31 B.C.-180 A.D.

A. *The Julian Caesars.*

478. Augustus, 31 B.C.-14 A.D.: a summary	404
479. Tiberius, 14-37 A.D.	405
480. Caligula, 37-41	405
481. Claudius, 41-54	408
482. Nero, 54-68	408

B. *The Flavian Caesars.*

483. Vespasian (Flavianus Vespasianus), 70-79	407
484. Titus, 79-81	408
485. Domitian, 81-96	408

C. *The Antonine Caesars.*

486. Nerva, the first of the "five good emperors"	409
487. Trajan, 98-117	409
488. Hadrian, 117-138	410
489. Antoninus Pius, 138-161	411

SECTION	PAGE
490. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161-180	411
491. Commodus, 180-192	412
492. <i>D. Summary, 31 B.C.-192 A.D.</i>	412

II. A CENTURY OF DISPUTED SUCCESSION BETWEEN MILITARY ADVENTURERS.

493. The period of the "barrack emperors," 193-284	412
494. Table of the emperors	413
495. Some of the strong barrack emperors	413

CHAPTER III.—THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

(A TOPICAL SURVEY.)

I. THE CONSTITUTION.

A. The Central Government.

496. A despotism under republican forms : the principate	415
497. The power of the emperors	416
498. The establishment of the Empire a gradual process	417
499. Nature of the succession : the weak point in the constitution	417

B. Local Government.

500. Municipal institutions	418
501. Tendency to centralize the local administration	418
502. The provinces ; representative assemblies	419

II. IMPERIAL DEFENSE.

A. The Army.

503. Numbers	420
504. Sources	420
505. Industrial and disciplinary uses	421

B. The Frontiers.

506. As Augustus found them	421
507. As Augustus corrected them	422
508. Later additions : Britain	423
509. The greatest extent and the earliest surrenders	423
510. Frontier walls	424

III. SOCIETY IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES

A. Peace and Prosperity.

SECTION	PAGE
511. "The good Roman peace"	424
512. Good government, even by bad emperors	425
513. Material prosperity during the first two centuries	425
514. Forms of industry	427

B. The World becomes Roman.

515. Politically, by extension of citizenship	428
516. Socially, in patriotism and aspiration	429
517. Consequent diffusion of social life	430

C. Education in the First Three Centuries.

518. Universities	431
519. Grammar schools and lower schools	432

D. Architecture.

520. Characteristics	434
521. Famous buildings and types	434
522. The Roman basilica and early Christian architecture	436

E. Literature.

523. Before Cicero	438
524. The Age of Cicero	438
525. The Augustan Age	439
526. The first century A.D. after Augustus	439
527. The second century A.D.	439

F. Pagan Morals and Religion.

528. The dark side; the court and the mobs	440
529. Danger of exaggerating the evils: the brighter side; Pliny, Aurelius, the middle classes	441

Special evidence of improvement in:—

530. a. improved position of women	443
531. b. charity	444
532. c. kindness to animals	444
533. d. milder slavery	445
534. e. broader humanity	445
535. f. gentler spirit of imperial law	446

G. Extracts to illustrate the Higher Pagan Morality.

SECTION	PAGE
536. From Marcus Aurelius	446
537. From Epictetus	447

H. Christianity.

538. Some inner sources of its power	448
539. Its debt to the Empire's humane tendencies and political and social unity	449
540. The early persecutions	450
541. Causes of persecution	451
542. Attitude of the imperial government	452
543. Summary	453

IV. THE GENERAL DECLINE IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

544. The third century: political decline (§§ 493-495) and general decay	454
545. Renewal of barbarian attacks	454
546. Decline in population (the plague) and in material prosperity	455
547. Decay in literature	456

CHAPTER IV.—THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY:
DIOCLETIAN TO THEODOSIUS, 284-395 A.D.*(THE STORY OF THE EMPERORS.)*

I. DIOCLETIAN AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

548. The needs of the Empire: more elaborate machinery and a more settled order of succession	458
549. Diocletian, 284-305	459
550. Diocletian's system of "partnership emperors"; the Caesars; the four prefectures	459
551. This system not a division of the empire	460
552. A complex hierarchy	460
553. Table of prefectures and dioceses	461
554. Separation of civil and military powers in the provincial governors	461
555. Growth of a centralized administration	462
556. Despotism avowed; despotic forms	462
557. General result: a huge complicated machine temporarily efficient	463

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xxix

II. CONSTANTINE AND THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

SECTION	PAGE
558. From Diocletian to Constantine, 305-312	464
559. Constantine the Great, 312-337	465
560. Constantine's motives for favoring Christianity	465
561. Steps in the victory	466

III. THE EMPIRE FROM THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE SEPARATION INTO TWO EMPIRES, 337-395.

562. From Constantine to Julian: last attempt to restore paganism	468
563. From Julian to Theodosius: last attempt at "partnership emperors"	469
564. Final separation into two empires	470

CHAPTER V.—THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

(A TOPICAL STUDY.)

I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

565. Organization	471
566. Growth of a body of doctrine: the Nicene creed and the Arian heresy	472
567. Persecution by the church	473
568. Effect of the conversion of the empire	475

II. SOCIETY IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

569. Growing exhaustion: internal decay	476
570. Classes of society	476
571. The senatorial nobility	477
572. The curials	477
573. The middle class	478
574. The artisans	478
575. The peasantry (serfs)	478
576. Approach of a caste system	480
577. Crushing taxation	480
578. The infusion of barbarian blood and customs	480

III. LITERATURE AND SCIENCE: RAPID DECLINE.

579. Theological character of the literature; authors and works	481
580. Unfavorable attitude of the Christians toward pagan learning	482
581. Other and deeper causes of the decay	484

PART VI.—ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.—THE TEUTONS.

SECTION	PAGE
582. Early home and the different Germanic peoples	485
583. Stage of culture	486
584. Character	487
585. Religion	488
586. Political organization	489
587. The "companions"	490
588. The charm of the South	490

CHAPTER II.—THE INVASIONS, 376-566 A.D.

I. THE TEUTONS BREAK OVER THE BARRIERS.

A. The Danube.

589. West Goths admitted into the empire; Adrianople, 378 A.D.	492
590. Alaric in Greece, Illyria, and Italy	494
591. The sack of Rome by the Goths, 410 A.D.	494
592. Visigothic kingdom in Spain, 419 A.D.	495

B. The Rhine.

593. The barrier bursts, 406 A.D.	496
594. Kingdom of the Burgundians	496
595. The Vandals in Spain; Vandal kingdom in Africa	496
596. Franks and Romans in North Gaul	497
597. The Saxons and Angles in Britain	497

II. THE HUNS.

598. Turanian peoples	498
599. The Huns in Gaul; the rallying of the West	499
600. Châlons	499
601. Attila in Italy; Pope Leo; Venice	500

III. ITALY AND THE EMPIRE FROM ALARIC TO THE LOMBARDS,
410-568.*A. The Empire in the West (Italy) from Alaric to Odovaker.*

602. Italy from the division of the empire between the sons of Theodosius to the reunion of Italy with the East under Zeno	501
--	-----

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xxxï

SECTION	PAGE
603. Story of the emperors in the West, 395-455	501
604. Story of the rulers of Italy from the sack of Rome by Geiseric to the reunion with the Empire of the East	502

B. The Kingdom of the East Goths in Italy.

605. The Goths before entering Italy; Theodoric	503
606. The conquest of Italy	504
607. "Theodoric the Civilizer," 493-526 A. D.	504
608. Theodoric's "empire"	505
609. Elements of weakness: Arianism	506

C. Revival of the Empire at Constantinople.

610. The "Greek Empire," or "Byzantine Empire"	507
611. Slav invasions	507
612. Justinian: restoration and reconquests of Africa, of parts of Spain, and of Italy	507
613. The Justinian Code	508

D. The Lombards in Italy.

614. Called in by Narses	509
615. Final break-up of Italian unity for 1300 years; Italy divided between Lombard and Greek	509

IV. THE FRANKS.

616. Preëminence among Teutonic conquerors, because (a) they expanded rather than migrated, and (b) adopted Catholic rather than Arian Christianity	510
617. Clovis: early conquests (Soissons and Strasburg)	510
618. Clovis' conversion; motives and political results	511
619. Later conquests of Clovis and his sons; the Frankish empire of the seventh century	511
620. The Frankish state under the later Merovingians	512

V. BRITAIN.

621. Causes for the slowness of the Teutonic conquest	513
622. Result of the slow conquest: England a Teutonic state	513
623. Conversion to Christianity	514
624. Three political results	514

CHAPTER III.—THE STATE OF WESTERN EUROPE,
400-800.

SECTION	PAGE
625. Plan of treatment	516
 L. DESTRUCTION AND DISORDER, WITH GERMS OF PROGRESS.	
<i>A. The Dark Side.</i>	
626. The loss to civilization	516
627. New causes for decline in culture	517
 <i>B. Causes of the Preservation of Some of the Roman Civilization.</i>	
628. The barbarian conquests accomplished by small numbers	518
629. The conquests attended with little fighting (outside Britain)	518
630. Reverence of the conquerors for the Roman civilization	518
631. Influence of the old populations	519
632. The church	519
633. Summary	520
 II. SOME OF THE SURVIVALS AND SOME NEW INSTITUTIONS.	
634. <i>A. The Idea of One Universal Empire</i>	<i>521</i>
<i>B. Monasticism.</i>	
635. Eastern hermits and Western monks	522
636. Growth of monasticism. Organization	523
637. The vows; the monastic life	523
638. Relation to the other clergy	524
 <i>C. Development of Teutonic Law.</i>	
639. Written codes	524
640. Personality of law	525
641. Trial: compurgation; ordeal; combat	525
642. Money payment for offenses	526
643. <i>D. Development of New Political Institutions</i>	<i>526</i>
 III. SUMMARY OF ROMAN AND TEUTONIC CONTRIBUTIONS.	
644. Contributions from the Roman Empire	527
645. Contributions from the Teutons	528
646. Influence of the mixture	528

CHAPTER IV.—POLITICAL EUROPE, 600-768 A.D.

I. THE FRANKS TO CHARLES MARTEL.

SECTION	PAGE
647. Rivalry of Austrasia and Neustria	530
648. "Do-nothing kings" and mayors of the palace	530
649. Pippin of Heristal: Testry; supremacy of Austrasia and re- founding of the Frankish state	531
650. Charles Martel: restoration of authority over outlying prov- inces in time to meet the Mohammedan onset	532

II. THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL.

651. Arabia before Mohammed	532
652. Mohammed to the Hegira, 622 A.D.	533
653. From the Hegira to Mohammed's death, 632 A.D.	534
654. The ninety years of conquest	535
655. Attack upon Europe in the East: repulse at Constantinople in 678 and 717 A.D.	535
656. Attack in the West: repulse at Tours, 732 A.D.	536
657. The splitting of the Mohammedan state; later Mohammedan- ism; elements of degeneracy	537

III. THE PAPACY.

A. Rise to Ecclesiastical Headship.

658. Claim: doctrine of the Petrine supremacy	538
659. Six factors that helped to support the claim in the West	539
660. Eastern rivalry removed by the Mohammedan conquest and by the Great Schism	540

B. The Pope becomes a Temporal Sovereign.

661. Indefinite authority as a civil officer of the Greek emperor	541
662. This virtual independence avowed by open rebellion	542
663. Recognition and protection by the Franks	543

IV. THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY: FROM CHARLES THE
HAMMER TO CHARLES THE GREAT.

664. The new Carolingian dynasty; papal sanction	543
665. Pippin enlarges the papal state: "donation of Pippin"	544
666. Different views as to the nature of the papal authority; the forged "donation of Constantine"	544

CHAPTER V.—THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

I. CHARACTER OF CHARLEMAGNE.

SECTION	PAGE
667. Charlemagne the man	546

II. EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF TEUTONIC CIVILIZATION.

668. The Frankish state at Charlemagne's accession	547
669. Character of Charlemagne's wars	547
670. The winning of the Saxon lands, to the Elbe, 772-804	548
671. Spain, Italy, Bavaria	549
672. Result: the union of the civilized German peoples	549
673. Defensive wars against the Eastern Slavs; tributary states	550

III. REVIVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

674. Reasons and pretexts	551
675. Election and coronation by Pope Leo, 800 A. D.	551
676. Theory of the Empire	552
677. The Western and Eastern Empires contrasted	552
678. Empire of Charlemagne and the old Roman Empire contrasted	552
679. The Great Powers in 800	553

IV. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

680. General poverty and misery of the times	554
681. Political organization	554
682. Relations to the church	550
683. Schools and education	556
684. Place of the restored Empire in history	557
685. The place of Charlemagne	557

At the close of the chapters, and of the more important subdivisions of chapters, there are given bibliographies and suggestions for review.

APPENDIX: I. Table of Events and Dates	559
II. A Classified Bibliography	567
INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY	577

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
1. Three Stages in Fire-making; from Tylor	2
2. Portion of the Rosetta Stone, containing the hieroglyphics first deciphered	5
3. A Part of the Rosetta Inscription on a Larger Scale	6
4. Boatmen fighting on the Nile. An Egyptian relief; after Maspero	12
5. Photograph of a Modern Egyptian Woman sitting by a Sculptured Head of an Ancient King — to show similarity of features; from Maspero	18
6. Obelisk and Temple of the Sun at Karnak; from Maspero	14
7. Head of a Statue of Amten, a "self-made" noble of 4000 B.C.	16
8. Egyptian Noble hunting Waterfowl on the Nile; after Maspero	17
9. Levying the tax. An Egyptian relief; after Maspero	18
10. Shoemakers. Egyptian relief from the monuments	19
11. Sphinx and Pyramid	20
12. Vertical Section of the Great Pyramid	21
13. A Capital from Karnak. From Lübke's <i>History of Art</i>	22
14. Aisle in the Ruins at Karnak	23
15. Egyptian Numerals	25
16. Sculptured Egyptian Funeral Couch, representing the soul crouching by the mummy; from Maspero	27
17. Weighing the Soul in the Scales of Truth before the Judges of the Dead. An Egyptian relief; after Maspero	28
18. Sculptured Head of Thûtmosis III	30
19. Name of Psammetichus in hieroglyphics	31
20. Name of Neco in hieroglyphics	31
21. Rock-hewn Colossi of Rameses II	34
22. Fragment of Assyrian "Deluge Tablet"	40
23. Name of Nebuchadnezzar in cuneiform characters	43
24. Assyrian Tablet, showing older hieroglyphics and the later cuneiform equivalents	44
25. An Assyrian "Book." An octagon Assyrian brick, now in the British Museum; after Sayce	47
26. An Assyrian Dog. A relief on a clay tablet; after Rawlinson	48
27. Section of the Temple of Seven Spheres at Borsippa, according to a "restoration"; from Rawlinson	49
28. Colossal Man-beast in Alabaster, from the Palace of Sargon (now in the Louvre)	50

	PAGE
29. A Lion Hunt. An Assyrian relief; from Rawlinson	51
30. Assyrian "Contract Tablet" in Duplicate	52
31. Parts of Alphabets	58
32. The Growth of the letter A	58
33. The Gate of the Lions at Mycenae	81
34. Bronze Pitcher from Mycenae	82
35. Bronze Dagger from Mycenae, inlaid with gold	82
36. The Vaphio Cups	84
37. The Scroll from the Vaphio Cups	85
38. Light-armed Greek Soldier	113
39. Ground Plan of the Temple of Theseus at Athens	127
40. Doric Column, with explanations. From the Temple of Theseus	128
41. Ionic Column	129
42. Corinthian Column	129
43. Ruins of the Parthenon (east front), to illustrate the Doric order	130
44. Ruins of the Temple of the Wingless Victory, to illustrate the Ionic order	131
45. Bay of Salamis	148
46. Pericles. A portrait bust, now in the Vatican	175
47. The Parthenon Ruins, from the Northwest	179
48. Figures from the Parthenon Frieze	180
49. The Hermes of Praxiteles	181
50. The Acropolis, as restored by Rehlender	182
51. Aeschylus and Euripides. Portrait busts now in the Capitoline Museum	182
52. The Acropolis To-day, from the west	183
53. Sophocles. A portrait statue now in the Lateran	184
54. Theater of Dionysus at Athens, present condition	185
55. Theater of Dionysus at Athens, restored	185
56. Thucydides. A bust now in the Capitoline Museum	186
57. The Wrestlers	189
58. The Disk Thrower. After Myron. Now in the Vatican	190
59. Philip II. From a gold medallion	213
60. Alexander (head), and Alexander in a Lion-hunt. The two sides of a gold medallion of Tarsus	220
61. Head of Alexander Rondanini	221
62. Alexander as Apollo. Now in the Capitoline	225
63. The Dying Gaul	232
64. Venus of Melos. A statue now in the Louvre	236
65. Laocoon. Now in the Vatican	237
66. The World according to Fratosthenes	240

ILLUSTRATIONS.

xxxvii

	PAGE
67. Julius Caesar. The Naples bust	252
68. Remains of an Etruscan Arch at Volaterrae	258
69. Remains of the Wall of Servius	267
70. The Cloaca Maxima	268
71. Coin struck by Pyrrhus in Sicily	302
72. The Appian Way To-day, with Ruins of the Claudian Aqueduct	310
73. Carthaginian Coin struck in Sicily	322
74. Coin of Hiero II. of Syracuse	322
75. Coin of Sulla struck in Athens	375
76. Pompey the Great. A bust in the Spada Palace	379
77. Cicero. The Vatican bust	381
78. Julius Caesar. The British Museum bust	384
79. Marcus Brutus. A bust in the Capitoline Museum	395
80. Octavius Caesar as a Boy. A bust now in the Vatican	398
81. Augustus. The Vatican statue	402
82. Detail from Trajan's Column : Trajan sacrificing at the Bridge over the Danube	410
83. A German Bodyguard. A detail from the column of Marcus Aurelius	420
84. The Aqueduct at Nimes	427
85. The Arch of Trajan at Beneventum	433
86. A Section of the Pantheon as at Present	434
87. The Coliseum To-day	435
88. Trajan's Column To-day	436
89. Plan of a Basilica	437
90. Interior of Trajan's Basilica as restored by Canina	437
91. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. A bust now in the Louvre	442
92. Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius. A bust now in the Louvre	443
93. The Arch of Constantine	464
94. Hall of the Baths of Diocletian. Now the Church of St. Mary of the Angels	474
95. A Dolmen of the Ancient Germans	486
96. Battle-ax and Mace : arms of Teutonic chieftains in an early period	486
97. Church of San Vitale at Ravenna (time of Theodoric the Great)	505
98. Sepulcher of Theodoric at Ravenna	506
99. Throne of Charlemagne at Aachen	558

MAPS AND PLANS.

	PAGE
1. The Field of Ancient History to 800 A.D.	3
2. First Homes of Civilization. Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 7
3. Ancient Egypt	10
4. Syria	61
5. Lydia, Media, Egypt, and Babylonia (the World just before the Rise of Persia). Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 64
6. The Persian Empire and Greece. Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 66
7. Greece and Adjoining Coasts. (General Reference.) Double page, colored	<i>following</i> 72
8. Greater Hellas. Double page, colored	<i>following</i> 98
9. Plan of Marathon	139
10. Attica — with reference to Marathon and Salamis	147
11. Athens and its Ports	156
12. The Athenian Empire at its Greatest Extent. Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 165
13. Plan of Athens	176
14. Plan of the Acropolis. Full page	178
15. Greece at the Beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 196
16. Plan of the Battle of Leuctra	210
17. Greece under Theban Leadership. Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 211
18. The Growth of Macedonia	214
19. Campaigns and Empire of Alexander the Great. Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 223
20. The Achaean and Aetolian Leagues	249
21. Ancient Italy. (General Reference.) Full page, colored, <i>facing</i>	256
22. Peoples of Italy	259
23. Rome under the Kings	266
24. Rome and Vicinity	269
25. Italy about 200 B.C. : Roads and Colonies	308
26. Plan of a Roman Camp	318
27. Rome and Carthage at the Beginning of the First Punic War	325

MAPS AND PLANS.

xxxix

	PAGE
28. The Mediterranean Lands at the Beginning of the Second Punic War (The Five Great Powers). Double page, colored	
	<i>following</i> 328
29. Roman Dominions and Dependencies in 146 B.C.	348
30. Vicinity of the Bay of Naples	408
31. The Roman Empire at its Greatest Extent (showing also Stages in Growth). Double page, colored	<i>following</i> 422
32. Rome under the Empire	432
33. The Roman Empire divided into Prefectures and Dioceses. Double page, colored	<i>following</i> 460
34. The Rhine-Danube Frontier before the Great Migrations. Full page	493
35. The Migrations. Double page, colored	<i>following</i> 494
36. Europe in the Reign of Theodoric (500 A.D.). Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 504
37. Europe at the Death of Justinian (565 A.D.). Full page, colored	
	<i>facing</i> 508
38. Germanic Kingdoms on Roman Soil at the Close of the Sixth Century. Double page, colored	<i>following</i> 512
39. Kingdom of the Merovingians. Full page, colored	<i>facing</i> 530
40. Europe at the End of the Seventh Century. Full page, colored	
	<i>facing</i> 543
41. Europe in the Time of Charles the Great. Double page, colored	
	<i>following</i> 552



THE ANCIENT WORLD.

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT PART OF MAN'S LIFE SHALL WE STUDY ?

*Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.*

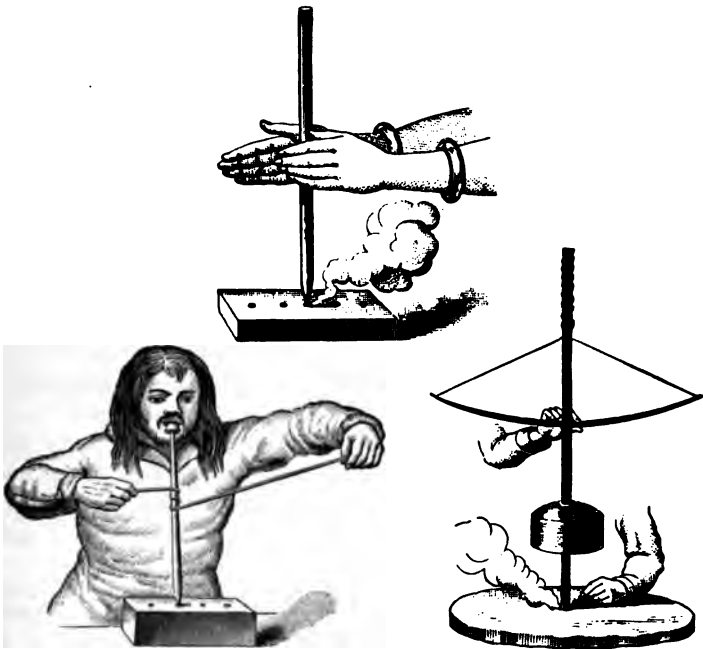
—TENNYSON.

1. **Unrecorded Ages excluded.** — History is the record of the life of man. Much of that life has no record. The first men lived a savage life, only a little above that of wild beasts. Their chief desires were to satisfy hunger, to keep warm, and to escape more powerful animals. In thoughts and acts they were brutelike. Indeed, they were more backward than the most savage tribes in the world to-day. The first steps upward from this earliest savage stage toward our many-sided civilization¹ must have been stumbling and slow. No doubt

¹ *Civilization* is hard to define, because it includes so much ; but in a general way we all know what it is. It is the opposite of barbarism. To raise regular food crops, instead of depending upon hunting and fishing or upon nuts and wild rice, is a great step toward civilization. To build roads, to dig canals, to learn to use metals, to work mines, to exchange the products of one region for those of another, — all these things are steps in progress.

But all the things just named belong to the material side of civilization: they have to do with man's control over nature, and with his physical comfort. Civilization includes more than this: it includes all improvements that increase the welfare and happiness of men. That is, it has to do with changes in man himself, with his intellectual and moral growth, his art, literature, manners, morals, home life, religion, government, laws. The civilization of any people is the complex sum of all these elements, moral, intellectual, and material. The most civilized people is the one that upon the whole excels in the greatest number, or the most important, of these things.

these beginnings took long periods of time,—perhaps many thousands of years,—but we can know little about them, for no people leaves records that the historian can use until it has advanced a long way from savagery. This early progress, before the time of records, is called *prehistoric*.

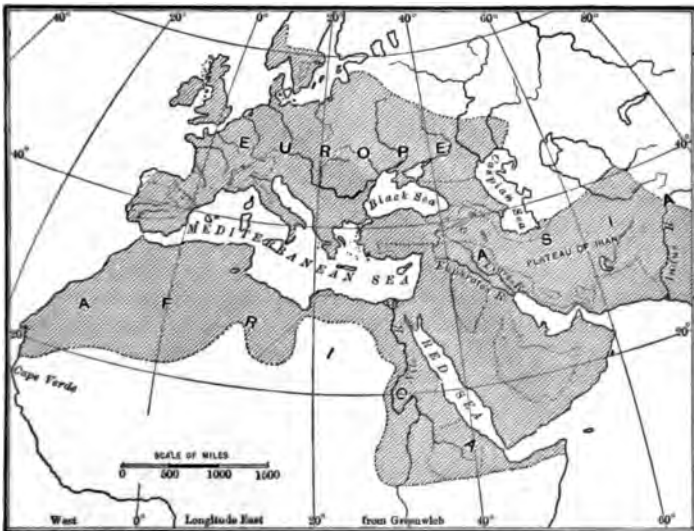


THREE STAGES IN FIRE-MAKING.—From Tylor.

Just how men came to invent the bow and arrow we shall never know ; nor how they found a way to make fire and to make clay vessels to stand the fire ; nor how they tamed the dog and the cow ; nor how they learned to live together in families and tribes ; nor how they began to smelt metals to replace their stone tools. All this, and much more, had become the common property of many races before history began anywhere. Any one of these beginnings, however, was infinitely more important than the discovery of electricity or the invention of representative government ;

and it is well for us to remember that our varied civilization rests upon this unrecorded work of prehistoric man through uncounted ages.¹

2. Many Races and Countries excluded. — Even when we leave out prehistoric ages, however, there is still too much human life for us to study properly. The history of all the civilizations of the world is too vast a subject. We must narrow the field. We care most to know of those peoples whose life has borne fruit for our own life. *We wish to study that part of the recorded past which explains our present.*



THE FIELD OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TO 800 A. D.

3. The Field and the Peoples selected. — Thus we bound our study in space as well as in time. We omit, for instance, the ancient civilizations of the Chinese and the Hindoos, because they have not much affected our progress. Until after Colum-

¹ *The Story of Ab*, by Stanley Waterloo, is an admirable attempt to picture some features of this life of primitive man. All high school students will enjoy the story.

bus, our interest centers in Europe. And when we look for the early peoples who shaped European life, we see three pre-eminent, — *the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons.*

Ancient history deals especially with these three peoples, from their earliest records until their separate stories become merged in one. By 800 A.D. this merging has taken place. Then *ancient history* may be said to cease and *modern history* to begin. This book will deal only with *ancient history.*

Of these three chief peoples of ancient Europe the Greeks were the first to rise to civilized life. But the civilization of the Greeks was not wholly original. It was partly shaped by certain older civilizations outside Europe, near the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The history of these Oriental peoples covered thousands of years; but we shall view only fragments of it, and we do that by way of introduction to Greek history. Oriental history is a sort of dim anteroom through which we pass to European history.

FOR FURTHER READING. — So far as time can be found for them, the following volumes on primitive man will give pleasure and profit: Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*; Keary, *Dawn of History*; Chailu, *Viking Age*; Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*; Spencer, *Ceremonial Institutions.*

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL REPORTS. — 1. Stages of early progress, from the Stone Age to the Iron Age (Lewis H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*, 9-13, gives a suggestive classification). 2. Kitchen middens (kitchen middens are frequently referred to in *The Story of Ab*, in the treatment of the Shell-folk). 3. Early weaving (see especially Mason's *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*). 4. History of fire-making (see Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*). 5. Early pottery. 6. Early counting.

These topics are suggested for classes which can take time for their discussion, or they may be presented from time to time in talks by the teacher. They are not essential, of course, to the main study, although Number 1 in particular may be made very fruitful.

PART I.
THE ORIENTAL PEOPLES.

CHAPTER I.

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

4. **The Rediscovery of Early Egyptian History.**—Until a century ago very little was known about the ancient history of the East. There were only the brief statements of Hebrew writers in the Old Testament and some stories preserved by the Greeks.¹ In the Nile valley there had been found a few ancient inscriptions, carved upon stone in unknown characters, but no one could read them.



PORTION OF ROSETTA STONE, containing the hieroglyphs first deciphered.—
From Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*.

Then, about 1800 A.D., some soldiers of Napoleon in Egypt, while laying foundations for a fort, found a slab of black rock

¹ The most important of these stories were fragments of a history of Egypt by Manetho, an Egyptian priest of the third century B.C. Egypt was already under Greek rulers (§ 21*f*) when Manetho wrote.

bearing three inscriptions.¹ One of the inscriptions was in Greek, one was in the ancient hieroglyphics of the pyramids, and the third was in a later Egyptian writing, which had likewise been forgotten. A French scholar, Champollion, surmised that the three inscriptions simply repeated one another, — that they all told the same story and used many of the same words. In 1822 he proved this shrewd guess true; and by means of the



PART OF THE ROSETTA INSCRIPTION, on a larger scale than above.

Greek he was able to fix the meaning of the characters in the other two inscriptions. Thus a key was secured with which other inscriptions of the old Egyptians could be deciphered; and soon afterward a like task was accomplished for the old Assyrian language (§ 62, note).

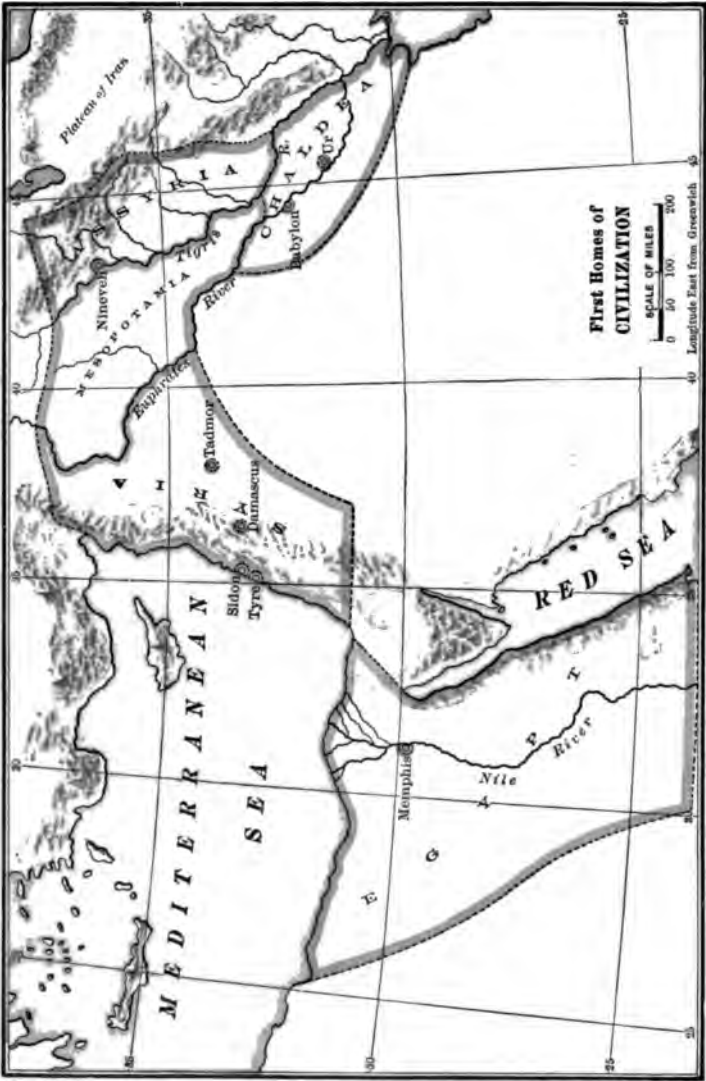
At first there was little to read; but a new interest had been aroused, and about 1850 scholars began extensive explorations in the East. Sites of forgotten cities, long buried beneath desert sands, were rediscovered. Many of them contained great libraries on papyrus,² or on stone and brick. A part of these have been translated; and since 1880 the results have begun to appear in our books. The explorations are still going on, and the bulk of the inscriptions which have been discovered is yet to be read; but a great deal of ancient history has already been brought to light.

¹ This was the famous "Rosetta" stone, so called because it was found on the Rosetta branch of the Nile.

² The papyrus was a reed which grew abundantly in the Nile. From its stem a kind of "paper" was prepared as writing material. Our word "paper" comes from papyrus.

Special report: the method of preparing the papyrus. Advanced students may trace the rise of the use of parchment skins and of cotton paper, to replace the papyrus.





5. The Three Centers: the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Road between.—The first homes of civilization were the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. In the Euphrates valley the wild wheat and barley afforded abundant food, with little effort on the part of man. The Nile valley had the marvelous date palm¹ and various grains. In each of these districts there grew up a dense population, and at an early time part of the people were able to give attention to other matters than getting food.

In a straight line, Egypt and Chaldea² were some eight hundred miles apart. Practically, the distance was greater. The only route fit for travel ran along two sides of a triangle,—north from Egypt, between the mountain ranges of western Syria, to the upper waters of the Euphrates, and then down the course of that river.³ Except upon the Syrian side, moreover, Egypt and Chaldea were shut off from other desirable countries.

6. Isolation of Egypt and Chaldea.—In Asia, civilizations rose at an early date in China and in India (§ 3); but they were divided from Chaldea by vast deserts and lofty mountains.

In Africa, until Roman days, there was no great civilization except the Egyptian, unless we count the Abyssinian on the south. The Abyssinians were brave and warlike, and they seem to have drawn some culture⁴ from Egypt. But a desert, hard for an army to cross, extended between Abyssinia and Egypt a twelve-day march; and intercourse by the river was cut off by long series of cataracts and rocky gorges. In the days of her power, Egypt had little to fear, and perhaps not very much to gain, from the less advanced country. To the west of Egypt lay the Libyan desert, stretching across the

¹ Special report upon the nature and uses of this tree.

² Chaldea is the name given to the lower Euphrates valley, where the Euphrates civilization began. See § 32 *a*.

³ Students should use the map freely in connection with all geographical descriptions.

⁴ This word is frequently used as a synonym for "civilization."

continent,—an immense but inhospitable tract, whose scattered tribes could hardly trouble a settled state like Egypt. On the north and east the line of defense formed by the Mediterranean and the broad moat of the Red Sea was broken only at one point, by the Isthmus.

7. The Importance of Syria.¹—Thus with sides and rear protected, Egypt faced Asia across the narrow Isthmus. Here too, the region bordering Egypt was largely desert; but directly north, between the desert and the sea, lay a strip of habitable land. This Syrian district was the only road between Egypt and Chaldea, and it became the trade exchange and battle-ground of the two great states.

Syria was itself a nursery of warlike peoples. Here dwelt the Phoenicians, Philistines, Canaanites, Hebrews and Hittites. Usually all these peoples were tributary² to Egypt or Chaldea; and from those countries they drew their civilization. Despite its perilous position on the road from Africa to Asia, the district might have kept its independence if its peoples could have united against their common foes. But rivers and ranges of mountains broke it up into five or six unequal states,³ all small, and each hostile to the others. A number of times, however, when both the great powers were weak, there did arise independent Syrian kingdoms, like that of the Jews under David.

¹ The term "Syria" is used with a varying meaning. In a narrow sense, it means only the coast region. In a broader use, it applies to all the countries between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates.

² A tributary country is one which is subject to some other country, without being absolutely joined to it. The "tributary" state pays "tribute" and recognizes the authority of the superior state, but for most purposes keeps its own government.

³ Two of these peoples—the Jews and the Phoenicians—will have special treatment in a later chapter (§§ 49 ff.).

CHAPTER II.

EGYPT.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

Egypt as a geographical expression is two things—the Desert and the Nile. As a habitable country, it is only one thing—the Nile.

—ALFRED MILNER.

8. Territory.—The Egypt of a map includes about as much land as Colorado or Italy; but seven eighths of it is only a wide sandy border to the real Egypt. The real Egypt is the valley and delta of the Nile—from the cataracts to the sea. It is smaller than Maryland, and falls into two natural parts.

Upper Egypt is the valley proper; it is a strip of vegetable mold about six hundred miles long and usually about ten miles wide—a slim oasis between parallel ranges of desolate hills. For the remaining hundred miles, the valley broadens suddenly into the delta; this *Lower Egypt* is a squat triangle of rich plain, resting on a two-hundred-mile base of curving coast, where marshy lakes meet the sea.

9. The Significance of the Nile.—Rain rarely falls in the valley; and the Greeks very properly called Egypt “the gift of the Nile.” Except for the river, Upper Egypt would be part of the Sahara, while Lower Egypt would remain a sandy bottom beneath the Mediterranean waves.

And what the river has made, it sustains. Toward the close of the eight cloudless months before the annual overflow, there is a brief period when the land seems gasping for moisture, “only half alive, waiting the new Nile.” The river begins to rise in July, and does not fully recede into the regular channel until November. During the days while the flood is at its height, Egypt is a sheet of turbid water, spreading between

two lines of rock and sand. The waters are dotted with towns and villages, and marked off into compartments by raised roads, running from town to town; while from a sandy plateau, at a distance,

the pyramids look down upon the scene, as they have done each season for six thousand years. As the water recedes, the rich loam dressing, brought down from the hills of Ethiopia, is spread over the fields, while the long soaking supplies moisture to the soil for months to come.

Man, however, had his share in making Egypt. In prehistoric times, the inhabitants learned to distribute the overflow, by a network of



reservoirs and canals. This system was so complete that in ancient times the peasantry cultivated more soil and produced more wealth than the modern inhabitants did until English control was established toward the close of the nineteenth century.

10. Political Geography; Growth of a Kingdom.—The oldest records yet found in Egypt reach back to about 5000 B.C.

At that time civilization seems to have been already well advanced; but remains in the soil show that there had been earlier dwellers using rude stone implements and practising savage customs. How many thousands of years it took for this savagery to develop into the culture of 5000 B.C. we do not know.

Probably the cheap food of the valley attracted tribes from the neighboring districts at a very early date. The struggles of the different tribes, and the intermingling of the strongest of them, at length produced a vigorous people. Possibly, too, some of the invaders from Asia brought with them the civilization of the Euphrates valley.¹ At all events, numerous little states² arose. Memphis, in the lower valley, and Thebes, farther up the river, were the greatest of many rival cities. After centuries of conflict, *Menes*, prince of Memphis, united the petty principalities around him into the kingdom of Lower³ Egypt. In like manner Thebes became the capital of a kingdom of Upper Egypt. The two kingdoms were afterward united into one, and later Egyptians thought of *Menes* as the first king of the whole country.

The Nile, which had made the land of Egypt, played a part in making Egypt one state. The regulation of the annual overflow must have been the earliest common interest of the people. No doubt neighboring villages—each striving to get its share of water—waged countless bloody wars along the dikes or in rude boats on the canals, before they learned the costly lesson of coöperation. The early monuments show many representations of such struggles. But such hostile

¹ The most recent discoveries seem to confirm an old theory that the Nile civilization was derived from the Euphrates district. If so, however, the event took place at a very early period, and all record of it had been lost by the Egyptians of historical times.

² The word "state" is commonly used in history not in the sense in which we call Massachusetts a state, but rather in that sense in which we call England or the whole United States a state. That is, the word means *a people, living in some definite place, with a government of its own.*

³ The term "lower" refers to the position nearer the mouth of the river.

action, cutting the dams and destroying the reservoirs year by year, was ruinous. Indeed, separate action by different districts was wasteful, even when the villages made no direct attempt to injure one another. Thus from an early period men in the Nile valley must have felt the need of agreement and of political union.¹



BOATMEN FIGHTING ON THE NILE. — Egyptian relief; after Maspero.

II. PEOPLE, SOCIETY, CIVILIZATION.

11. *The Population.* — Probably several peoples² mingled their blood to form the ancient Egyptian race; but before the beginning of history these had been welded into one type, which has lasted to the present day.

The nobles and the common people, it is true, came to differ physically. The later sculptures and mummies show the nobles tall and lithe, with imperious bearing; while the lower classes were heavy of feature and dumpy in build. In historic times the population numbered from five to seven millions. Herodotus³ says the country contained twenty thousand "towns," or villages.

¹ Read Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 68-70.

² Arabian, Negro, Abyssinian, and Berber (the short, dark race of North Africa from whom the Moors are descended), and possibly others.

³ A Greek historian of about 425 B.C.

12. Social Classes and Government. — In theory the monarch, or Pharaoh, was absolute master of the people and absolute owner of the soil.¹ In practice his authority was somewhat limited by the power of the priests and by the necessity of keeping the ambitious nobles friendly. The monarch kept a portion of the land in his own hands to cultivate by servile labor directed by royal stewards; but the larger part he parceled out among the nobles.



PHOTOGRAPH OF A MODERN EGYPTIAN WOMAN SITTING BY A SCULPTURED HEAD OF AN ANCIENT KING. (Notice the likeness of feature.) — From Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*.

These *nobles* in return were bound to pay a fixed amount of produce and to furnish and lead a certain number of soldiers in war. Within his domain the noble was himself absolute. He executed justice, levied taxes, kept up his army. Like the king, he cultivated part of his land himself, by his dependents;

¹ The thoughtful student will notice that the organization of society was closely connected with the system of landholding. Some such connection is a feature common to many countries.

and part he let out in large holdings to smaller nobles, who stood to him as he to the king.



OBELISK AND TEMPLE OF THE SUN AT KARNAK. — From Maspero.

A considerable part of the land—perhaps one third—belonged to the temples, in order that the temple worship might be kept up. In time this land became the property of the *priesthoods*. The priests not only cared for the worship of the

gods: they were the teachers and scholars, the guardians of learning. They also took active part in government, and their power far exceeded that of the nobles.

The labor upon the land was performed by a *peasant class* not unlike that found in Egypt to-day. Some peasants rented small farms; but a great majority held insufficient lots and eked out a livelihood by day labor on the land of the nobles. The peasantry were not bound to the soil, however, as the like class was later in Europe. They could move about at will. But, just as the great noble had a master and protector in Pharaoh, and the small noble in a larger one, so the peasant must remain attached to some patron, or he was liable to become the prey of any powerful enemy.

Public opinion, however, formed some check upon arbitrary tyranny, and in quarrels with the rich and powerful the poor were perhaps as safe as they have been in most countries. The oldest written "story" in the world (surviving in a papyrus of about 2700 B.C.) gives an interesting illustration. A peasant, robbed through a legal trick by the dependent of a royal officer, appeals to the judges and finally to the king; the king commands redress, urging his officer to do justice "like a praiseworthy man praised by the praiseworthy." Such appeals were probably no more difficult to make in ancient Egypt than on the continent of Europe only a few centuries ago.

In the towns there was a large *middle class*,—merchants, shopkeepers, physicians, notaries, builders, and skilled artisans. Below these were the *unskilled laborers*. The fact that laborers could win a strike (§ 28) proves that their condition was not one of universal misery. The *slave class* was apparently not very important.

There was *no real caste*¹ in Egyptian society. As a matter of convenience, the son commonly followed his father's occupation; but there was no law to prevent his passing into

¹ In some Oriental lands, as in ancient India, a son was bound by law to follow his father's occupation, and he could not rise out of his father's class in society. Such countries are said to have a "caste" organization; and the caste system is sometimes carelessly ascribed to Egypt.

a different class. Sometimes, indeed, the son of a poor herdsman rose to wealth and power.¹

Such advance was most easily open to the scribes. This learned profession was recruited from the brightest boys of the middle and lower classes. Most of the scribes found employment in clerical work only; but from the ablest ones the nobles chose confidential secretaries and stewards, and some of these, who showed special ability, were promoted by the Pharaohs to the highest dignities in the land. Such men founded new families, and so reënforced the ranks of the nobility.



HEAD OF A STATUE
OF AMTEN, a "self-
made" noble of 4000
B.C.

The *soldiers* in Egypt are spoken of by Greek writers as a distinct class, and sometimes they have been called a "caste." They were, however, not a hereditary class, but were recruited from all available sources. Each soldier held a small farm, of some eight acres, free from taxes; and he was kept under arms only when his services were needed.²

There was also a large body of *officials*, organized in many grades like the officers of an army. Every despotism has to have such a class, to act as eyes, hands, and feet; but in ancient Egypt the royal servants were particularly numerous and important. Until the seventh century B.C. the Egyptians had no money. Thus all the immense royal revenues, as well as all debts between private men, had to be collected "in kind." The treasurers must receive and care for cattle, grain, wine, oil, metals, jewels, — "all that the heavens give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from its mysterious sources," as one king puts it in an inscription. To do this called for an army of royal officials. For a like reason, the great nobles needed a large class of trustworthy servants.

¹ See the biography of Amten in Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 290-296.

² Besides this privileged soldiery, the peasantry were called out upon occasion, for war or for distant garrisons.

Thus the superstructure of society consisted of (1) a wealthy aristocracy of birth (the nobles); (2) the powerful and learned priesthood, whose influence almost equaled that of Pharaoh himself; (3) a lower aristocracy of merit, or an "upper middle class" (scribes and physicians); (4) a privileged soldiery; and (5) a mass of privileged officials of many grades, from a royal



EGYPTIAN NOBLE HUNTING WATERFOWL ON THE NILE with the "throwstick" (a boomerang). The birds rise from a group of papyrus reeds. — Egyptian relief; after Maspero.

viceroy down to the petty tax collectors and the stewards of private estates. To most of these, as the monuments show, life was a very delightful thing, filled with active employment and varied with many pleasures.¹ Lower down, the middle class, of shopkeepers and skilled artisans, ranged from comfort

¹ A student who has access to Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization* can make an interesting report upon these employments and recreations, drawing his material largely from the pictures on the ancient monuments.

to misery ; while at the base of society was a large agricultural class, heavily burdened with the weight of all these others.

The condition of this last class is always bad enough in Oriental despotisms, falling little short of practical slavery. Royal taxes, in particular, are exacted harshly, and the poor peasant is held responsible for them with all that he has,—even with his person or his family. All this was true in an-



LEVYING THE TAX. — An Egyptian relief¹ from the monuments ; after Maspero.

cient Egypt. Still, judging from the Egyptian literature, the peasants seem to have been careless and gay, petting their cattle and singing at their work ; and the large population indicates that they were prosperous. Probably they were as well off as the like class has been during the past century in Egypt or in Russia.

13. The position of women was better than it was to be in the Greek civilization, and much better than in modern Oriental states. The wife was the companion of the man. She was not shut up in a harem or confined strictly to household duties : she appeared in company and at public ceremonies. She possessed equal rights at law ; and sometimes great queens ruled upon the throne, while others molded their sons and influenced

¹ A "relief" is a piece of sculpture where the figures are only partly cut away from the solid rock.

their husbands. In no other country, until modern times, do pictures of happy home life play so large a part.

14. The Industrial Arts.—The skilled artisans included brickworkers, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, upholsterers, glass blowers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, armorers, etc. Many of these possessed a marvelous dexterity, and were masters of some processes that are now unknown.



SHOEMAKERS.—Egyptian relief from the monuments; after Maspero.

The weavers in particular produced delicate and exquisite linen, almost as fine as silk, and the workers in glass and metal were famous for their skill. Jewels were imitated in glass so artfully that only an expert can detect the fraud by the appearance to-day. Bronze was introduced at an early date,¹ but iron was not much used until about 800 B.C.²

¹ Ancient bronze was an alloy made by fusing tin and copper. Until men discovered the value of this mixture they had been obliged to depend upon stone tools and weapons. Copper by itself could not be fused readily or wrought into shape; nor would it keep an edge, even if it received one. But with the addition of a little tin, it could be easily melted and worked into any desired shape; and, after cooling, the mixture was harder than copper alone. This discovery, whenever it came, was one of the great steps in material civilization. Men with bronze tools and weapons could easily conquer tribes in the stone age; and gradually bronze culture spread over much of the earth. Later, bronze was to be replaced by the still more useful iron, when men learned how to extract that metal from the crude iron ore.

² Two or three pieces of iron have been found in Egyptian ruins of much earlier date; but plainly these are pieces of "free" iron, such as are occasion-

monarchs were content with smaller resting places for their own bodies,¹ and built instead gigantic temples for the gods.²

In their private dwellings the Egyptians sometimes used graceful columns and the true *arch* (both of which forms the



A CAPITAL FROM KARNAK.—From Lübke's *History of Art*.

Greeks may have learned from them); but for their more important buildings they preferred massive walls and rows of huge, close-set columns, supporting roofs of immense flat slabs of rock.

The result is peculiarly imposing and gives an impression of stupendous power, but it lacks grace and beauty.

On the walls of the temples and within the tombs we find the inscriptions and the papyrus rolls that tell us of ancient Egyptian life. With the inscriptions there are found long bands of pictures ("reliefs") cut into the walls, illustrating the story of the inscriptions. Complete statues, too, were fre-

¹ Sometimes, however, they used the old pyramids, already constructed, for their tombs.

² Other characteristic works of the later period were vast internal improvements. With reference to these, a king of about 2600 B.C. boasts in his epitaph that all his commands had "ever increased the love his subjects bore him." Contrasting the period about 3500 with that about 2700 B.C., Rawlinson says (*Ancient Egypt*, II, 74):—

"The second Egyptian civilization differed in many respects from the first. The first was self-seeking, stately, cruel. The second was utilitarian, beneficent, judicious. The encouragement of trade, the digging of wells, the formation of reservoirs, the protection of roads, the building of ships, and the exploration of hitherto unknown seas, . . . such were the objects which the monarchs set before them. Content with rude coffins and humble sepulchers, they were able to employ the labor of their subjects in productive pursuits."

quent, both large and small. Much of the early sculpture was lifelike¹; and even the unnatural colossal statues, such as the Sphinxes, have a solemn power and gloomy grandeur in keeping with the melancholy desert that stretches about them. Sculpture, however, reached its best stage in an early period. Later its association with religion seems to have forbidden change in its methods. It was no longer able to advance, and it began to decline.

The painting in the closed rock tombs has lasted with perfect freshness, but it fades quickly upon exposure to the air. The painters used color well, but they could not draw correct forms. Like the "relief" sculptures, the painting lacked perspective and proportion.

16. Literature and the Hieroglyphics. — The Egyptians wrote religious books, poems, histories, travels, novels, orations, treatises upon morals, scientific works, geographies, cook-books, catalogues, and collections of fairy stories.²



AISLE IN THE RUINS AT KARNAK.

¹ See the head of Amten, page 16.

² Among the fairy stories was the tale of an Egyptian Cinderella.

The oldest writing, as with all early peoples, was a picture story, but on the first monuments this had advanced to a rebus stage. That is, the pictures had become "conventionalized" into a system of hieroglyphics — "a delightful assemblage of birds, snakes, men, tools, stars, and beasts." In many cases one of these shrunken pictures may stand either for a thing or for an idea connected with it. Thus ☉ may represent either *the sun* or *light*. Some symbols came also to have a sound value, and to represent syllables in words, quite in rebus or charade fashion.¹ Then some of these signs grew into real letters, or *signs of single sounds*. If the Egyptians could have kept these last and have dropped all the rest, they would have had a true alphabet. But this final step they never took. The temple inscriptions remained to the last a curious mixture of *thousands* of signs of things, of ideas, of syllables, and of a few single sounds.²

When the writing was done rapidly upon papyrus or pottery, the strokes were run together, and the characters were gradually modified, forming a script, which was written with a reed in black or red ink. The dry air of the Egyptian tombs has preserved to our day great numbers of buried papyrus rolls covered with this writing.

17. *Science*. — The Nile has been called the father of Egyptian science. The necessity of surveying the land sometimes after an inundation is thought to have had to do with the skill of the early Egyptians in *geometry*; and the need of fixing in advance the exact period of the inundation may have had some influence in directing attention to the true "year," and so to *astronomy*.

Great progress was made in both these studies. We moderns, who learn glibly from books and diagrams the results of

¹ Thus ○, the symbol for "mouth," was pronounced *rû*, and therefore it was used as the last syllable in the word *khopirû*, which meant "to be." Symbols of other objects in like manner stood for the other syllables.

² A good account of the hieroglyphics is given in Keary's *Dawn of History*, 298-303. See, also, Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 221-224, and, for a pleasant longer account, Clodd's *Story of the Alphabet*.

this early labor, can hardly understand how difficult was the task of these first scientific observers.¹ They seem to have understood the revolution of the earth and planets around the sun, and they fixed the year at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, less a fraction, and invented a curious leap year arrangement. Their "year," together with their calendar of months, we get from them through Julius Caesar. In *arithmetic* the Egyptians dealt readily in numbers to millions, with the aid of a notation similar to that used later by the Romans. Thus, 3423 was represented by the Romans: M M M C C C C XX III and by the Egyptians: $\updownarrow \updownarrow \updownarrow \odot \odot \odot \odot \text{H} !$

All this learning is older than the Greek by almost twice as long a time as the Greek is older than ours of to-day. No wonder, then, that (according to a Greek story) in the last days of Egyptian greatness, a priest of Saïs exclaimed to a traveler from little Athens: "O Solon, Solon! You Greeks are mere children. There is no old opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition, nor any science hoary with age!"

It must be remembered, however, that all the higher science was the possession only of the priests and perhaps of a few others.

18. Religion. — There was a curious mixture of religions. Each family worshiped its ancestors. Such *ancestor worship* is found, indeed, among all primitive peoples, along with a belief in evil spirits and malicious ghosts.

There was also a revolting *worship of animals*. Cats, dogs, bulls, crocodiles, and many other animals were sacred. Probably this worship was a degraded and exaggerated form of a

¹ Uncivilized peoples count time by "moons" or by "winters"; but to fix the exact length of the year (the time in which the sun apparently passes from a given point in the heavens, through its path, back again to that point) requires long and patient and skillful observation, and no little knowledge. Indeed, to find out that there is such a thing as a "year" is no simple matter. If the student will go out into the night, and look upon the heavens, with its myriads of twinkling points of light, and then try to imagine how the first scientists, without being told by any one else, learned to map out the paths of the heavenly bodies, he will better appreciate the work.

kind of ancestor worship known as *totemism*, found among many peoples. North American Indians of a wolf clan or a bear clan — with a fabled wolf or bear for an ancestor — must on no account injure the ancestral animal, or “totem.”¹ Even Rome, with its legend of Romulus nursed by a wolf, gives some curious survivals of an earlier worship of this sort. In Egypt, however, the worship of animals became more widely spread, and took on grosser features, than has ever been the case elsewhere.

Above all this, there was a worship of *personified powers of nature* — a belief in countless deities and demigods representing sun, moon, river, wind, storm, trees, and stones. With the populace these nature gods were commonly represented by animal symbols;² but with the better classes the nature worship mounted sometimes to a lofty and pure worship of one God whose name was, “*I am that I am.*” The symbol preferred by the followers of this higher religion was the disk of the sun, for Light, Truth, and All-sustaining Power (§ 25); but these lofty meanings never became widespread.

19. The Idea of Immortality. — With regard to the future life, there seem to have been two or three stages of belief. Nearly all savage peoples believe that after death the body remains the home of the soul, or at least that the soul lives on in a pale, shadowy existence near the tomb. If the body be not preserved, or if it be not given proper burial, then, it is thought, the soul becomes a wandering ghost, restless and harmful to men.

The early Egyptians held some such belief. The universal practice of embalming³ the body before burial was connected with it. They wished to preserve the body as the home for the soul. In the tombs, too, there are always found dishes, in

¹ Students familiar with Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* will recall an illustration of totemism.

² See the hawk head and other animal symbols in the illustration in § 20.

³ “Embalming” was a process of preparing a dead body with drugs and spices, so as to prevent decay.

which had been placed food and drink for the ghost, just as is done by savage peoples to-day.

These practices continued through all ancient Egyptian history.¹ But upon some such basis as this there finally grew up, among the better classes, a belief in a truer immortality for those who deserved it. It came to be believed that the dead



SCULPTURED FUNERAL COUCH: the soul is represented crouching by the mummy. — From Maspero.

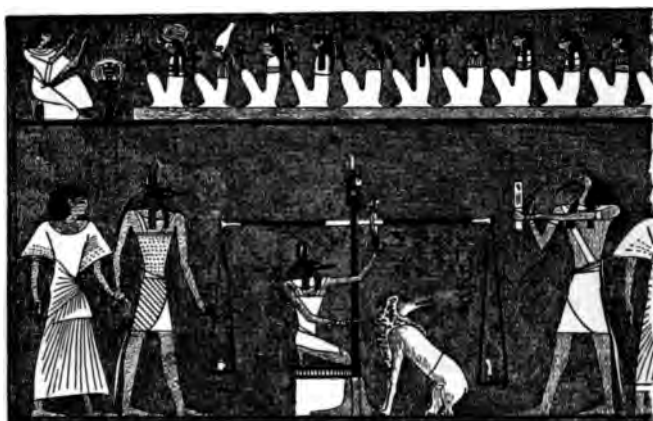
lived in a distant Elysium, where they had all the pleasures of life without its pains.² This haven, however, was only for those ghosts who knew certain religious and magic formulas to guard against destruction on the perilous spirit journey, and who, on arrival, should be declared worthy by the "Judges of the Dead" (§ 22). Other souls were thought to perish.

20. Morality. — The standard of morals among the Egyptians was not high, if measured by modern ideas. The modesty and refinement that we demand were lacking; and some features

¹ In part they continue to-day, after these six thousand years of different faiths. The Egyptian peasant still buries food and drink with his dead. Such customs last long after the ideas on which they were based have faded; but *there must always have been some live idea in them at first.*

² After this stage of belief was reached, the practice of embalming the body may have come to have some connection with a growing thought of its resurrection.

of their life are shocking to us. The Egyptians, however, were a kindly people. The sympathy expressed by their writers for the poor (§§ 22, 27) is a note not heard elsewhere in ancient literature, and it speaks something for their gentleness.



WEIGHING THE SOUL in the scales of truth before the gods of the dead.—
Egyptian relief; after Maspero.

On the whole, all scholars agree in giving the Egyptians high praise among the peoples of antiquity.¹ As Professor Petrie sums up the matter, "The Egyptian, without our Christian sense of sin or self-reproach, sought out a fair and noble life. . . . His aim was to be an easy, good-natured, quiet gentleman, and to make life as agreeable as he could to all about him."

¹ "More moral, sympathetic, and conscientious than any other ancient people," says Petrie. "If less refined than Athens, yet in some points both more moral and more civilized," asserts Rawlinson. Simcox's *Primitive Civilization* says of Egyptian epitaphs, "In no other country, ancient or modern, do we find so clear and full a description of purely domestic virtues as forming the best title to regard."

III. A POLITICAL OUTLINE.

This three-page skeleton of 4500 years of history may be read and talked over in class. It is designed for reference, not for study.

21. A Few Events in Political History. — Only a few events in political history call for notice here.

a. The First Foreign Conquests. — For over two thousand years after the Egyptian monarchy began (§ 10), it seems to have been confined to the Nile valley. About 2400 or 2200 B.C. there began a period of great conquests. Ethiopia was subdued, together with various negro tribes to the south; and apparently Egyptian rule was established also in southern Syria.

b. The Hyksos. — This outburst of military glory was followed by a period of strange decay, and Egypt became the prey of roving tribes from Arabia. These *Hyksos*, or *Shepherd Kings*, maintained themselves in Egypt about four hundred years (2000–1600 B.C.). For a time they harried the land cruelly, as invaders; then, from a capital in the lower Delta, they ruled the country through tributary Egyptian kings; and finally they acquired the civilization of the land and became themselves Egyptian sovereigns.

c. Restoration of Native Rule. Supremacy over the Euphrates Region. — A line of native monarchs had remained in power at Thebes, as under-kings. About 1600 B.C., after a long struggle, these princes expelled the Hyksos. Soon afterward Egypt reached its highest pitch of grandeur. A series of mighty kings recovered Ethiopia, conquered all western Syria, and at last reached the Tigris, securing at least a nominal supremacy over Babylonia.

This was the first political union of the East. It paved the way for future unions, and so was a step toward the later and greater empires of Persia, of Alexander, and of Rome. In Egypt itself, the booty and the multitudes of captives,

together with the tribute in Asiatic products, led to the introduction of new arts and greater luxury. In science, too, Asia had much to teach the African civilization (§§ 39, 40).

d. Decline ; Foreign Attacks.—The brilliant reign of the great conqueror, Rameses II (about 1350 B.C.), closed this



SCULPTURED HEAD OF THÛTMOSES III (about 1470 B.C.), who in twelve great campaigns first carried Egyptian arms from the isthmus to Nineveh.

period of warlike glory. There followed a long age of weakness, which soon invited attack. Dominion in both Africa and Asia shrank, until Egypt was driven again within her ancient bounds. The Hittites (§ 54), descending from the slopes of the Taurus Mountains, overthrew Egyptian power in Syria; and the tribes of the Libyan desert, aided by "strange peoples of the sea" (Greeks among them), threatened even to seize the

Delta itself.¹ Then in 730 B.C. Ethiopia did conquer Egypt, and in 672 the land became subject to Assyria.²

e. The Last Period of Native Rule.—Twenty years later, *Psammetichus*, one of the native tributary rulers, restored Egyptian independence. This last period of native rule lasted a



little over a century. *Psammetichus* opened Egypt to foreigners, and especially welcomed the Greeks, who were coming into notice as



soldiers and sailors.³ *Neco*, the second king of this restored monarchy, about 600 B.C., revived an ancient attempt to cut a canal through the Isthmus, and apparently secured the circumnavigation of Africa by his Phoenician sailors.⁴

f. Egyptian History merges in Greek and Roman History.—The favor shown foreigners seems to have disgusted the soldier class, so that its members emigrated in great numbers

¹ At the beginning of this decline the Hebrew serfs escaped from Egypt. They had come in during the rule of the Arabian Hyksos. The monarchs of the restored Egyptian dynasty reduced them to slavery; and now they fled again to the Arabian desert (§ 52).

² It is not until about this period that dates can be fixed exactly in Egyptian history. For early periods a margin of a century or two must always be allowed for error in calculation. This is due to the fact that the ancient peoples did not count time from one fixed point, as we do now; but, instead, one people reckoned from the beginnings of the reigns of its different kings, another from the founding of a city, and so on. An inscription may tell us that an event took place in the tenth year of Rameses II; but we do not know surely just when Rameses began to reign. On Egyptian chronology, advanced students may consult *Petrie's Egypt*, I, 248-254.

³ This is the period when Egypt exercised the most important influence upon Europe. Not only did individual Greek travelers, like Solon and Thales, visit Egypt (§ 109 and § 130), but great numbers of Greek adventurers served for a time in the army, and considerable Greek settlements were established in the country.

⁴ Herodotus, the Greek historian who tells us the story, adds: "On their return they reported (others may believe them but I will not) that in sailing from east to west around Africa they had the sun on their right hand." This report, which Herodotus could not believe, is good proof to us of the sailors' truthfulness.

to Ethiopia. This made easy a conquest by Persia in 525 B.C.; and Egyptian independence under native sovereigns disappeared forever.¹ For two centuries, Egypt was ruled as a group of provinces, under Persian governors, or *satraps*. Then Alexander the Great established Greek sway over all the Persian world. At his death Egypt became again a separate state; but it was ruled by the Greek Ptolemies from their new Greek capital at Alexandria. Cleopatra, the last of this line of monarchs, fell before Augustus Caesar in 30 B.C., and Egypt became a Roman province.

IV. ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS.

22. A Statement from "the Repudiation of Sins," to be made before the Judges of the Dead. (Many of these phrases are found upon the most ancient tombs. In the later, but very old, *Book of the Dead* they are collected and harmonized. The parts given here show a sense of duty toward one's fellow-men. Much of the omitted part has to do only with ceremonies. For more extended quotations, see Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 188-190.)

"Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth and Justice! . . . I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! . . . I have not laid labor upon any free man beyond that which he wrought for himself! . . . I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! I have not starved any man, I have not made any to weep, . . . I have not pulled down the scale of the balance! I have not falsified the beam of the balance! I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings! . . . There is no crime against me in this land of the Double Truth! . . .

"Grant that he may come unto you — he that hath not lied nor borne false witness, . . . but who feedeth on truth, . . . he that hath given bread to the hungry and drink to him that was athirst, and that hath

¹ Except for spasmodic attempts of Egyptian princes to restore native rule over separate districts of the country by more or less successful rebellion against Persia.

clothed the naked with garments ; . . . his mouth is pure ; his two hands are pure."¹

23. From an Inscription by an Ancient Noble. — "I have caused no child of tender age to mourn ; I have despoiled no widow, I have driven away no tiller of the soil. . . . None about me have been unfortunate, nor starving in my time."

24. From the Precepts of Ptah-hotep, a noble of about 4000 B.C. (It takes some twenty pages of ordinary print to reproduce this collection of precepts, which are nearly twice as old as Solomon's proverbs. The papyrus, now at Berlin, which contains them is the oldest book in the world. They are in verse. A complete translation is given in the *Records of the Past*, III.)

"Be not arrogant because of that which thou knowest, no artist being in possession of the perfection to which he should aspire."

"Inspire not men with fear. [This is addressed to officers and judges.] Listen to the discourses of the petitioner ; be not abrupt with him. The way to secure a clear explanation is to listen with kindness."

"Keep thyself from every attack of bad humor."

"Treat thy dependents well."

"If thou hast become great after having been little, . . . harden not thy heart. . . . *Thou art only become the steward of the good things of God.*"

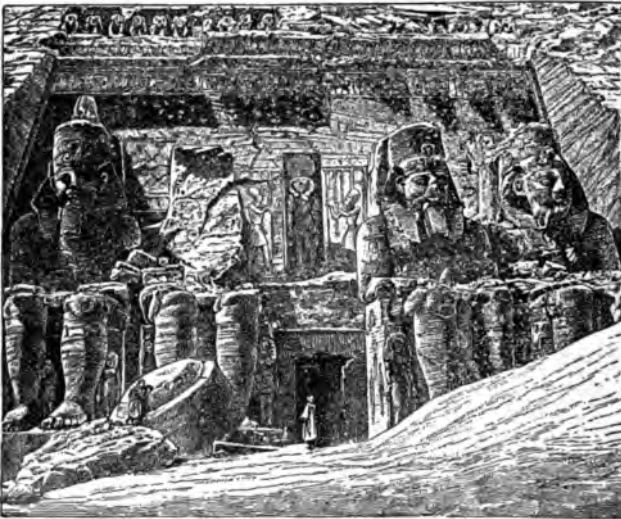
"The obedience of a docile son is a blessing. . . . The son who accepts the word of his father will attain to old age, for obedience is of God. . . . I have myself in this way become one of the ancients of the earth ; I have passed one hundred and ten years of life."

25. From a Hymn by King Khuniatonu, fifteenth century B.C., in worship of Aten the Sun-disk, symbol of God. (Given in full in Petrie's *Egypt*, II, 211-218.)

"Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
O living Aten, the beginning of life ! . . .
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.
Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made.
Thou bindest them with thy love. . . .

¹ Maspero says that this profession of faith is "among the noblest bequeathed us by the ancient world," indicating "a keen sense of obligation both to the gods and to one's fellow-men."

The birds fly in their haunts —
 Their wings adoring thee. . . .
 The small bird in the egg, sounding within the shell —
 Thou givest it breath within the egg. . . .
 How many are the things which thou hast made !
 Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone,
 With peoples, herds, and flocks. . . .
 Thou givest to every man his place, thou framest his life."



ROCK-Hewn COLOSSI OF RAMESES II.

26. From a Dialogue between an Egyptian and his Soul (*Berlin Papyrus*, quoted in Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 399).

"I say to myself every day : As is the convalescence of a sick person, who goes to the court after his affliction, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day : As is the inhaling of the scent of a perfume, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day : As a road which passes over the flood of inundation, as a man who goes as a soldier whom nothing resists, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day : As the clearing again of the sky, as a man who goes out to catch birds with a net and suddenly finds himself in an unknown district, such is death."

27. From a Writer of the Time of Rameses II, fourteenth century B.C., in pity of the miseries of the peasants.

“Dost thou not recall the picture of the farmer, when the tenth of his grain is levied? Worms have destroyed half of the wheat, and the hippopotami have eaten the rest; there are swarms of rats in the fields, the grasshoppers alight there, the cattle devour, the little birds pilfer, and if the farmer lose sight for an instant of what remains upon the ground, it is carried off by robbers; the thongs, moreover, which bind the iron and the hoe are worn out, and the team has died at the plow. It is then that the scribe steps out of the boat at the landing place to levy the tithe, and there come the keepers of the doors of the granary with cudgels and the negroes with ribs of palm-leaves, crying: ‘Come now, corn!’ There is none, and they throw the cultivator full length upon the ground; bound, dragged to the canal, they fling him in head first [probably a figurative way of saying that he was forced to work out his tax on the canals]; his wife is bound with him, his children are put into chains; the neighbors, in the meantime, leave him and fly to save their grain.”

28. Strikes among the Egyptians (adapted from the account in Maspero’s *Struggle of the Nations*, 539–541).

“Rations were allowed each workman at the end of every month; but, from the usual Egyptian lack of forethought, these were often consumed long before the next assignment. Such an event was usually followed by a strike. On one occasion we are shown the workmen turning to the overseer, saying: ‘We are perishing of hunger, and there are still eighteen days before the next month.’ The latter makes profuse promises; but, when nothing comes of them, the workmen will not listen to him longer. They leave their work, and gather in a public meeting. The overseer hastens after them, and the police commissioners of the locality and the scribes mingle with them, urging upon the leaders a return. But the workmen only say: ‘We will not return. Make it clear to your superiors down below there.’ The official who reports the matter to the authorities seems to think the complaints well founded, for he says, ‘We went to hear them, and they spoke true words to us.’”

29. A Modern Impression.

“Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,
Half-sunk, a shattered visage lies.

.

And on the pedestal, these words appear :
' My name is Ozymandias, king of kings.
Look on my works, Ye Mighty, and despair !'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away.' — SHELLEY.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization* is almost indispensable; but it comes down only to about 1600 B.C. The same author's *Struggle of the Nations* and *Passing of the Empires* treat later periods, and are exceedingly valuable, though less useful to high schools than the volume first named. In the absence of these volumes, Maspero's *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria* and his *Egyptian Archaeology* are good. Sayce's *Ancient Empires of the East* is a readable treatment by a great English scholar.

Petrie's *History of Egypt* is the most scholarly work upon early Egyptian history, but the student can use it only with careful direction. The same is true of Petrie's *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, describing his excavations there from 1880 to 1890. All students, however, will be interested in an article by Professor Petrie in the November *Harper's Monthly* for 1903, "The Ten Temples of Abydos," describing his remarkable discoveries at Abydos in the year 1902-1903. A more detailed account of Professor Petrie's recent discoveries is given in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1903, in an article entitled "With the Pre-Dynastic Kings."

Rawlinson's *Ancient Egypt* is readable, but sadly out of date. The like is true of the same author's *Story of Egypt*.

Advanced students may consult translations of inscriptions and other source material, in the *Records of the Past*, edited by Sayce, and teachers can use that work to advantage with any class.

CHAPTER III.

THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES STATES.

30. Discovery of the Euphrates Culture by the Egyptians, about 1600 B.C. — It was a little after 1600 B.C. that the Egyptians began their great conquests in Asia (§ 21 c). They found there a civilization different from their own, and after many campaigns they reached its first home on the banks of a mighty river strangely like the river of Egypt. For three thousand years the two civilizations, Egyptian and Chaldean, had been growing up in isolation. The invasion from Africa brought them into contact. A new era in Oriental history opened. The long ages of isolation for the two great centers gave way to an age of intercourse, and finally to a period of union. The districts lying between the two rivers became covered with a network of roads, garrisoned at important points by fortresses; and along these roads for centuries, from the Nile to the Euphrates, there passed hurrying streams of merchants, couriers, officers, and diplomats.

Our next study is to be given to the origin and character of the civilization which had grown up in the Euphrates region, and which the Egyptians found spread over western Asia.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

31. The Two Rivers. — A mighty desert stretches across Asia from the Red to the Yellow Sea. Its smaller and western part, a series of low, sandy plains, is really a continuation of the African desert. The eastern portion consists of lofty plateaus broken up by rugged mountains. The two parts are separated from each other by a patch of luxuriant vegetation, reaching away from the Persian Gulf to the northwest.

This oasis is the work of the Tigris and Euphrates. These twin rivers have never interested men so much as has the more mysterious Nile; but they have played a hardly less important part in human history.¹ Rising on opposite sides

¹ In ancient times the Euphrates bore the fitting name, "Soul of the Land."

of the snow-capped Armenian mountains, they approach each other by great sweeps until they form a common valley, and then they flow in parallel channels for the greater part of their course. The land between them has always been named from them. The Jews called it "Syria of the Two Rivers"; the Greeks, *Mesopotamia*, or "Between-Rivers"; the modern Arabs, "The Island."

32. Natural and Political Divisions.—The valley fell into three distinct parts, two of which were of special importance.

a. Like the delta of the Nile, the part near the mouth of the rivers consisted of deposits of soil carried out in the course of ages into the Persian Gulf. This district was *Chaldea*. In area it equaled modern Denmark and was twice the size of the real Egypt. As with Egypt, its fertility in ancient times was maintained by an annual overflow of the river, regulated by dikes, canals, and reservoirs. Wheat and barley are believed to have been native here. Certainly it was from Chaldea that their cultivation spread west to Europe.

In the fifth century B.C. Herodotus said: "Of all countries that we know there is none so fruitful in grain. The yield commonly is two hundred fold and sometimes three hundred fold.¹ The leaves of the wheat and barley are four fingers wide. As for the millet and sesame, I will not state their height, for I am sure I should not be believed by those who have not lived in that country." The blade of the wheat was so luxuriant, other writers tell us, that it was customary to mow the fields twice and then turn in cattle to crop it off, so as to make it ear.

In modern times Chaldea has lost this ancient fertility. During the past few centuries, under Turkish rule, the last vestiges of the ancient engineering works have gone to ruin. As a result, in this early home of civilization the uncontrolled overflow of the river now turns the eastern districts into a dreary marsh; while on the west the desert sands have drifted in, to cover the most fertile soil in the world, and the sites of

¹ Herodotus, I, 193. The statement is supported by other observers. A Minnesota farmer sows two bushels of wheat to the acre; two hundred fold would mean a crop not of fifteen or eighteen, but of four hundred, bushels. So large a crop is impossible. The statement of Herodotus can hold good only on the supposition that the Chaldeans used a very thin sowing—a half bushel or less to the acre.

scores of mighty cities are only shapeless mounds, where sometimes nomad Arabs camp for a night.

b. To the north of Chaldea the alluvial plain gives way to a broad, rugged table-land. The more fertile portion lay on the eastern or Tigris side, and was about three times the extent of Chaldea. Here clustered many cities which were finally to be combined into the monarchy of *Assyria*.

c. The northwestern portion of the valley is sometimes called *Mesopotamia Proper*. It was the least fertile of the three districts, and it was never the seat of a great empire. Its importance was geographical: it gave easy access to the northern parts of western Syria,—the land destined to fall to the Nile or to the Euphrates as the prize of war.

Three empires¹ rose in turn in this double valley: two in the south, and, between the periods of their sway, a greater one in the northeast. The southern empire at first had for its center some one of several great cities on the lower Euphrates, until finally supreme power fell to *Babylon*, the most famous city of them all. The capital of the northern state was *Nineveh*, on the Tigris.

II. POLITICAL OUTLINE.

This division on political history is necessarily scrappy, and is intended only for reference, not for close study. The class should not be asked to recite upon it; but it may profitably be read and talked over in class.

33. The Early Chaldean Empire.—The early Chaldeans invented a story of their past, reaching back seven hundred thousand years. These fables contain an account of a creation and deluge, similar to the story in the Hebrew *Genesis*,² but otherwise they are of little interest.

¹ An empire, in the proper use of the term, is a state containing many sub-states and one ruling state. Thus Egypt was only a monarchy while it was confined to the Nile valley; but when its sway extended over Ethiopia and Syria, we call it an empire. This proper use of the word is not always followed in modern history, but it is universal for ancient history. The distinction between "empire" and "kingdom" will become plainer in following pages.

² See Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 565-572.

The earliest historical date is that of Sargon the Elder, about 3800 B.C.¹ At that time Chaldea contained many powerful cities, each a separate state striving for leadership. One of the most ancient of these was Ur, in later times the home of Abraham.



FRAGMENT OF ASSYRIAN "DELUGE-TABLET," with part of the story of a deluge.

About 2400 B.C. the political center moved up the valley to Babylon. That city first brought Chaldea under her sway; then her power spread rapidly over the rest of the river basin, and before 2000 B.C. it reached to the Mediterranean. For several centuries afterward the fashions of the Chaldean capi-

¹ Recent excavations have established the reality of this sovereign, who, until lately, has been considered mythical.

tal, in costumes and cosmetics, were copied in the cities of Syria, and the complex cuneiform¹ script of Babylon was used and her extensive literature was read by great numbers of people all over western Asia. The name Babylon has always remained a symbol for magnificence and dominion.

34. The Assyrian Empire. — Assyria first comes to notice in the nineteenth century B.C. It was then a dependent province, belonging to the Chaldean Empire. Six hundred years later it had become a rival of Chaldea, but its supremacy begins two centuries later still, about 1100 B.C., with the reign of *Tiglath-Pileser I.* This king ruled from Nineveh to the Mediterranean; but after his death his dominions fell apart. Now and then, during the next three centuries, some powerful king at Nineveh restored Assyrian rule for a time; but the real Assyrian Empire dates from 745 B.C.

In that year, the adventurer *Pul*, originally a gardener, seized the throne, took the name of the first great conqueror, *Tiglath-Pileser (II)*, and soon established the most powerful empire the world had so far seen. It was larger than any that had gone before it, and it was better organized. In the case of each of the earlier empires, the subject kingdoms had been left under the native rulers, as tributary kings. This loose organization, tempting constantly to rebellion, now gave way to a stronger one. Many of the subject kingdoms were made more completely into parts of one state and were ruled by Assyrian lieutenants, or satraps.

The next great Assyrian king was *Sargon II*, who carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity² (722 B.C.). *Sargon's* son, *Sennacherib*, is the most famous Assyrian monarch.

¹ See § 37.

² This transplanting of a rebellious people, or a large part of them, to prevent rebellion, was a favorite device of the Assyrians. Longfellow's picture, in *Evangeline*, of the removal of a small population in modern times with all possible gentleness, will help us to imagine the misery that must have come from such transportation of whole nations by overland journeys of a thousand miles.

He subdued the revolted king of Judah,¹ but he will be better remembered from the Jewish account of a mysterious destruction of his army in a second expedition, — smitten by “the angel of the Lord.” This is the incident commemorated by Byron’s lines: —

“The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold ;

Like leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
That host, on the morrow, lay withered and strown.”

The empire recovered quickly from this disaster; and in 672 B.C. Sennacherib’s son, *Esarhaddon*, reduced Egypt to complete subjection (§ 21 d). This was the second political union of the East. It was much more complete than the first one of several centuries earlier (§ 21 c); and its territory was larger, for the Assyrians were reaching out west and east into the new regions of Asia Minor and of Media on the Plateau of Iran.²

But this wide rule was short-lived. After some thirty years of subjection, Egypt broke away. Twenty years later, Babylon followed. Devastating Scythian hordes poured in repeatedly from the north, to weaken the empire; and in 606 B.C. the new power of the Medes (§ 59), aided by Babylonia, captured Nineveh itself. The Assyrian Empire disappeared, and the proud “city of blood,” which had razed so many other cities, was given over to sack and pillage. Two hundred years later the Greek Xenophon could not even learn the name of the crumbling ruins, when he came upon them. At last all signs of human habitation vanished, and the very site was forgotten until its rediscovery in recent times.³

35. The New Babylonian Empire. — Babylon had risen in many a fierce revolt during the five centuries of Assyrian rule, and Sennacherib declares that on one occasion he razed it to

¹ 2 Kings xviii. Maspero’s *Passing of the Empires*, 289–296, gives a full modern version of the story.

² See map facing page 64.

³ Cf. Isaiah xiii. 16–22, and Jeremiah I and II, with Layard’s *Nineveh*, 484.

the ground in punishment: "I laid the houses waste from foundation to roof with fire. Temple and tower I tore down and threw into the canal. I dug ditches through the city, and laid waste its site. Greater than the deluge was its annihilation." In 625 came the successful rebellion. Then Babylonia and Media soon shared between them the old Assyrian Empire.

This second Babylonian Empire¹ lasted less than a century. The middle half of the period — the most glorious part, 604–561 B.C. — falls to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Rebellious Jerusalem was sacked, and the Jews



NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

were carried away into the Babylonian captivity. The ancient limits of the Chaldean Empire were restored, Babylon was rebuilt on a more magnificent scale, and the ancient engineering works were renewed. But in 538 Babylon fell before the Persians (§ 60), and her independent history came to an end.

III. SOCIETY AND CULTURE.

36. The People. — The first inhabitants of Chaldea whom we can trace at all are called Accadians. After reaching some civilization, they were conquered at an early date by a less cultivated people, speaking a Semitic² language. From this union of Accadians and Semites sprang the historic Chaldeans. The Assyrians were more strongly Semitic than the people of the

¹ The name Chaldean is usually given to the earlier empire in the south, before the rule of Assyria, and the name Babylonian to this later empire in the south. Sometimes they are called the first and second Babylonian or the first and second Chaldean empires.

² The languages of the Arabs, Jews, and ancient Phoenicians are closely related, and to the whole group the name Semitic is applied. It does not follow necessarily, however, from the relationship between the languages that the peoples speaking them are related. See West's *Ancient History*, §§ 6–10. The Semitic conquerors of Chaldea and Assyria probably came from Arabia.

lower valley. The Babylonians were quick-witted and industrious, fond of letters and of other peaceful pursuits; while



ASSYRIAN TABLET, showing the older hieroglyphics and the later cuneiform equivalents (apparently for the purpose of instruction).

the hook-nosed, larger-framed, fiercer men of Assyria cared mainly for war and commerce, and possessed only such art and literature as they could borrow from Chaldea.

37. Cuneiform Writing.—The early Accadian inhabitants had a system of hieroglyphics not unlike the Egyptian. At first they painted these on the papyrus, which grew in the Euphrates as well as in the Nile. At a later time they came to cut the characters with a sharp metal instrument in clay tablets, which were then baked. This change of material led to a change in the written characters. The pictures shriveled and flattened into wedge-shaped ("cuneiform") symbols, which look like scattered nails with curiously battered heads.

The Semitic conquerors adapted this writing to their language; and in Assyria the complex figures were written in such minute characters—six lines to an inch sometimes—that some authorities believe magnifying glasses must have been used. This surmise was strengthened when the explorer Layard found a lens among the ruins of the Nineveh library.

38. Literature.—The remains of Chaldean literature are abundant. Each of the numerous cities that studded the valley of the twin rivers had its library, sometimes several of them. A library was a collection of clay tablets or bricks covered with the cuneiform writing. In Babylon the ruins of one library contained over thirty thousand tablets, of about the date 2700 B.C., all neatly arranged in order. Originally the libraries contained papyrus rolls also, but these the climate has utterly destroyed.

A tablet, with its condensed writing, corresponds fairly well to a chapter in one of our books. Each tablet had its library number stamped upon it, and the collections were carefully catalogued. The kings prided themselves on keeping the libraries open to the public; and Professor Sayce is sure that "a considerable portion of the inhabitants (including many women) could read and write."¹

¹ For the evidence, see his *Social Life among the Babylonians*, 41-43. "The ancient civilized East was almost as full of literary activity as is the

The literary class studied the "dead" Accadian language, as we study Latin, and the whole diplomatic and trading classes were obliged to know the languages spoken in Syria in that day. The libraries contained dictionaries and grammars of these languages, and also many translations of their books, in columns parallel with the originals. Scribes were constantly employed in copying and editing ancient texts, and they seem to have been very careful in their work: when they could not make out a word in an ancient copy, they tell us so and leave the space blank.

39. Science.—This literature shows remarkable progress in science. In *Geometry* the Chaldeans made as much advance as the Egyptians; in *Arithmetic* more. Their notation combined the decimal and duodecimal systems. Sixty was a favorite unit, because it is divisible by both ten and twelve: it was used as the hundred is by us.

Scientific *Medicine*, it is true, was hindered by a belief in charms and magic; and even *Astronomy* was studied largely as a means of fortune-telling by the stars.¹ Still, important progress was made in both these studies. As in Egypt, the level plains and clear skies invited to an early study of the heavenly bodies. The Chaldeans foretold eclipses, made star maps, and marked out on the heavens the apparent yearly path of the sun. The "signs of the zodiac" in our almanacs commemorate these early astronomers. Every great city had its lofty observatory and its royal astronomer; and in Babylon, in 331 B.C., Alexander the Great found an unbroken series of observations running back nineteen hundred years. As we get from the Egyptians our year and months, so from the Chaldeans we get the week (with its "day of rest for the soul," as they called the seventh day) and the division

world of to-day," adds the same eminent scholar, in rather an extreme statement. *Ib.* 43.

¹ In Europe through the Middle Ages an astrologer was known as a Chaldean. Some of our boyish forms for "counting out"—"eeny, meeny, meyny, moe," etc.—are remarkably like the solemn forms of divination used by Chaldean magicians.



ASSYRIAN "BOOK."—An octagon Assyrian brick, now in the British Museum; after Sayce. This representation is about one third the real size.

of day and night into twelve hours each, with the subdivision into minutes. They also invented the water clock and the sundial.

40. The Industrial Arts and Applied Science.—More than the other ancient peoples, the men of the Euphrates made practical



AN ASSYRIAN DOG. — Relief on a clay tablet; after Rawlinson.

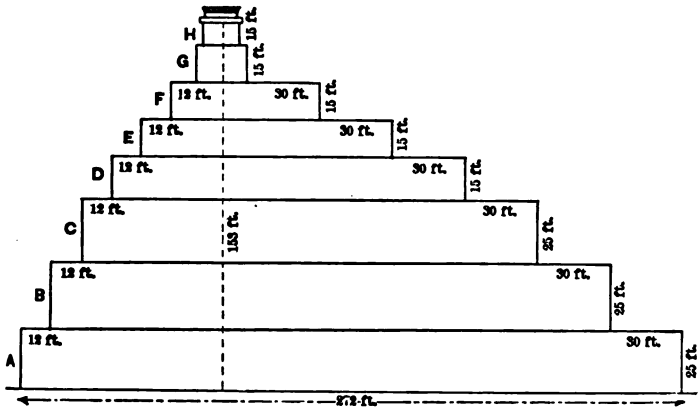
use of their science. They understood the lever and pulley, and used the arch in making vaulted drains and aqueducts. They invented the potter's wheel and an excellent system of weights and measures. Their books upon agriculture passed on their knowledge of that subject to the later Greeks and Arabs. They had surpassing skill in cutting gems, and in

enameling and inlaying; and their looms produced the finest of muslins and of fleecy woolens, to which the dyer gave the most brilliant colors. In many such industries little advance has been made since, so far as the products are concerned.

41. Architecture and Sculpture.—The southern part of the Euphrates valley was destitute of building stone; but, with only sun-dried bricks, the Babylonians constructed marvelous tower-temples and elevated gardens, in imitation of mountain scenery. These "Hanging Gardens" were built, one terrace upon another, to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, and they were counted by the Greeks among the "seven wonders of the world."

In architecture and sculpture, however, Assyria, the land of stone, excelled Babylonia, the land of brick. The almost unlimited power of the monarchs, and their Oriental passion for splendor and color, produced a sumptuous magnificence which the more self-restrained modern world never equals.

The following description of a palace of ancient Nineveh is taken from Dr. J. K. Hosmer's *The Jews*. The passage is partly condensed.



SECTION OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SEVEN SPHERES AT BORSIPPA, according to a "restoration."— From Rawlinson.

H is a sacred shrine. The seven stages below it were colored in order from the bottom as follows: black, orange, red, golden, yellow, blue, silver.

"Upon a huge, wide-spreading, artificial hill, faced with masonry, for a platform, rose cliff-like fortress walls a hundred feet more, wide enough for three chariots abreast and with frequent towers shooting up to a still loftier height. Sculptured portals, by which stood silent guardians, colossal figures in white alabaster, the forms of men and beasts, winged and of majestic mien, admitted to the magnificence within. . . . Upward, tier above tier, into the blue heavens, ran lines of colonnades, pillars of costly cedar, cornices glittering with gold, capitals blazing with vermilion, and between them voluminous curtains of silk, purple, and scarlet, interwoven with threads of gold. . . . In the interior, stretching for miles, literally for miles, the builder of the palace ranged the illustrated record of his exploits. The inscriptions were deeply cut in the cuneiform character; and parallel with them, in scarlet and green, gold and silver, ran the representation of the scenes themselves. . . . The mind grows dizzy with the thought of the splendor—the processions of satraps and eunuchs and tributary kings, winding up the stairs, and passing in a radiant stream through the halls—the gold and embroidery, the ivory and the sumptuous furniture, the pearls and the hangings."

42. The King. — The Assyrian king is a good type of the Oriental despot. His person was surrounded with everything that could awe and charm the masses. Extraordinary magnificence and splendor removed him from the vulgar crowd. He gave audience, seated on a golden throne covered with a purple canopy which was supported by pillars glittering with



COLOSSAL MAN-BEAST IN ALABASTER, FROM THE PALACE OF SARGON (NOW IN THE LOUVRE).

precious stones. All who came into his presence prostrated themselves in the dust until bidden to rise. His rule was absolute; but of course he worked through a large body of trusted and privileged officials.

43. Social Classes and Relations. — At the bottom of society there was a hopeless mass of peasantry. Above them was a prosperous body of merchants, professional men, and officials. The noble aristocracy of Egypt had no counterpart in Chaldea.

Wealth counted for more than in Egypt, and birth for less. The merchant in particular was a prominent figure. Even the extensive wars of Assyria, cruel as they were, were no doubt mainly commercial in purpose,—to secure the trade of Syria and Phoenicia, and to ruin in those lands the trade centers that were competing with Nineveh.



A LION HUNT.—Assyrian relief; from Rawlinson.

44. Legal Codes: "Commercial Law."—In 1902 A.D. a French exploring expedition in the East found a curious and valuable set of Chaldean inscriptions containing a collection of 280 laws.¹ This "code" was enacted about 2250 B.C. by Hammurabi, king of Babylon. It is the oldest legal code known, and it throws much light upon Babylonian society. It tried to guard against bribery of officials and of judges, against careless or ignorant medical practice, against incompetent or dishonest building contractors (see § 46 *b*). Such provisions show that civilization had advanced far enough for men to have many complex relations with one another.

Even at the early date of this code, rights of property were carefully guarded, and at a later time "commercial law" became well developed. Deeds, wills, marriage settlements, legal contracts of all kinds, of which tens of thousands still survive, witness to the careful attention paid to business

¹ *The Century*, for July, 1903, contains an interesting account of this "find," entitled "Who was Hammurabi?"

arrangements. The numerous signatures of witnesses, in a variety of "hand writings," testify also to a widespread ability to write the difficult cuneiform text. From these contracts we learn that a woman could control property and carry on business independently of her husband.



ASSYRIAN CONTRACT TABLET IN DUPLICATE. — The outer tablet is broken and shows part of the inner original, which could always be consulted if the outside was thought to have been tampered with.

45. Religion and Morality. — The worship of the dead has left plain traces. Each tomb had an altar at the head for offerings of food; with a man were buried his arms; with a girl, her scent bottles, combs, ornaments, and cosmetics. Mingled with this worship, as in Egypt, was a nature worship, with numerous gods and demigods.

Ancestor worship is usually accompanied by a belief in witchcraft and in unfriendly ghosts and demons. In Chaldea these superstitions appeared in an exaggerated form. Indeed, the pictures in early Christian times, representing the devil with horns, hoofs, and tail, came from the Babylonians, through the Jewish Talmud.¹ Nature worship, too, in its lower stages, is often accompanied by debasing rites, in which drunkenness and sensuality appear as acts of religious worship. In

¹ The Talmud is a Hebrew book containing much of the Hebrew learning and many legends.

Babylonia revolting features of this kind remained throughout her history.

At the same time, as with the Egyptian higher classes, some hymns and prayers rise to a pure worship of one god; and the Assyrian felt strongly that sense of sin which the Egyptian lacked and which has played so great a part in the Jewish and Christian religions (§ 47 *a*). Moreover, along with the early belief in a shadowy existence of the ghost in the tomb, there was another conception of a future life: some were to suffer in a hell of tortures and pains; others, who knew how to secure the divine favor, were to dwell amid varied pleasures in distant Isles of the Blest.

In character the Babylonians were gentle and pleasure-loving. The warlike Assyrians delighted in cruelty, and their kings brag incessantly of torturing, flaying, and impaling great numbers of prisoners (§ 47 *b*).

IV. ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS.

46. For the Early Chaldean Empire.

a. From a Chaldean Hymn, composed in the city of Ur, before the time of Abraham.

“Father, long suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind! . . .

First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none who may fathom it! . . .

In heaven, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!

On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!

As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their faces.

As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below kiss the ground.”

b. From the “Code of Hammurabi” (§ 44).

“§ 3. If a man, in a case, utters threats against the witnesses, or does not establish the testimony that he has given, if that case be a case involving life, that man shall be put to death.

“§ 4. If a man offers [as a bribe] grain or money to the witnesses, he shall himself bear the sentence passed in that case.

“§ 42. If a man rents a field for cultivation [on shares] and does not produce any grain in the field, and does not perform the work required on the field, . . . he shall give to the owner of the field grain on the basis of the adjacent fields.

“§ 53. If a man neglects to strengthen his dike, . . . and a break is made in his dike and the water carries away the farm land, the man in whose dike the break has been made shall restore the grain which he has damaged.

“§ 229. If a builder builds a house for a man and does not make its construction firm, and the house which he has built collapses and causes death, that builder shall be put to death.

“§ 233. If a builder builds a house for a man and does not make its construction meet the requirements, and a wall falls in, that builder shall strengthen that wall at his own expense.”

47. For the Assyrian Empire.

a. *From an Assyrian Prayer for Remission of Sins.*

“O my god, my sins are many! . . . O my goddess, . . . great are my misdeeds! I have committed faults and I knew them not. I have fed upon misdeeds and I knew them not. . . . I weep and no one comes to me; I cry aloud and no one hears me; . . . I sink under affliction. I turn to my merciful god and I groan, Lord, reject not thy servant, — and if he is hurled into the roaring waters, stretch to him thy hand! The sins I have committed, have mercy upon them! my faults, tear them to pieces like a garment!”

b. *From Inscriptions of Assur-Natsir-Pal, about 850 B.C., illustrating Assyrian cruelty in war. (The inscriptions in full are given in *Records of the Past*, II.)*

“They did not embrace my feet. With combat and with slaughter I attacked the city and captured it; three thousand of their fighting men I slew with the sword. Their spoil, their goods, their oxen, and their sheep I carried away. The numerous captives I burned with fire. I captured many of the soldiers alive. I cut off the hands and feet of some; I cut off the noses, the ears, and the fingers of others; the eyes of the numerous soldiers I put out. I built up a pyramid of the living and a pyramid of heads. In the middle of them I suspended their heads on vine stems in the neighborhood of their city. Their young men and their

maidens I burned as a holocaust. The city I overthrew, dug up, and burned with fire. I annihilated it."

Of another city: "The nobles, as many as had revolted, I flayed; with their skins I covered the pyramid. Some of them I immured in the midst of the pyramid; others above the pyramid I impaled on stakes; others round about the pyramid I planted on stakes."

48. For the Later Babylonian Empire.

A Prayer of Nebuchadnezzar. — "Let me love thy supreme lordship; let the fear of thy divinity exist in my heart; and give me what seemest good unto thee, since thou maintainest my life."

FOR FURTHER READING. — Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*; Sayce, *Ancient Empires of the East*; *Babylonians and Assyrians*; *Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People*; *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*; Rogers, *Babylonia and Assyria*; Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria, Dawn of Civilization, Struggle of the Nations, and Passing of the Empires* (see p. 36); Rawlinson, *Ancient Empires* (readable, but rapidly going out of date).

For source material (translations of inscriptions, etc.), see *Records of the Past*.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL REPORTS. — 1. Assyrian numeration. 2. Babylonian architecture and the size of the city. 3. The Hanging Gardens of Babylon. 4. The siege of Babylon by Cyrus.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIDDLE STATES.

The two Syrian peoples that demand notice in a book of this kind are the Phoenicians and the Hebrews. Each of these was an important factor in the development of civilization.

I. THE PHOENICIANS.

49. The First Men who went down to the Sea in Ships.—The position of Chaldea, at the head of the Persian Gulf, was advantageous for commerce; and Babylonia, in early times, had been a mart of exchange between Syria and India. But long before the year 1000 B.C. these early traders had been so far surpassed by the people of Phoenicia that we think of that country as the first land of commerce.

The Phoenicians dwelt on a little strip of broken coast, shut off from the continent by the Lebanon Mountains. The many harbors of their coast invited them seaward, and the "cedar of Lebanon" furnished the best of masts and ship timber. When history first reveals the Mediterranean, about 1600 B.C., it is dotted with the adventurous sails of the Phoenician navigators, and for centuries more they are the only real sailor folk. Half traders, half pirates, their crews crept from island to island, to barter with the natives or to sweep them off for slaves, as chance might best offer.

Farther and farther the Phoenician merchants daringly sought wealth on the sea, until they passed even the Pillars of Hercules,¹ into the open Atlantic, and until at last we see them

¹ The Greeks gave this name to two lofty rocky hills, one on each side of the Strait of Gibraltar. They were generally believed by the ancients to be the limit of even the most daring voyage. Beyond them lay inconceivable dangers.

exchanging the precious tin of Britain, the yellow amber of the Baltic, and the slaves and ivory of West Africa, for the spices, gold, scented wood, and precious stones of India. Their two leading cities were Tyre and Sidon. For many centuries before the attacks by Assyria in the eighth century B.C., these cities were among the most splendid and wealthy in the world.

Ezekiel (xxvi, xxvii) describes the grandeur of Tyre in noble poetry that teaches us much regarding Phoenician trade and life: "O thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea, which art the merchant of the peoples unto many isles, . . . thou, O Tyre, hast said, I am perfect in beauty. Thy borders are in the heart of the seas; thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir trees. . . . They have taken cedars from Lebanon to be masts for thee; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood from the isles of Kittim [Kition in Cyprus]. Of fine linen with brodered work from Egypt was thy sail, . . . blue and purple from the isles of Elishah [North Africa] was thy awning. . . . All the ships of the sea were in thee to exchange thy merchandise. . . . Tarshish [Tartessus, southwestern Spain] was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches. With silver, iron, tin, and lead they traded for thy wares. Javan [Greek Ionia], Tubal, and Mesheck [the lands of the Black and Caspian seas], they were thy traffickers. . . . They of the house of Togarmah [Armenia] traded for thy wares with horses and mules. . . . The men of Dedan were thy traffickers. Many isles were the mart of thy hands. They brought thee bones of ivory and of ebony."¹

50. The Office of the Phoenicians: to spread Civilization and to invent the Alphabet.—The Phoenicians were the first colonizers—the forerunners of the Greeks and English. They fringed the larger islands and the shores of the Mediterranean with trading stations, which became centers of civilization. Carthage, Utica, Gades (Cadiz, on the Atlantic), were among their colonies. They worked tin mines in Colchis, in Spain, and finally in Britain, and so made possible the manufacture of bronze on a large scale, to replace stone implements. They

¹ Ezekiel names also, among the articles of exchange, emeralds, coral, rubies, wheat, honey, oil, balm, wine, wool, yarn, spices, lambs, and goats.

supplied Chaldea and Egypt with bronze, and probably they first introduced this material into many parts of Europe.

Phoenician articles are found in great abundance in the ancient tombs of the Greek and Italian peninsulas — the earliest European homes of civilization. In a selfish but effective way, the Phoenicians became the “missionaries” to Europe of the culture that Asia and Africa had developed. It was their function in history not to create civilization, but to spread it. Especially did they teach the Greeks, who were to teach the rest of Europe.

Phoenician.	Old Greek.	Roman.
𐤀	A	A
𐤁	B	B
𐤂	C	CC
𐤃	DD	D
𐤄	E	E
𐤅	EH	H
𐤆	K	K
𐤇	L	LL
𐤈	M	M
𐤉	N	N
𐤊	O	O
𐤋	Q	QQ
𐤌	PR	R
𐤍	SS	SS
𐤎	T	T

PARTS OF ALPHABETS.

The chief export of the Phoenicians, some one has said, was the alphabet. This they themselves invented. When the Egyptians conquered Syria about 1500 B.C. (§ 21 c), the Phoenicians were using the Babylonian cuneiform script, with its hundreds of difficult characters. It was natural that, for the needs of their commerce, they should seek a simpler means of communication: and about 1100 B.C., after a gap of some centuries in our knowledge of their writing, we find them with a true alphabet of twenty-two letters. They seem to have taken these from

-  Egyptian Hieroglyphic.
-  Egyptian Hieratic.
-  Phoenician.
-  Ancient Greek.
-  Ancient Latin.
-  Later Latin.

the symbols of sounds among the Egyptian hieroglyphics (§ 16).

From this first alphabet all the other true alphabets in the world have been borrowed — Persian, Hindoo, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

GROWTH OF THE LETTER A.

51. Political and Social Conditions. — The Phoenicians in themselves do not interest us particularly. They spoke a Semitic¹ tongue, and were, perhaps, allied to the Jews; but

¹ See § 36, note.

their religion was revolting, especially for the cruel sacrifice of the firstborn to Baal, the sun god.

Their loose confederacies of cities were grouped about Sidon or Tyre as leaders, but they never formed a united state. Satisfied with the profits of trade, they submitted easily, as a rule, to any powerful neighbor — Assyria or Egypt. As tributaries, they sent workmen to construct the magnificent buildings of Assyria or to develop the mines of Egypt, and they furnished the fleets of either empire in turn.

About 730 B.C. Tyre was reduced in power, by attacks from Assyria; but it remained a great mercantile center until its capture by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.). From this downfall the proud city never recovered, and fishermen now spread their nets to dry in the sun on the bare rock that formed its site.

II. THE HEBREWS.

A. POLITICAL HISTORY.

52. Men of the Desert: the Age of the Patriarchs.—The Hebrews appeared first as wandering shepherds on the edge of the Arabian desert. Abraham, the founder of the race, is said to have emigrated from Ur, in Chaldea, about 2000 B.C. Abraham and Jacob, and other patriarchal chiefs of that time and place, probably lived and ruled much as Arab sheiks do in the same regions to-day.

This life was not much changed at first, when the Hebrews (under Jacob and his son Joseph, in a time of famine) entered Egypt and settled in the fertile pasturage of Goshen, near the Red Sea, where fitting Arab tribes have always been wont to encamp. The incursion took place while Egypt was ruled by the Hyksos. But when the native Egyptian rule was restored (§ 21 c) by the Theban kings, "who knew not Joseph," the Hebrews were reduced to slavery. Three centuries later, taking advantage perhaps of the disorders in Egypt (§ 21 d), they escaped to the neighboring desert.

53. Settlement in Canaan, and the Period of the Judges. — In their flight from Egypt, the Hebrews were guided by Moses, who was already “learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,” and who became a great lawgiver and the organizer of the Hebrew state. The race was now a numerous people and had become accustomed to fixed abodes. About 1300 B.C., under their leader Joshua, they began to conquer Palestine for their home. Then followed two centuries of bloody warfare with their neighbors, some of whom had reached a much higher material¹ civilization than these wandering invaders.

During this period the Hebrews remained a loose alliance of shepherd tribes. Such central authority as existed was represented by a series of popular heroes, like Samson, Jephthah, Gideon, and Samuel, known as Judges. Much of the time there was great and ruinous disorder, and bands of robbers drove travelers from the highways.

54. The Kings and Prophets. — Such conditions made men feel the need of more effective union. About 1100 B.C. a strong central government was set up, in the form of a monarchy, which soon became hereditary. Alongside the kings, however, stood religious teachers, known as prophets. The prophets had no official station, but they were real rulers, and they did not hesitate to rebuke or to oppose a sovereign.

The second and third kings, David and Solomon (1055–975 B.C.), raised the state to the position of a considerable empire. The way had just been cleared. The Hittites (§ 21) had ruined the Egyptian power in Syria, and then in turn had been shattered by Tiglath-Pileser, while the Assyrian power itself, in some way that we do not understand, had been checked in its career.

55. Division and Decline. — The union of the Hebrews, however, did not become thorough; and, on the death of Solomon, ten of the twelve tribes rebelled against heavy taxation and set up for themselves. They formed the kingdom of Israel.

¹ For this phrase, see § 1, note.

The remnant, of two tribes, became known as the kingdom of Judah.

The first of these two kingdoms lasted 250 years, until Sargon carried the Israelites into that Assyrian captivity in which they are "lost" to history (§ 34). Judah lasted four centuries after the separation, most of the time tributary to Assyria or to Babylon. Finally, in punishment for rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar carried away the people into the Babylonian captivity (§ 35).

56. The Priestly Rule.— This event closed the separate political history of the Jews. The more zealous of them were allowed to return to Judea (§ 62), when the Persians conquered Babylon (§§ 35, 60). Thereafter in internal matters Judea was ruled

by its priesthood; but politically it formed only a subject province of the Persian, Greek, or Roman Empire. A series of stubborn rebellions against Rome finally brought a terrible punishment, in the year 70 A.D. After a notable siege, Jerusalem was sacked, and the remnant of inhabitants were sold into slavery. They remain dispersed among all lands to this day.



SYRIA.

B. THE MISSION OF THE JEWS.

57. The Faith in One God.— The Hebrews added nothing to material civilization: they did not profit the world by build-

ing roads, perfecting trades, or inventing new mechanical processes. Nor did they contribute directly to art or literature. Their work was higher. Their true history is a record of the spiritual growth of a people. Their religion was infinitely purer and truer than any other of the ancient world; and out of it was to grow the still higher religion of Christianity.

Among other ancient nations *individuals* had risen at times to noble religious thought; but the Hebrews first *as a whole people* felt strenuously the obligation of the moral law, and first attained to a pure worship of one God.

“If the Greek was to enlighten the world, if the Roman was to rule the world, if the Teuton was to be the common disciple and emissary of both, it was from the Hebrew that all were to learn the things that belong to another world.” — FREEMAN, *Chief Periods*, 66.

58. Extension of the Faith. — At first this firm faith seems to have belonged to only a few — to the patriarchs and later to the prophets, with a small following of the more spiritually minded of the nation. For a thousand years the common people were constantly tending to fall away into the superstitions of their Syrian neighbors. But it is the supreme merit of the Hebrews that a remnant always clung to their higher religion, until it became the universal faith of a whole people.

No doubt the Babylonian captivity helped make this faith universal. The few devoted men and women who found their way back to Judea through so many hardships were indeed a “chosen” and sifted people. Among them there was no more tendency to idolatry. The faith of the patriarchs and prophets became the soul of a nation, — as a later and higher development of that faith was to become the soul of our whole civilization.

This, then, was the mission of the Hebrews. As Renan well says (*History of Israel*, I, 22): “What Greece was to be as regards intellectual culture, and Rome as regards politics, these nomad Semites were as regards religion.” The Jews, therefore,

are sometimes counted a fourth influence, with Greeks, Romans, and Teutons, in making our world (§ 3). But, after all, Judaism was an exclusive religion. It was not suited to make converts among other peoples; and so it could not *directly* affect the great world outside Judea. Thus the rise and spread of Christianity belong, not solely to Jewish influence, but quite as much to the history of the later Roman world.

CHAPTER V.

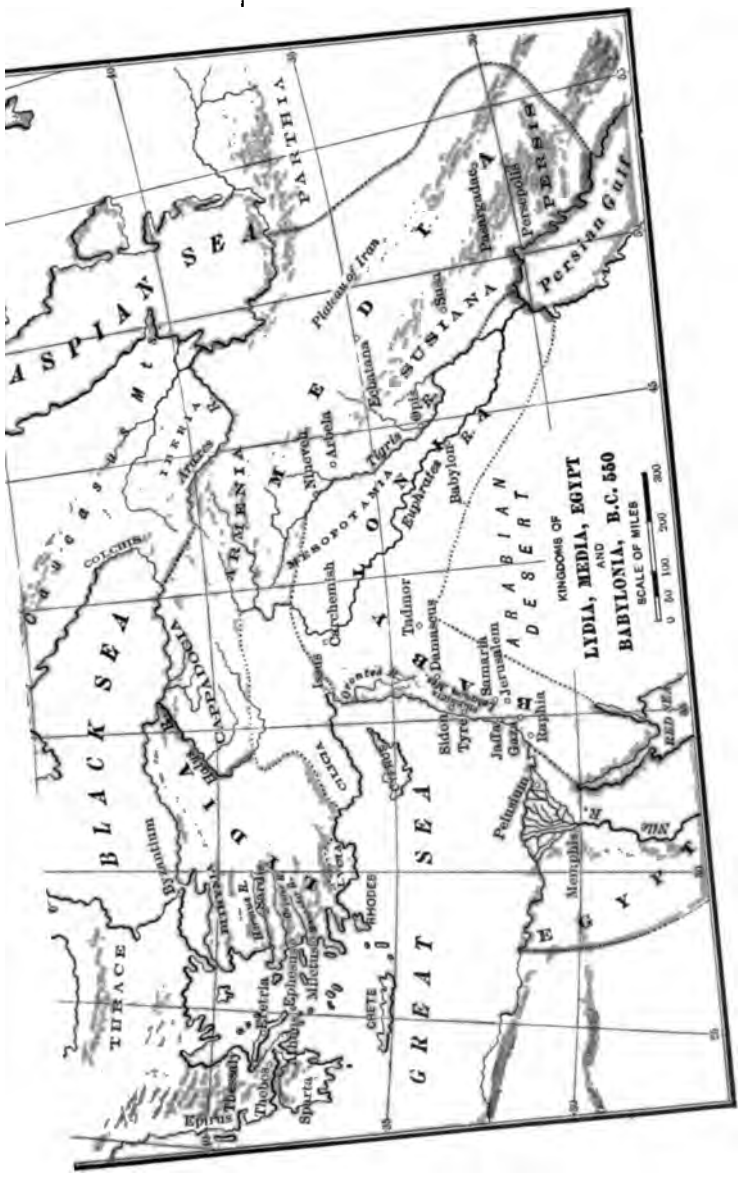
THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.¹

59. **The Map grows.** — So far, we have had to do only with the first homes of civilization — the Nile and Euphrates valleys — and with the middle land, Syria. But shortly before the overthrow of Babylon, two new centers of power appeared, one on either side of the older field. These were Persia and Lydia.

a. *Lydia* calls for only brief mention. It was a kingdom in western Asia Minor. Somewhat before 550 B.C. its sovereign, *Croesus*, united all Asia Minor west of the Halys River under his sway. This made the Lydian Empire for a brief time one of the great world-powers. The region was rich, especially in metals; and the wealth of the monarch so impressed the Greeks that "rich as Croesus" became a byword. Croesus counted among his subjects the Greek cities that fringed the western coast of Asia Minor; and through this connection the Greeks were soon to be brought into conflict with the new Persian Empire (§ 60).

b. On the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris lay the lofty and somewhat arid Plateau of Iran. This was the home of the *Medes and Persians*. These peoples appeared first about 850 B.C., as fierce barbarians, whom Assyria found it needful to subdue repeatedly. Gradually they adopted the civilization of their neighbors; then, about 625 B.C., a chieftain of the Medes united the tribes of the plateau into a firm monarchy; and in 606 this new power, aided by *Babylonia*, conquered Assyria (§ 34).

¹ The preceding chapter, with its treatment of minor Syrian states, was a necessary interruption in the story of political development. We now return to that subject where we left it in Chapter III, at the fall of Babylon.





60. Rise and Extent of the Persian Empire.— For nearly fifty years after the destruction of Assyria the Oriental world rested at peace, in a friendly alliance between the four great powers, Babylon, Egypt, Lydia, and Media. Media became one of the great states of the world, and its territory included the Plateau of Iran and the northern portion of the old Assyrian Empire. Then, in 558 B.C., *Cyrus*, a tributary Persian prince, rebelled against the Medes and set up an independent Persian state, over which he ruled thirty years (558–529 B.C.), winning in history the title of *Cyrus the Great*.

Persia quickly became the largest and most powerful empire the world had known. The war with Media resulted in the rapid conquest of that state. This victory led *Cyrus* into war with the allies of Media. The Persians were overwhelmingly victorious. *Cyrus* captured Babylon, and so was left without a rival in the Euphrates and Syrian districts. Then he conquered *Croesus* of Lydia and seized upon all Asia Minor. A few years later his son subdued Egypt. Thus the new empire included all the old historic states, together with the new districts of Iran and Asia Minor.

The field of history was now to widen again. The next three Persian kings added vast districts to the empire: on the north, Armenia; on the east, Afghanistan and northwestern India;¹ and on the west the European coast from the Black Sea to the Greek peninsula. The eastern and western frontiers were farther apart than Washington and San Francisco, and the territory, of some two million square miles, was four times as large as the greatest Assyrian Empire, and equaled more than half modern Europe.

This vast empire was bounded on the south by seas and burning deserts; on the north by barren steppes, from which it was separated by the Danube, the Black and Caspian seas, the Caucasus, and the Jaxartes River; on the east by the desert of Thibet and the Indus; and on the west by the

¹ The rich Punjab district in the valley of the Indus.



“to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth.” To the last the Persians fought gallantly, and the Greeks conquered in battle because of improved weapons and better tactics, not from superior bravery.

The Persians borrowed their art and their material civilization from Babylon. They themselves were soldiers and rulers; and, apart from the influence of their religion, their important services to the world were connected with their political history. These services were of three kinds: (1) an immense expansion of the map; (2) the repulse of the Scythians; (3) a better organization of government. The first of these has been dwelt upon in connection with the rise of the empire; the other two demand separate treatment (§§ 62-64).

62. Persia and the Scythians. — About 630 B.C., shortly before the downfall of Nineveh, the frozen steppes of the north had poured hordes of savages into western Asia (§ 34). By the Greeks these nomads were called Scythians. We do not know who they were; but the inroad seems in some respects like those of the Huns, Turks, and Tartars, in later history. The Scythians plundered as far as Egypt; and they were a real danger to all the culture the world had been building up so painfully for four thousand years. Assyria and Lydia both proved helpless to hold back the invaders; and empire fell rightfully to the Medes and Persians, who could defend civilization against these barbarians. The Medes drove the ruthless ravagers back to their own deserts; and the early Persian kings made repeated expeditions into the Scythian country. By these means the barbarians were awed, and for centuries the danger of their attacks was averted.

Darius, the greatest of the successors of Cyrus, seems to have justified his conquests on the ground of this service to civilization. In a famous inscription enumerating his conquests, he says: “Auramazda [the God of Light] delivered unto me these countries when he saw them in uproar. . . . By the grace of Auramazda I have brought them to order again.”¹

¹ Quoted by Ranke, *Universal History*, 113. The inscription from which this passage is taken is cut into a rock cliff in three parallel columns, in

63. Darius the Organizer: the Imperial Government.—The empires which came before the Persian had very simple machinery for their government. The tributary states kept kings from their old royal families; the peoples kept their separate languages, religions, laws, and customs. Two subject kingdoms might even make war upon each other, without interference from the head king.¹ Indeed, the different kingdoms within an empire remained almost as separate as before they were incorporated in the conquering state, except in three respects: (1) they had to pay tribute; (2) they had to assist in war; and (3) their kings were expected, from time to time, to attend the court of the imperial master.

Plainly, such an empire would fall to pieces easily. If any disaster happened to the ruling state, — if a foreign invasion or the unexpected death of a sovereign occurred, — the whole fabric might be shattered at a moment. Each of the original kingdoms would become independent again; and then would follow years of bloody war, until some king restored an imperial structure. Tranquillity and security could not exist under such a system.

Assyria, it is true, had begun to reform this system. The great Assyrian rulers of the eighth century were not simply conquerors. They were also organizers. They left the subject peoples their own laws and customs, as before; but they broke up some of the old kingdoms into *satrapies*, or provinces, ruled by appointed officers.

The system, however, was still unsatisfactory. In theory the governors, or satraps, were wholly dependent upon the will of the imperial king; but in practice they were very nearly kings themselves, and they were under constant temptation to try to become absolutely independent, by rebellion.

different languages, — Persian, Median, and Assyrian. It served as the "Rosetta Stone" of the cuneiform writing (§ 4). Enough of the Persian was known so that from it scholars learned how to read the others.

¹ The brief empire of the Jews was of this nature. Solomon, the Book of Kings tells us, "reigned over *all the kingdoms* . . . unto the border of Egypt; they brought presents and served Solomon."

This then was the plan of government as the Persians found it. They adopted and extended the system of satraps; and *Darius I*, the fourth Persian king (521–485 B.C.), introduced three checks upon rebellion. (1) In each of the twenty provinces, power was divided between the satrap himself and the commander of the standing army. (2) In each province was placed a royal secretary (the “King’s Ear”) to communicate constantly with the Great King. (3) Most important of all, a special royal commissioner (the “King’s Eye”), backed with military forces, appeared at intervals in each satrapy to inquire into the government, and, if necessary, to arrest the satrap.

Political organization in Asia advanced no further until Roman times. Not much had been done to promote a *spirit of unity* among the diverse peoples of the empire. Each still kept its separate language and customs. Still, for the age, the organization of Darius was a marvelous work. It is the most satisfactory ever yet devised by Orientals; and indeed it was nearer to the later Roman imperial government than to the older and looser Asiatic system of kingdom-empires.

64. Post Roads. — To draw the distant parts of the empire closer, Darius also built a magnificent system of post roads, with milestones and excellent inns, with ferries and bridges, and with relays of horses for the royal couriers. The chief road, from Susa to Sardis, was over fifteen hundred miles long; but it is said that dispatches were sometimes carried its whole length in six days, although ordinary travel required three months. Benjamin Ide Wheeler writes of this great highway (*Alexander the Great*, 196–197):—

“All the diverse life of the countries it traversed was drawn into its paths. Carians and Cilicians, Phrygians and Cappadocians, staid Lydians, sociable Greeks, crafty Armenians, rude traders from the Euxine shores, nabobs of Babylon, Medes and Persians, galloping couriers mounted on their Bokhara ponies or fine Arab steeds, envoys with train and state, peasants driving their donkeys laden with skins of oil or wine or sacks of grain, stately caravans bearing the wares and

fabrics of the south to exchange for the metals, slaves, and grain of the north, travelers and traders seeking to know and exploit the world,—all were there, and all were safe under the protection of an empire the roadway of which pierced the strata of many tribes and many cultures, and helped set the world a-mixing.”

FOR FURTHER READING.—The best short reference on Persia is Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*, 187–207.

SPECIAL REPORTS.—1. Zoroaster and his teachings (James Freeman Clarke, *Ten Great Religions*; Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*). 2. Persian architecture (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, III). 3. The campaigns of Cambyses in Egypt. 4. The accession of Darius. 5. Anecdotes from Herodotus regarding Persian kings, and the historical value of the stories.

CHAPTER VI.

A SUMMARY OF ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION.

This chapter is better suited for reading in class than for recitation

65. The Bright Side. — Seven thousand years ago the Nile and Euphrates valleys developed a high civilization: men learned to practise many arts and crafts, to build roads and canals, and, with ships and caravans, to seek out the treasures of distant regions, while the wealth, so heaped up, was spent by the rulers with gorgeous pomp and splendor.

War and trade carried this culture slowly around the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean; and before 1500 B.C. Phoenician traders had scattered its seeds widely in many regions. A thousand years later, Persia saved the slow gains of the ages from barbarian ravagers, and united and organized the civilized East under an effective system of government.

66. The Dark Side. — All this Oriental culture, however, was marred by serious faults. Its governments were despotic. Its art was unnatural, mingling the monstrous with the human. Its thought was extravagant and superstitious. Most religions continued to foster lust and cruelty.

Among the Hebrews, it is true, there had grown up a pure worship whose truth and grandeur were to influence profoundly the later world; but for centuries to come it was to be the possession of one small people. At best, the benefits of Oriental civilization were for the few. And, as a whole, that civilization seemed in danger of stagnation.

67. The Question of Further Progress. — Whether the Oriental world would have made further progress, if left to itself, we cannot know surely. It seems not likely. Twice as long a time had already passed, after the appearance of this civi-

zation, as has sufficed for all our Western growth. The relatively slow progress of the East in that long period, together with the stationary history of China and India for many centuries since, makes it probable that this imperfect civilization would have crystallized, had not new actors appeared. To these new actors and their new stage we now turn.

SUGGESTIONS FOR REVIEW OF PART I.

Let the class prepare review questions, each member five or ten, to ask of the others. Criticise the questions, showing which ones help to bring out important facts and contrasts and likenesses, and which are merely trivial or curious. Use the syllabus in the table of contents, so as to get clear the plan of this part of the book. It is not worth while to hold students responsible for dates in Part I, unless, perhaps, for a few of the later ones, or for many names. Make lists of important names or terms for rapid drill, demanding brief but clear explanation of each term.

Sample questions: (1) Why is Chaldea (whose civilization has been overthrown) better worth our study than China (where an ancient civilization still exists)? (2) In what do the Egyptians appear to have excelled the Chaldeans? (3) In what do the Chaldeans seem to have excelled the Egyptians? (4) Trace the steps of growth of the map (for civilized countries).

Caution: Make sure that the terms "empire," "state," "tributary state," "material civilization," have a definite meaning for the student (see footnotes in the text above).

It does not seem advisable to recommend young high school students to read widely upon the Oriental peoples other than the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians.



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PART II.

THE GREEKS.

Greece — that point of light in history! — HEGEL.

We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece. — SHELLEY.

Except the blind forces of nature, there is nothing that MOVES in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin. — HENRY SUMNER MAINE.

MAP STUDIES.

Note the three great divisions: *Northern Greece* (Epirus and Thessaly); *Central Greece* (a group of eleven districts, to the isthmus of Corinth); and the *Peloponnesus* (the southern peninsula). Name the districts from Phocis south, and the chief cities in each, as shown on the map. Which divisions have no coast? Locate Delphi, Thermopylae, Tempe, Parnassus, Olympus, Olympia, Salamis, Ithaca, eight islands, three cities on the Asiatic side. Draw the map with the amount of detail just indicated.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

Like the final chapter of Part I, this short chapter deals with difficult ideas, and it should at least be looked over in class with open books before any attempt is made at preparing it for recitation. The teacher can add illustration, explanation, and detail that cannot go into the text without breaking up the unity of thought.

I. THE EUROPEAN AND THE ASIATIC TYPE.

68. *Distinctions in Culture.* — Asia and Egypt had developed the first civilizations; but later an independent and more important culture began to rise in southern Europe. This European civilization drew from the Orient in many ways, but it

always kept a character of its own. Four distinctions between the Asiatic and the European civilizations must be noticed.

a. The great civilizations of the East differed from each other, it is true, in certain minor ways; but, after all, they had much the same type of government and of society. There was no such variety among them as there was to be among the later European nations. The many Greek states, which we are next to study, differed widely one from the other. In some the governments were monarchies; in some, oligarchies; in some, democracies.¹ In some the chief industry was trade; in some it was agriculture. In some the people were enterprising; in some they were slow and conservative.

What was true of Greece in all these respects has been true also in large measure of Europe as a whole. That is, European civilization has been marked by *diversity*, as opposed to Oriental *uniformity*.

b. Oriental sculpture was huge and unnatural. Oriental architecture sought to rouse admiration by size rather than by beauty and proportion. Oriental legends luxuriated in wild and extravagant fancies, like the story of a king who lived many thousand years before his first gray hair appeared. With the Greeks and other European peoples art, architecture, and legend showed a *self-control* and a *moderation* in strong contrast with Oriental *license* and *extravagance*.

c. The Oriental empires were absolute despotisms. The subjects—even the greatest nobles—worshipped the monarch with a slavish submission. In Europe, even in the monarchies, the rulers were less absolute, and the people were freer.

d. A like difference existed in the manner of thinking. Orientals bowed without question before the most absurd and

¹ A monarchy, in the first meaning of the word, is a state ruled by one man, a "monarch." An oligarchy is a state ruled by a "few," or by a small class. A democracy is a state where the whole people govern. In ancient history the words are used with these meanings. Sometimes "aristocracy" is used with much the same force as "oligarchy." In modern times the word "monarchy" is used sometimes of a government like England, which is monarchic only in form but which really is a democracy.

evil superstitions. The Greeks were ready to inquire freely into the mysteries of the world about them.

To sum up: the marks of Oriental civilization were *uniformity, extravagance, despotism, submissive thought*; the corresponding marks of European civilization were to be *diversity, moderation, freedom, and originality*. These new elements were seen first among the Greeks.

69. Physical Differences between Europe and Asia.—The contrast between Europe and Asia in civilization grew in part out of physical differences. Four peculiarities of European geography must be noted.

a. Europe is a peninsula. The sea is easy of access.

b. Europe has a more temperate climate than the semi-tropical river valleys of Asia, and food crops demand more cultivation. These conditions called for greater exertion upon the part of man. Moreover, the products of Europe were more varied; and this led to greater variety in human occupations. The beginnings of civilization were slower in Europe; but man was finally to count for more there than in Asia, while nature was to be less all-sufficient and overpowering.

c. In contrast with the great Asiatic plains and valleys, Europe is broken into many small units. These were fitted to become the homes of distinct peoples. Thus many different civilizations grew up close together, but they were defended by nature against being absolutely absorbed one in another. These civilizations have been mutually helpful by their rivalry and intercourse.

d. Europe could not be easily conquered by the civilizations of Asia. This consideration was highly important. Some districts of Asia, such as western Syria and parts of Asia Minor, had a physical character like that of Europe. Accordingly in these places there began civilizations marked by the "European" characteristics of diversity and freedom. But these states were too easily reached by the forces of the earlier and mightier river-empires; and in the end the "Asiatic character"

was always imposed upon them. Europe was saved by its distance and by the Mediterranean.¹

II. GREECE TYPICAL OF EUROPE.

70. "The Most European of European Lands."—The Greeks called themselves Hellenes. Hellas, or Greece, meant not European Greece alone, but all the lands of the Hellenes. It included the Greek peninsula of Europe, together with the shores and islands of the Aegean; and Greek colonies, to the east on the Black Sea, and to the west in Sicily and southern Italy, besides scattered patches elsewhere along the Mediterranean (map, following page 98).

Still, the central peninsula remained the heart of Hellas. Omitting Epirus and Thessaly, which were not properly Greek, its area is less than a quarter that of the state of New York. In this little district are found all the characteristic traits of European geography (§ 69). It has been well called the "*most European of European lands,*" and it became the *first home of European culture.*

71. Special Geographical Features and their Influence.—Certain factors in Greek geography deserve special mention.

a. The islands and the patches of Greek settlements on distant coasts made *many distinct geographical divisions*; and even the little Greek peninsula counted over twenty such units, each shut off from the others by its strip of sea and its mountain walls. Some of these divisions were about as large as an American township, and the large ones (except Thessaly and Epirus) were only seven or eight times that size.

b. Mountainous tribes, living apart from other societies, are usually rude and conservative; but *from such tendencies Greece was saved by the sea.* The sea made friendly intercourse possible on a large scale and brought Athens as closely into touch

¹ This sea has been a decisive factor in European history in two respects— as a *road* for friendly intercourse and even more as a *barrier* against hostile Asiatic invasion.

with Miletus (in Asia) as with Sparta or Olympia. This value of the sea, too, held good for different parts of "European Greece" itself, which, with less area than Portugal, has a longer coast line than all the Spanish peninsula. The very heart of the land is broken into islands and promontories, so that it is hard to find a spot distant from the coast more than thirty miles. Only two of the geographical divisions failed to touch the sea, and they were notoriously backward and unimportant.

c. *Certain products of the land made trade very desirable, and so incited to travel.* The mountain slopes in some parts, as in Attica, grew wine and oil better than grain. Wine and oil—much value in little space—were especially suited for commerce; and, with their limited grain supply, if population was to increase, the people in such districts were driven to trade. Now, a nation of sailors and traders is more inclined to change and more likely to make progress than a purely agricultural people. Exchanging commodities, they are ready to exchange ideas also; and thus the seafaring Greeks were "always seeking some new thing."

d. These early seekers *found valuable new things within easy reach.* Fortunately, this most European of all European lands lay nearest of all Europe to the old civilizations of Asia. Moreover, it *faced* this civilized East rather than the barbarous West. On the side toward Italy, the coast of Greece is cliff or marsh, with only three or four good harbors; but on the east, the whole line is broken by many deep bays, from whose mouths, too, chains of inviting islands lead on and on, so that in clear weather the mariner may cross the Aegean without losing sight of land.

e. Very important, too, was the character of the landscape. A great Oriental state spread over vast plains and was bounded by terrible immensities of desolate deserts. Except in Thessaly, Greece contained no plains of consequence; it was a land of marvelously varied sea and mountain, with everything upon a moderate scale. There were no mountains so astound-

ing in height as to terrify the mind; there were no destructive earthquakes or tremendous storms or overwhelming floods. No doubt the variety and moderation of the natural features had some part in producing the versatile genius of the people, their originality, and their lively imagination; while the beauty of intermingled hill and sunlit sea, the exhilarating air, and the soft splendor of the radiant sky helped to make their intense joy in life.

We have noted five geographical features of special importance: (1) the many separate districts; (2) the sea roads; (3) the incitement to trade; (4) the vicinity of the open side to Eastern civilization; and (5) the moderation, diversity, and beauty of nature. These forces had a mighty influence upon Greek civilization.

In their little peninsula the Greeks produced many varieties of society, side by side, to react upon one another. They learned quickly whatever the older civilizations could teach them. They inquired fearlessly into all secrets, natural and supernatural, instead of abasing themselves in Oriental awe. They had no controlling priesthood, as the Egyptians had; and they never submitted long to arbitrary government, as the great Asiatic peoples did. Above all other peoples, they developed a love for harmony and proportion: temperance, or moderation, became their ideal virtue; and the same word stood to them for the *good* and the *beautiful*.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The matters dealt with in this chapter are discussed in the opening pages of all standard histories of Greece. For the geography, see, especially, Curtius, I, 9-25; Abbott, I, 1-23; or Holm, I, 24-30.

In these reference lists, standard works are referred to by authors only (where there is no danger of ambiguity) or by abbreviated titles. Full titles, with dates, prices, and publishers, are given in the classified bibliographies in the Appendix.

CHAPTER II.

PREHISTORIC GREECE—TO 1000 B.C.

I. SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

72. The Homeric Poems.— Writing of any kind came late in Greece, and so our knowledge of early Greek civilization is very imperfect. Until recently, what knowledge we had came mainly from two great collections of early poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The later Greeks believed that these poems had been composed about 1000 or 1100 B.C. by a blind minstrel named Homer. Certainly the poems were handed down orally from generation to generation for some centuries before they were put into manuscript. The *Iliad* describes part of the siege of Troy, or Ilium, by the Greeks, to recover the beautiful Helen, wife of the king of a Greek city, whom a Trojan prince had carried off. The *Odyssey* narrates the wanderings of Odysseus, one of the Greek heroes, in the return from the war.

The war and the heroes may be pure fiction, or possibly the story may be based upon an attempt of the Greeks to punish pirates from Asia; but, in either case, the poet's pictures of society must have truth in them. In rude ages a bard may invent stories, but not manners and customs. Thus these Homeric poems teach us much about what the Greeks of 1100 B.C. thought, and how they lived.¹

73. Remains in the Soil. -- Quite recently another source of information has been opened to us. Students of Greek history

¹ For illustrations of this, see the Exercise on page 93.

strangely neglected the remains buried in the soil, long after the study of such objects in the Orient had disclosed many wonders; but in 1870 Dr. Schliemann, a German scholar, turned to this kind of investigation. He was moved by the hope of proving Homer true. The excavations since 1870 have done this to a great degree, besides adding much to our knowledge of Homer's time. They have also opened up more than a thousand years of older culture, of which Homer and the later Greeks never dreamed. Two incidents in this exploration we will note.

a. *Excavations at Troy.*—In 1870 Dr. Schliemann began excavations at a little village in the Troad three miles from the shore, where tradition had always placed the scene of the *Iliad*. The explorations, which continued more than twenty years, disclosed nine distinct layers of débris. Each layer was the remains of a separate town.

The oldest, on native rock, some fifty feet below the present surface, was a rude village of great age. The second was thought by Dr. Schliemann to be Homer's Troy. It showed powerful walls, a citadel that had been destroyed by fire, and a civilization marked by bronze weapons and gold ornaments. We know now that this city passed away about 2500 B.C.; so that no doubt the very memory of its civilization had perished before the real Troy was built. Above it came the remains of three inferior settlements, and then—the sixth layer from the bottom—a much larger and finer city, which had perished in conflagration some eleven or twelve hundred years before Christ. Extensive explorations in the year 1893 (after Schliemann's death) proved this sixth city to be the Troy of Homer, with remarkable likeness to the description in the *Iliad*.¹

Other discoveries have confirmed Homer in other respects. We need no longer feel that there is even poetic exaggeration

¹ Above this Homeric Troy came an old Greek city, a magnificent city of the time of Alexander the Great, a Roman city, and, finally, the squalid Turkish village of to-day.

in the Homeric pictures of royal palaces (*Odyssey*, vii, 84 ff.) adorned with friezes of glittering blue glass, the walls flashing



THE GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYCENAE.

with bronze and gleaming with plated gold, the heroes and their guests feasting through the night, from gold vessels, in halls lighted by torches held on massive golden statues.

b. Excavations at Mycenae. — Homer places the capital of Agamemnon, leader of all the Greeks, in Argolis at Mycenae, “rich in gold.” Here in 1876, Schliemann uncovered the

remains of a city, much older than Homer, with peculiar, massive ("Cyclopean") walls. Within were found a curious group of tombs, where (to use the brilliant picture of Walter Pater's *Greek Studies*) lay in state the rudely embalmed bodies of ancient kings:—



BRONZE PITCHER FROM
MYCENAE.

"In the splendor of their crowns and breastplates of embossed plate of gold; their swords studded with golden imagery; their faces covered strangely in golden masks. The very floor of one tomb was thick with gold dust—the heavy gilding from some perished kingly vestment; in another was a downfall of golden leaves and flowers; and amid this profusion of fine fragments were rings, bracelets, smaller crowns, as for children,¹ dainty butterflies for ornaments, and that golden flower on a silver stalk—all of pure, soft gold unhardened by alloy, the delicate films of which one

must touch but lightly, yet twisted and beaten, by hand and hammer, into wavy, spiral relief."



BRONZE DAGGER FROM MYCENAE, inlaid with gold.

One tomb, with three female bodies, contained 870 gold objects, besides multitudes of very small ornaments and countless gold beads. In another, five bodies were "literally

¹ Mr. Pater's "as for children" gives a wrong idea. These small ornaments probably were made specially for the dead, and were therefore made small for economy—just as the Chinese now use paper symbols instead of the older real money to bury with their dead. Such use of diminutive imitations is widespread in the funeral customs of early peoples.

smothered in jewels." And, with all this ornament, there were skillfully and curiously wrought weapons for the dead, with whetstones to keep them keen, and graceful vases of marble and alabaster, carved with delicate forms, to hold the funeral food and wine; while near the entrance lay other bodies, perhaps of slaves or captives offered in sacrifice.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Tsountas and Manatt's *Mycenaean Age*, or Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations*.

II. THE TWO EARLY CIVILIZATIONS IN GREECE.

74. The First (or "Mycenaean") Civilization. — The importance of the discoveries by Schliemann and his successors lies, not in the confirmation of Homer, but in the revelation of the older culture of which no tradition had survived. Men have begun to see that the Greeks were not so young as our former ignorance taught, but that "obscure millenniums preceded the sudden bloom" of their brilliant history.

The oldest Greek culture has been called *Mycenaean*. Excavations made at many places on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean in the closing years of the nineteenth century prove that this early civilization reached along the coasts and islands in patches, from Sardinia to Cyprus. It was native to Greece, not borrowed. It was the work of the short, dark-skinned people of southern Europe, between 2500 and 1300 B.C. *Steady progress* appears from rude stone tools and crude carvings, through many stages, up to magnificent bronze work and highly developed art. There are no sudden leaps, or breaks in the chain of development, such as to suggest the wholesale introduction of a foreign civilization.¹

Still this native culture does seem to have been *helped* to quicker bloom by contact with Phoenicians. These adven-

¹ The accounts of these explorations are still (1904) mainly in special "Journals." Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* and Hall's *Oldest Civilization in Greece* (both of 1901) attempt to sum up results in book form, but they are books for critical scholars only.

turers bartered with the rude natives, for centuries perhaps (much as English traders did two hundred years ago with American Indians), tempting them with strange wares of small value, and counting it best gain of all if they could lure curious maidens on board their black ships for distant slave markets.¹ In return, however, they made many an unintentional payment. Language shows that the Phoenicians gave to the Greeks the names (and so, no doubt, the use) of linen, myrrh, cinnamon,



THE "VAPHIO CUPS": $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; 8 ounces each. Found in 1890, and dating back at least to 1200 B.C. Dr. Schuchhardt declares them "unrivaled for originality of design and delicacy of execution, except perhaps by the finest goldsmith work of the Italian Renaissance."

frankincense, soap, lyres, wine jars, cosmetics, and writing tablets. The Greek alphabet itself is Phoenician, without question.² The smelting of metals, the use of bronze, and the substitution of fine wheel-made pottery for the ruder hand-made article, probably came from the same source.

Indeed, it would not be strange if sometimes—as Greek legends so delight to tell—Phoenician adventurers actually established themselves as monarchs in gilded palaces, on high-lying citadels, to rule and civilize the Greek tribesmen clustered about the foot of the castle hill. But we can have no evidence of the truth of any particular one of these stories, and

¹ Herodotus, book i, ch. i, preserves traditions of such trade and piracy. Read also the picture in the *Odyssey*, xv, 403-484.

² The brilliant discoveries of Mr. Arthur Evans in Crete show that the Greeks there had created a crude alphabet of their own before the Phoenician was introduced.



THE SCROLL FROM THE VAPHIO CUPS. — From Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Primitive Greece*.

many of them are certainly pure inventions. On the whole, scholars to-day refuse to believe that the Orient did more than give the Greeks a few useful hints. Certainly the lively Hellenes were not slavish imitators: whatever the strangers brought them they at once made their own, and improved.

75. The Second (or Achaean) Civilization.—Between 1300 and 1200 B.C. a great change took place in Greece. The civilization pictured by Homer differs greatly from the earlier Mycenaean culture. The Mycenaean Greeks buried their dead, worshiped ancestors, used no iron, and, seemingly, lived frugally on fish and vegetable diet. Homer's Greeks burn their dead, adore a Sun God, use iron swords, and feast all night mightily on whole roast oxen. So, too, in dress, manners, and personal appearance, as far as we can tell, the two are widely different. The early Greeks, we have every reason to suppose, were short, dark, black-eyed, like the modern Greeks and like all the other aborigines of southern Europe. But Homer describes his Greeks, or at least his chieftains, as tall, fair, yellow-haired, and blue-eyed.

Homer calls his Greeks Achaeans; and so the civilization pictured in his poems has been named *Achaean*. In many ways it seems ruder and less splendid than the older Mycenaean civilization. The cause of the change is not known positively, but it has been suggested that it was due to a conquest of the land by a more barbarous people from the north.

We know that at a very early date there was a vigorous race dwelling in central Europe, with the beginnings of a civilization and with some knowledge of the use of iron. Presumably, about 1300 B.C., bands of these fair-haired, blue-eyed, ox-eating warriors from the north, drawn by the splendor and riches of the Mycenaean south, broke into Greece, as men of the north so many times since have broken into southern Europe. These mighty-limbed strangers, armed with long iron swords, easily established themselves among the short, dark, bronze-weaponed natives, dwelt in their cities, became their chiefs, married their women, and possessed their wealth.

For a time the older culture was overridden by the practices of these semibarbaric *Achaean*s; but, beneath this ruling class, the older society lived on. Gradually the two civilizations blended. The fair-skinned invaders adopted the native language, and after a while they disappeared in the native population—as has happened to all northern invaders in southern lands. Even Homer shows some mixture of customs, as early as his day.

Some features of this civilization, as it was at the time of Homer, are described in the following sections (§§ 76–84).

III. GREEK SOCIETY ABOUT 1000 B.C.

A. THE ECONOMIC SIDE.

76. A Simple Society.—We are apt to exaggerate the “golden” side of the Homeric Age. The poet dwelt upon the deeds and homes of heroes, so that sometimes we call the age “Heroic”; but, after all, this side was only a small part of Greek life, and, as a whole, society was simple and manners were harsh. The culture of Mycenae was found only at a few points on the coast; and Homer himself, if we look close, shows that wealthy princes were rare even among his kings. The son of Odysseus, astounded by the splendor of Menelaus’ palace, with its “gleam as of sun and moon,” whispers to his companion (*Odyssey*, iv, 70):—

“Mark the flashing of bronze through the echoing halls, and the flashing of gold and of amber and of silver and of ivory. Such like, methinks, is the court of Olympian Zeus. . . . Wonder comes over me as I look.”

The mighty Odysseus had built his palace with his own hands,—“a rude farmhouse, where swine wallow in the court”; and the one petty island in which he was head-king held scores of poorer “kings.”¹

77. Occupations and Classes.—The mass of the people were small farmers, though their houses were grouped in villages.

¹ See also the picture of the princess Nausicaa, *Odyssey*, vi, 20–100.

Even the kings tilled their farms, in part at least, with their own hands. Slaves were few, except in the houses of the great chiefs. There had appeared, however, a class of miserable landless freemen, who hired themselves to farmers. When the ghost of Achilles wishes to name to Odysseus the most unhappy lot among mortals, he selects that of the hired servant (§ 188).

Artisans and smiths were found among the retainers of the great chiefs, and were highly honored. A separate class of traders had not arisen. The chiefs, in the intervals of farm labor, varied their profits by trading voyages, or by piracy on sea or land. It was no offense to ask a stranger whether he came as a pirate or as a peaceful trader (*Odyssey*, iii, 60–70).

B. THE TRIBE—UNITS AND TIES.

78. The Clan.—In early times the lowest political unit in Greek society was a clan, or gens. Each gens was a group of kindred, an enlarged kind of family, including several such families as we now have. Such clans are the simplest units among many primitive peoples. Some Greek clans contained only about a score of members; others contained many score.

The nearest descendant of the forefather of the clan, counting from oldest son to oldest son, was the clan elder, or “king.” The two bonds of union in a clan were *blood* and *worship*—a common descent and a common religion. These two bonds were really one, for the clan religion was a worship of clan ancestors. If provided with pleasing meals at proper times and invoked with magic formulas (so the belief ran), the powerful ghosts of the ancient clan elders would continue to aid their children.¹

¹ The food was actually meant for the ghost. Milk and wine were poured into a hollow in the ground, with sacred formulas inviting the dead to eat; and it was the grossest impiety for any mortal to touch the food left at the grave. Travelers describe similar practices among primitive peoples to-day. A Papuan chief prays: “Compassionate Father! Here is food for you. Eat it, and be kind to us!” Turner relates that in Samoa, at the evening meal,

This worship was secret. The altar was the clan tomb, and the only lawful priest was the clan elder. For a non-clansman even to see the worship was to defile it; for him to learn the sacred formulas of the clan worship was to secure power over the gods. It followed that marriage became a "religious" act. The woman had to renounce her own gods and be accepted by the gods of her husband into their clan.¹ After that she and her future children were in law and in religion no longer related to her father and his clan: legal relationship and inheritance of property came through males only.

In like manner in later times, as the families of the clan more and more became distinct units, each came to have its separate family worship. The father was the priest of the Hearth, or family altar, near which were grouped the *Penates*, or images of ancestors. There, before each meal, was poured out the *libation* or food-offering to the family gods; and there blessings were invoked. Piety consisted in fulfilling strictly these obligations to the ancestral deities. The family tomb anciently was near the house, "so that the sons," says Euripides, "in entering and leaving their dwelling, might always meet their fathers and invoke them."

79. Larger Units: Phratry and Tribe. — Long before history began, clans united into larger units. In barbarous society the highest unit is the tribe, which is a group of clans living near together and believing in a common ancestor. In Greece the clan elder of the leading clan was the tribal elder, or the priest-king of the tribe.

Like the clan, the tribe worshiped a real or imaginary ancestor. If men at that stage of progress wished to combine in a friendly way, they had to invent some such bond of union. Otherwise they could think of each other only as enemies. It is plain that, in the large units, such bonds must

the family priest exclaims, with his offering: "Here is *ava* for you, O gods! look kindly toward this family. . . . Let our plantations be kept productive: let food grow! Here is *ava* for you, O war gods! Let this be a strong and numerous people for you!"

¹ Her father, of course, or some male relative, renounced for her, and gave her to the bridegroom. This is the origin of "giving in marriage" to-day.

have been fictitious for the most part; but the credulous savage comes quickly to look upon such fictions as facts.

Between the Greek tribe and the gens came a less important unit—the phratry, or “brotherhood” of clans, with the characteristics of a smaller tribe.

80. The Tribal City.—Originally a tribe dwelt in several clan villages in the valleys around some convenient hilltop. On the height was the place of common worship; and a ring wall easily turned this sacred place into a citadel. In hilly Greece many of these citadels grew up close together; and so, very early, groups of tribes combined further. Perhaps one of a group would conquer the others and compel them to tear down their separate citadels and to move their temples to its center. This is the way in which Theseus is said to have enlarged Athens—by incorporating into it the four Ionic tribes of Attica, with their numerous villages.

In such cases, a new legal fiction set up a city worship, with the king of the chief tribe for the city priest-king. Sometimes, of course, a tribe grew into the city stage without absorbing other tribes; but, in general, as clans federated into tribes, so *tribes federated into cities*, either peaceably or through war. The process seems to have been well under way in Homeric times.

81. The City the Political Limit.—It is well to note here that the city was the limit of political union among the Greeks. If the cities could have been combined into larger units, by treaty or conquest, Greece might have become a nation-state, like modern England or France. But the Greeks, in the time of their glory, never got beyond a city-state, and never really wanted to do so. To them the same word meant “city” and “state.” A union of cities, by which any of them gave up its sovereignty, was repugnant to Greek feeling. One city might hold others in subjection; but, in historic times, it never admitted their people to any kind of citizenship. Nor did the subject cities dream of asking such a thing. What they wanted, and would never cease to strive for, was to recover their separate independence. No one thought of union. To each Greek, his city was his country.

It followed, through nearly all Greek history, that the *political* rela-

tions of one city with another five miles away were foreign relations, as much as its dealings with the king of Persia. Wars, therefore, were constant and cruel. The concentration of interests gave to each city a vivid and intense life; but the division of Greek power into so many hostile centers made that life brief.

C. GOVERNMENT.

82. The King.¹—The tribal city had three political elements—king, council of chiefs, and popular assembly. In these we may see the germs of later monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic institutions (§ 68, note).

The king acted as judge in peace, as leader in war, and as priest at all times. His favorite sports were hunting, feasting, and athletic contests. The kings varied in authority. In centers like Mycenae they seem to have been almost absolute. In some places they lived very simply and worked their lands with their own hands. In general their power was limited strictly by custom and by the two other political orders (§§ 83, 84).

83. A council of chiefs surrounded, aided, and checked the king. These chiefs were originally the clan elders and the members of the royal family. Socially they were the king's equals; and in government he could not do anything in defiance of their wish. If a ruler died without a grown-up son, the council could elect a king, although their choice seems to have been limited usually to the royal family.

84. The folk-moot, or Assembly of freemen, listened to plans proposed by kings and chiefs, and shouted approval or muttered disapproval. It could not start new movements itself. There were no regular meetings and few spokesmen, and the general reverence for the chiefs made it a daring deed for a common man to brave them; so that if the chiefs agreed among themselves, it was easy for them to get their way.

However, even in war, when the authority of the nobles was greatest, the Assembly had to be *persuaded*: it could not be

¹ Read Freeman's *Comparative Politics*, 144-146.

ordered. Indeed, Homer's songs, flattering of course to the chiefs, show that popular opposition sometimes found voice.

The Greeks in one council before Troy break away to seize their ships for the homeward journey. Odysseus hurries among them, and by persuasion and threats forces them back to the council, until only Thersites bawls on, — "Thersites, uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words *wherewith to strive against the chiefs idly.*" "Hateful was he to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus, for them he was wont to revile. But now with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings even upon goodly Agamemnon" (*Iliad*, ii, 210 ff.). Then Odysseus with stern rebuke smites him into silence, while the crowd laughs. Odysseus carries the crowd with him, but Thersites was a cripple, and is represented as ugly and unpopular.

Professor Mahaffy comments (*Social Life*, 13): "The figure of Thersites seems drawn with special spite, as a satire upon the first critics that rose up among the people and questioned the divine right of kings to do wrong. We may be sure the real Thersites, from whom the poet drew his picture, was a very different and a far more serious power in debate than the misshapen buffoon of the *Iliad*. But the king who had been thwarted and exposed by him in the day, would over his evening cups enjoy the poet's travesty, and long for the good old times when he could put down all impertinent criticism by the stroke of his knotty scepter. Indeed, the Homeric agora [assembly] could hardly have existed, had it been so idle a form as the poets represent."

So, too, Professor Freeman: "But, after all, I think that the submission of the mass of Achaian freemen to Agamemnon . . . has been, if not exaggerated, at least misunderstood. It is not the submission of slaves, but the submission of children. It is not the submission of men who wish to oppose, but who dare not; it is the submission of men who have not yet formed the wish to oppose. . . . The real thing to be marked is that there should be any opposition speakers at all."¹

FOR FURTHER READING.—For Divisions I and II, see footnotes. For Division III: Fowler's *City State*, chs. ii, iii; Mahaffy's *Survey*, chs. i, ii; and *Social Life*, chs. ii, iii; Gardner's *New Chapters in Greek History*, 1-152. The leading legends of the Heroic Age are rendered in attractive form in Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales* and *Wonder Book* and in Kingsley's *Greek Heroes*. An excellent single-page discussion of possible historical meaning in Greek legends, like that of Theseus and the

¹ Read *Comparative Politics*, 204-207, from which this paragraph comes.

Minotaur, is given in Ranke's *Universal History*, I, 110. Advanced students may consult Freeman's *Comparative Politics*, Coulanges' *Ancient City*, and the standard histories by Bury, Holm, Grote, and Curtius.

EXERCISE.—Students may be asked to report upon Homeric society by topics, as indicated below, drawing information from the references given, and seeking others for themselves.

1. The assembly: *Iliad*, ii, 82-402; *Odyssey*, iii, 138-150.
2. Council of chiefs: *Iliad*, ii, 52-82, 87-187; x, 194-250.
3. Kings and chiefs: *Iliad*, i, 75-306; iv, 223-249, 411-418; xii, 265-276; xiv, 364-401.
4. Law courts (*wer-geld*): *Iliad*, xviii, 481-511.
5. The gods: absent, *Iliad*, i, 400-430; sacrifices, ii, 403-434; wounded in battle, v, 315-443, 710-909; domestic quarrels, i, 526-611; xv, 1-85; see also iv, 1-80; v, 100-139; viii, 1-55, 315-443; xii, 221-255; xviii, 350-481; xxi, 1-85, 200-361, 395-525.
6. Funerals: slaying of prisoners, *Iliad*, xxiii, 1-254; games, xxiii, 254-897; lamentations, xxiv, 503-702.
7. Ideas of the future life: Odysseus in Hades, *Odyssey*, xi.
8. Treatment of dead enemies: *Iliad*, xxii, 330-405.
9. Treatment of captives: *Iliad*, vi, 50-75; x, 365-500; xxi, 60-124.
10. Commerce: *Odyssey*, i, 180-192; iii, 69-74; ix, 252-255.
11. Position of woman: *Odyssey*, i, 345-359; ii, 88-145.
12. Life of the poor: *Odyssey*, xi, 488-490; xiv, 54-70, 412-533; xv, 385-395; xviii, 355-361.
13. Life in a palace: *Odyssey*, iv, 20-80; viii, 1-255; x, 145-165; vii, 75-135; xvii, 264-274; xxiii, 182-205; vi, 21-118, 303-307; iv, 120-140; xviii, 365-385; ii, 337-347; xvi, 138-142; xxiv, 205-243.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE MIGRATIONS TO THE PERSIAN WARS. 1000-500 B.C.

I. A NEW AGE INTRODUCED BY THE "DORIAN MIGRATION."

85. The Gap in the Evidence. — About 1000 B.C. the Achaean civilization in the Peloponnesus was overthrown by a new invasion of more barbarous tribes. These invaders are called *Dorians*. They are supposed to have been Greeks from the northern and more backward parts of the peninsula. The conquest was a long series of destructive campaigns, lasting at least a hundred years.¹

The Dorians had no Homer, as the Achaeans had, nor did they leave magnificent monuments, as the Mycenaean did. A long blank follows in our knowledge, for three and a half centuries, where we have not even such imperfect guides as we have for the preceding age. Great changes, however, took place during these obscure centuries; and in a rough way we can see what they were, by comparing the old Homeric Greece with the new historic Greece that is revealed when the curtain rises again.

This "rising of the curtain" took place about 650 B.C. By that time the Greeks had begun to use the alphabet freely; thus various inscriptions and many fragments of poems survive, by means of which we can fill out and correct tradition. The movements of the next hundred and fifty years, however,

¹ The difficulties connected with the question of a Dorian invasion are discussed briefly by Holm, I, 154. The Achaeans seem to have fought still in the Homeric fashion, — the chiefs in chariots, and their followers as an unwieldy, ill-armed mob. The Dorians introduced the use of heavy-armed infantry, with long spears, in regular array and close ranks.

seem to be simply a continuation of those that had gone on in the preceding three centuries and a half. Six leading features of these five centuries, from 1000 to 500 B.C., will be treated in Divisions II-VII.

86. Dorians and Ionians. — Through all later Greek history the two leading races were the Dorians and the Ionians. By 600 B.C. the Dorians had their chief strength in the southern half of the Peloponnesus, while the Ionians held Attica and most of the islands of the Aegean. In Attica, according to tradition, the Ionians had never been conquered by any invading people; but from other southern parts of the Greek peninsula they had been driven out by the Dorians.

Athens, on a rock near the sea, was the leading city of the Ionians. The Athenians were maritime, democratic, progressive, artistic. Sparta was the leading city of the Dorians. The Spartans were a military settlement of conquerors, in a fertile valley, organized for defense and ruling over slave tillers of the soil. They were warlike, aristocratic, conservative, practical.¹

II. THE GREEKS BECOME CONSCIOUS OF A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND OTHER PEOPLE.

87. Unity of Hellenic Culture. — The *Iliad* does not make it clear whether Homer looked upon the Trojans as Greeks or not. Apparently he cared little about the question. Five hundred years later such a question would have been a first consideration to every Greek. The Greeks had not become one nation: that is, they had not come under the same government. But they had come to believe in a kinship with each

¹ Many writers ascribe these characteristics of the two leading cities to their respective races, and class all Ionians as democratic and progressive, and all Dorians as aristocratic and conservative. But this distinction holds good only within narrow limits. Colonies of Ionians and Dorians, under changed physical conditions, especially in Sicily and Italy, exchanged these "race" characteristics. On the whole, Athens was more nearly typical of the Ionians than Sparta was of the Dorians, — no doubt because nearly all Ionians had much the same physical environment that Athens had.

other, to take pride in their common civilization, and to set themselves apart from the rest of the world. The forces which, during these five centuries, gave gradually to all Hellenes this oneness of feeling, were chiefly the following: language, literature, and the Olympian religion, with its games and oracles.

a. The Greeks understood each other's dialects, while the men of other speech about them they called "Barbarians," or babblers (*Bar'-bar-oi*). This likeness of language made it possible for all Greeks to possess the same literature. The poems of Homer were sung and recited in every Greek village for centuries; and the universal pride in Homer, and in the glories of the later literature, had much to do in binding the Greeks into one people.

b. The poets invented a system of relationship. The first inhabitant of Hellas, they said, was a certain *Hellen*, who had three sons, Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. Xuthus became the father of Achæus and Ion. Aeolus, Dorus, Achæus, and Ion were the ancestors of all Hellenes,—in the four great divisions, Aeolians, Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians.

This system of fables made it easier for the Greeks to believe themselves connected by blood.

c. Besides the worship of ancestors and the city worship of local heroes, there was another religion which was common to all Greeks. This was at first a nature worship. The early Greeks personified the sun and moon and all powers of nature, as most primitive peoples do (§ 18). But the poetic imagination of the Greeks gave an intense reality and a human character to their personifications, so that they came to have the most complete and beautiful system of myths in the world.¹

¹ For some of the higher meanings of this mythology, the student should read Ruskin's *Queen of the Air*. Systematic accounts will be found in Grote, I, 1-87; Abbott, I, 174-193; Grant, *Age of Pericles*, 20-26. Longer treatments are given by Gayley, *Classic Myths*; Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome*; Bulfinch, *Age of Fable*.

The great deities, to distinguish them from lesser ones and from the gods of the narrow ancestor religion, were called Olympian — from Mount Olympus, whose cloud-capped summit was once thought to be their home. Three special features of the Olympian religion helped to bind Greeks together, — the *Olympic Games*, the *Delphic Oracle*, and the various *Amphityonies*.

To the great festivals of some of the gods, men flocked from all Hellas. Especially was this true of the Olympic games. These festivals were celebrated each fourth year at Olympia, in Elis, in honor of Zeus, "the father of the gods." The contests consisted of foot and chariot racing, wrestling, and boxing. The victors were felt to have won the highest honor open to any Greek. They received merely an olive wreath at Olympia; but at their homes they were usually honored with inscriptions and statues. Only Greeks could take part in the contests, and applicants were required strictly to prove Hellenic descent. All wars between Greek states were suspended during the month of the games.

To these games came merchants, to secure the best market for rare wares. Here, too, treaties were proclaimed, that they might be known through all Hellas. At a later time, poets, orators, and artists found in the Olympic gatherings the best audiences for their productions; and gradually the intellectual contests and exhibitions became the most important feature of the meeting. The orator or dramatist whose oration or play was praised by the crowds at Olympia had received the approval of the most select and intelligent large audience in the world.¹

The four-year periods between the games were called *Olympiads*. These periods became the Greek units in counting time: all events were dated from what was believed to be the first recorded Olympiad, beginning in 776 B.C.

¹ These intellectual contests, however, did not become part of the sacred games. Observe the suggestion of a special study of these and other religious festivals, with references, page 96.

At Delphi was a temple of Apollo, the sun god. Here, too, was an oracle whose advice was sought by men and by governments throughout all Hellas and in neighboring lands.

An ancient league of Greek tribes to protect the temple at Delphi was known as the *Amphictyonic League* (league of "dwellers-round-about"). Smaller amphictyonies, for the protection of other temples, were common in Greece. In early Greek history, they were the only hint of a movement toward a union of states. They were strictly religious in purpose, and not at all like ordinary political unions.

88. A Table of the Great Deities. — (Latin names in parentheses.)

Zeus (Jupiter), the supreme god ; god of the sky.

Poseidon (Neptune), god of the sea.

Apollo, the sun god ; god of wisdom, poetry, and medicine.

Hephaestus (Vulcan), god of fire — the lame smith.

Hermes (Mercury), god of the wind ; messenger ; god of cunning, of thieves, and of commerce.

Hera (Juno), sister and wife of Zeus ; queen of the sky.

Athene (Minerva), goddess of wisdom ; the female counterpart of Apollo, as Hera was of Zeus.

Artemis (Diana), goddess of the moon ; goddess of hunting.

Aphrodite (Venus), goddess of love.

Demeter (Ceres), the earth goddess — controlling fertility.

Hestia (Vesta), the deity of the home ; goddess of the hearth fire.

EXERCISE IN DATES. — The Second Olympiad began ($776 - \overline{1 \times 4}$) 776 B.C. The second year of the Fourth Olympiad was ($776 - \overline{8 \times 4} - 1$) 763 B.C. What is our date for the fourth year of the One Hundred and First Olympiad ? What were the Greek dates for 371, 404, 490 B.C. ?

SPECIAL TOPICS. — 1. The Delphic Oracle and its famous utterances (Herodotus, ii, 54-57 ; Curtius, II, 10-55 ; Abbott, II, 30-33 ; Grote, I, 65-69 ; Grant, *Age of Pericles*, 20-26 ; Holm, I, 230-233). 2. Herodotus's account of the oracle of Dodona, and the attempt to rationalize the *dore* (Herodotus, ii, 54). 3. The Olympic Games (Gardner, *New Chapters*, 273-302 ; Curtius, II, 27-35 ; Bury, 140-144 ; Grote, IV, 75-79 ; Holm, I, 236-241 ; Grant, *Age of Pericles*, 26-33). 4. Other leading religious festivals (Curtius, II, 27-35 ; Grote, IV, 79-98 ; Holm, I, 241-242).







III. COLONIZATION AND EXPANSION.

A. FIRST PERIOD, TO 900 B.C.: COLONIZATION OF THE AEGEAN.

89. Movements of Population in Greece. — The invasion of the Dorians drove out the Achaeans from much of the Peloponnesus; and these people, seeking new homes, jostled other tribes into motion all over Greece. The period that followed was marked by rearrangements of population in Greece and by some expansion into neighboring lands. The ancient glories of Homer's Mycenae were trampled out, and the Peloponnesus, which so far had been foremost in culture, lost this leadership. Other districts, however, like Attica, strengthened themselves by receiving the more enterprising of the fleeing peoples.

90. Hellenizing of the Aegean and of the Coast of Asia Minor. — During this movement of the Greek peoples, some of the fugitives carried the seeds of Greek civilization to the coasts and islands of the Aegean.¹

The most important part of this colonization was the Hellenizing of the Asiatic coast. A great body of Ionian refugees, passing through Attica, crossed the sea to the central coast of Asia Minor. There they founded twelve great cities, of which Miletus and Ephesus were the most important. The whole district took the name *Ionia* and was united in a religious amphictyony. To the north and the south of Ionia, other Greek cities were founded.

B. SECOND PERIOD, 800-600 B.C.: WIDER COLONIZATION.

91. A Period of True Colonization. — About 800 B.C. a wider expansion began. The movement went on for two hundred years, doubling the area of Hellas and carrying it far beyond its Aegean home. This period was one of true colonization.

¹ Some of these districts were partly Greek before; but now large Greek reinforcements arrived, and the non-Hellenic tribes were driven out.

The colonies now were not settlements of fugitives: they were trading stations. They resulted not from fear of foreign conquest, but from commercial enterprise.

Thus Miletus sent colony after colony to the north shore of the Black Sea, to control the corn trade there. Sixty Greek towns fringed that sea and its straits. The one city of Chalcis, in Euboea, planted thirty-two colonies on the Thracian coast,¹ to secure the gold and silver mines of that region. On the west, Sicily became almost wholly Greek, and southern Italy took the proud name of *Magna Graecia* (Greater Greece). Indeed, settlements were sown from end to end of the Mediterranean. Among the more important of the colonies were *Syracuse* in Sicily, *Tarentum* in Italy, *Corcyra* in the Adriatic, *Massilia* (Marseilles) in Gaul, *Olynthus* in Thrace, *Cyrene* in Africa, and *Byzantium* on the Bosphorus.

92. The Method of Founding Colonies. — Many motives besides the commercial assisted this movement. Perhaps a city found its population growing too fast for its grain supply. Perhaps there was danger of class struggles, so that it seemed well to get rid of the more adventurous of the poorer citizens. Perhaps some daring youth of a noble family longed for a more active life than he found at home, and hoped to become the head of a new settlement on a distant frontier.

In any case the oracle at Delphi was first consulted. If the reply was favorable, announcements were made and volunteers were gathered for the expedition. The mother city always gave the sacred fire for the new city hearth, and appointed the "founder." This "founder" established the new settlement with religious rites and distributed the mixed inhabitants, who thronged in from all sides, into artificial tribes and gentes, after the fashion of Greek society.

The colonists ceased to be citizens of their old home, and the new city enjoyed complete independence. Each colony recog-

¹ In this early period, Macedonia had less area than our map shows, and Thrace reached farther west. The "Chalcidic" peninsula took its name from these colonies of Chalcis.

nized a religious connection with its "metropolis" (mother city), and of course there were often strong bonds of friendship; but neither mother nor daughter city thought of turning the relation into a political union.¹

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING. — Oman, ch. vi; Bury, 86-106; Holm, I, 272-294; Abbott, I, chs. iv and xi; Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, 36-45; Curtius, I, 432-500. Advanced students may read Freeman's *Greater Greece and Greater Britain* for a comparison with modern colonies.

IV. THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

93. The Kings overthrown by the Chiefs.— Between 1000 and 500 B.C. the old kings (§ 82) disappeared from every Greek city except Sparta and Argos, and even in these cities they lost most of their old power. The change was the work of the nobles; and that class divided the royal power among themselves.

A Homeric king had three kinds of duties: he was *priest*, *judge*, and *war chief*. Plainly, the office of war chief could least safely be left to the accident of birth: accordingly the nobles took away this part of the king's duties first, turning it over to officers whom they elected from among themselves. Then, as judicial work increased, with the growth of city life, special judges were chosen to take over that part of the king's work. The priestly dignity was powerless of itself, and was connected most closely with family descent: therefore it was left longest a matter of inheritance. In some cities we find a "king-archon" (*basileus archon*), or hereditary city priest, from the old royal family, long after all other sign of royalty had vanished; and in democratic Athens, all through her later history, the same title ("king-archon") was given to the *elected* city priest.

¹ Corinth for a time made an exception: that city did retain some political supremacy over its colonies. And Athens in a later period adopted another form of colonization, of which we shall speak (§§ 118, 170).

This, then, was the general order of the changes by which the rule of the one became the rule of "the few." The process was gradual; the means and occasion varied. A disputed succession, the dying out of a royal line, a minor or a weak king, — any of these conditions made it easy for the nobles to encroach upon the royal power.¹

94. The Oligarchies overthrown by the Tyrants. — Originally, the aristocratic, or oligarchic, element consisted of the council of clan elders (§ 83), but with time it became modified in many ways. Sometimes the families of a few great chiefs came to overshadow the rest; in places, groups of conquering families ruled the descendants of the conquered; sometimes, perhaps, wealth *helped* to draw the line between "the few" and "the many." At all events there was in all Greek cities a sharp line between two classes, — one calling itself "the few," "the good," "the noble," and another called by these "the many," "the bad," "the base" (§ 84).

"The few" had succeeded the kings. "The many" were oppressed and misgoverned, and they began to clamor for relief. They were too ignorant as yet to maintain themselves against the intelligent and better united "few"; but the way was prepared for them by the "tyrants" (§ 95).

95. The Tyrants pave the Way for Democracies. — In nearly all Greek cities about 700 B.C., these tyrants sprang up.² In the outlying parts of Hellas they were a common phenomenon through all the later history also, but by the year 500 they had disappeared from the main peninsula; and so the two centuries from 700 to 500 B.C. are called the "Age of Tyrants."

A tyrant in Greek history is not necessarily a bad or cruel ruler: he is simply a man who by force seizes supreme power. But arbitrary rule was hateful to all Greeks, and the murder of a tyrant seemed to them a good act. Sometimes, too, the

¹ For instances, see Coulanges' *Ancient City*, 238, 239, and 316.

² Sparta was the only city that did not have a tyrant at this period.

selfishness and cruelty of such rulers justified the detestation that clings to the name. But at the worst the tyrants seem to have been a necessary evil, to break down the greater evil of the selfish, anarchic oligarchies. Many tyrants, moreover, were generous, far-sighted, beneficent rulers, building public works, developing trade, patronizing art and literature.

The tyrant was made possible by the strife between the ruling "few" and the oppressed "many," and he always appeared as a champion of the democracy. Sometimes he was an ambitious noble; sometimes, by birth, a man of the people.¹ The tyrants surrounded themselves with mercenary soldiers, but they sought also to keep the favor of the masses, who had helped them to the throne. The nobles they could not conciliate. These they burdened with taxes, oppressed, exiled, and murdered in great numbers.

The story goes that Periander, tyrant of Corinth, sent to the tyrant of Miletus to ask his advice in government. The Milesian took the messenger through a grain field, striking off the finest and tallest ears as they walked, and sent him back without other answer. The story stands for what became, to some degree, the policy of all tyrants toward the nobles.

Thus when the tyrants themselves were overthrown, democracy had a fairer chance. In the Ionian cities, the next step was usually a democratic government. In Dorian Greece, more commonly there followed a return to a broad aristocracy, but never to quite the older and more objectionable form of oligarchy. The tyrants had done their work effectively.

REFERENCES FOR READING. — On the political development in general : Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, 239, 314-324, 330-335, 360-379, 430-458 ; Fowler, *The City State*, chs. iv and v ; Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, 12-23 ; Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, ch. iii ; Abbott, I,

¹ At Argos the case was peculiar : King Pheidon massacred the nobles and made himself tyrant, without the city passing through a complete oligarchic stage.

chs. xii-xv, and II, Introduction; Holm, I, ch. xxx; Bury, cha. iv, v; Curtius, I, bk. ii, chs. i, ii. For special study on oligarchies: Greenidge, 60-73. On tyrants: Mahaffy, *Problems*, 78-86, or *Survey*, 99-101, or *Social Life*, 84-90; Greenidge, 27-35; Grote, ch. ix.

EXERCISE. — Contrast the "tyrants" with the Homeric kings as to origin of power, as to limitation by custom and public opinion, as to security in their positions.

V. THE RISE OF SPARTA TO MILITARY HEADSHIP.

96. Early Sparta: the Need of Reforms; Subsequent Growth.

—The invading Dorians founded many petty states in the Peloponnesus. For a time one of the weakest of these was Sparta. Her territory covered only a few square miles and did not approach the sea. Moreover, it was surrounded by powerful and grasping neighbors.

The later Spartans attributed their rise from these conditions to the reforms of a certain *Lycurgus*. Certainly, about the year 900, whether the reformer's name was Lycurgus or not, the Spartans adopted peculiar institutions which made them a marked people in later Greek history. Disciplined and hardened by their code of laws, they soon entered upon a brilliant career of conquest. Before 700, they had subdued all Laconia; before 650, Messenia also; while the other states of the Peloponnesus, except hostile Argos, had become their allies.

97. The Political Constitution. — Sparta had *two kings*. Legend ascribed this to the birth of twin princes. Whatever the occasion, the nobles in this city had weakened the royal power by dividing it, and so were less tempted to abolish it. In consequence, Sparta is the one Greek city which had no tyrant in this period.

Sparta had a *Senate* of thirty elders. Originally, no doubt, the members were the heads of Sparta's thirty clans; but in historic times the kings held two of the seats, and the other twenty-eight senators had become elective. The choice, how-

ever, had to be made from the old noble families,¹ and the office was for life.² For the greater part of Spartan history the Senate was the chief political body in the state.

A *popular assembly* of all free Spartans chose senators and other officers, and decided important matters laid before it; but it had no right to introduce new measures, and the common Spartan could not even take part in the debate. Even the decision of the Assembly was not absolutely final, since the Senate had the power "if the people decide anything crookedly, to put it back."

So far, in form, this government was much like that of Homeric times, except that the two kings checked each other's authority, and that the Assembly *elected* the council. In practice, however, there had been a great gain of power by the Senate, the aristocratic element in the state. But about 725 B.C. Sparta took a stride toward democracy. Elected magistrates, called *Ephors*, became the chief rulers. Five Ephors were chosen each year by the Assembly, and any Spartan was eligible to the office. The Ephors called the Assembly and presided over it and acted as judges in all important matters. No appeal from their decision was allowed. One or more of them accompanied the king in war, with power to control his movements, and even to arrest him and put him to death. The kings now became simply priests, judges in certain unimportant matters, generals in war, and members of the Senate. Sparta kept the form and dignity of ancient royalty, and in the Ephors she had added an institution which looked like a military dictatorship, based on democratic elections. In fact, however, the people were intensely

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, II, 9. Aristotle calls the mode of election "childish." The candidates were led through the assembly in turn, and as each passed, the people shouted. Judges, shut up in a room from which they could not see the candidates, listened to the shouts and gave the vacancy to the one whose appearance had called out the loudest welcome. This method, after all, has an interesting relation to our *viva-voce* voting, where we decide, in the first instance, by noise.

² No one under sixty years of age could be chosen.

aristocratic in feeling, and the Ephors usually acted as the servants of the Senate, which remained the controlling power in government.

To the Greeks all such delegation of power, even to officers elected for short terms, seemed undemocratic. They would not have called our government by President, Congress, and Supreme Court a democracy at all.¹ To them democracy meant a government in which each freeman took somewhat the same part that a member of Congress does with us — a system such that each citizen voted, not occasionally, to elect representatives, but constantly, on all matters of importance, which matters also he might discuss in the ruling assembly of his city. By this standard, of course, Sparta was exceedingly aristocratic.

98. Classes in Laconia. — Moreover, the Spartans as a whole were a ruling class in the midst of subjects eight or ten times their number. They were simply a camp of some nine thousand conquerors (with their families) living under arms in their unwall'd city, and holding the most fertile lands of Laconia. They were wholly given to camp life. They did no work; and each man's land was tilled by certain slaves of the state,² called *Helots*.

The Helots numbered four or five to one Spartan. They furnished light-armed troops in war, but they were a standing danger. A secret police of active Spartan youth busied itself in detecting plots among them and sometimes, it is claimed, carried out secret and widespread massacre of the more intelligent and ambitious slaves.

Indeed it was lawful for any Spartan to kill a Helot, without trial,—and ancient critics often refer to the mysterious way in which crowds of Helots vanished sometimes when their numbers threatened Spartan safety. On one occasion, in the great death struggle with Athens in the fifth century (§§ 192 ff.), the Spartans had given the Helots

¹ A good treatment of this matter is found in Grant's *Age of Pericles*, 144-146.

² That is, the slaves were owned by the Spartan state as a whole, not by individual Spartans.

heavy armor, but afterward became terrified at the possible consequences. Thucydides (iv, 80) tells how they met the danger:—

“They proclaimed that a selection would be made of those Helots who claimed to have rendered the best service to the Lacedaemonians in the war, and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them: it was thought that those among them who were foremost in asserting their freedom would be most high-spirited and most likely to rise against their masters. So they selected about two thousand, who were crowned with garlands, and went in procession round the temples; they [the Helots] were supposed to have received their liberty, but not long afterwards the Spartans put them all out of the way, and no man knew how any of them came to their end.”

The inhabitants of the hundred small subject towns of Laconia were called *Perioeci*. They were free men, but they were not part of the Spartan state. They kept their own customs and shared in the government of their cities, under the supervision of Spartan rulers called *harmosts*. They had also lands of their own, and they carried on such trades and commerce as existed in Laconia.

The *Perioeci* were three or four to one Spartan; and the heavy-armed soldiers of the Spartan army came in large measure from them. The Ephors could put them to death without trial, but they seem, as a rule, to have been well treated and well content.

Thus the inhabitants of Laconia were of three classes: (1) a small ruling body of warriors, living in one central settlement; (2) a large class of cruelly treated serfs, to till the soil for these aristocratic soldiers; (3) another large class of well-treated city populations, without political rights except for a limited local self-government.

99. Social Institutions.—The garrison at Sparta kept its mastery in Laconia by sleepless vigilance and by a rigid discipline. That discipline is sometimes praised as “the Spartan training.” Its sole aim was to make soldiers. It succeeded in this, but it was harsh and brutal.

The family, as well as the man, belonged absolutely to the army state. The Ephors examined each child, at its birth, to decide whether it was fit to be reared. If it seemed weak or puny, it was exposed to die in the mountains. After a boy reached the age of seven, he never again slept under his mother's roof: he was taken from his parents, to be trained with other boys under public officers, until he was twenty. The boys were taught reading and a little martial music, but they were given no other mental culture. The main purposes of their education were to harden and strengthen the body and to develop self-control and obedience. On certain festival days, boys were whipped at the altars to test their endurance; and Plutarch¹ states that they often died under the lash rather than utter a cry.²

From twenty to thirty, the youth lived under arms in barracks. There he was one of a mess of fifteen; and from his land he had to provide his part of the barley meal, cheese, and black broth for the company's food, with meat on holidays. The mess drilled and fought side by side, so that in battle each man knew that his daily companions and friends stood about him.

The many years of constant devotion to military drill made it possible for the Spartans to adopt a more complex system of tactics than was natural for their neighbors. The other Greeks continued meanwhile to fight in masses, with a few heralds to shout the orders of the general. The Spartans were trained in small regiments and companies, so as to maneuver readily at the word of command. This made them superior in the field. They stood to the other Greeks as disciplined soldiery to untrained militia.

At thirty the man was required to marry, in order to rear more soldiers; but he must still eat in barracks, and live there most of the time. Said an Athenian, "The Spartan's life is so

¹ A Greek writer of the second century A.D.; see list of books on page 126.

² Several features of Spartan life that are ascribed by popular legend to Lycurgus seem rather to have been survivals of a barbarous period that the Spartans never wholly outgrew. This particular custom, just alluded to in the text, is much like the savage sun dance of the American Indians.

unendurable that it is no wonder he throws it away lightly in battle."

There was certain virtue, no doubt, in this training. The Spartans had the quiet dignity of born rulers. The pithy brevity of their speech ("laconic" speech), their use of iron money, and their plain living made them appear superior to the ordinary weaknesses and selfish indulgences of other men; and the changeless character of their constitution, for five hundred years after the introduction of the Ephors, was a rebuke to the kaleidoscopic revolutions of surrounding states. Their women, too, kept a freedom which unhappily was lost in other Greek cities (§ 191 *b*).

But, after all, the value of the Spartans to the world lay in the fact that they made a garrison for the rest of Greece, and helped save something better than themselves. In themselves, they were hard, ignorant, narrow. They did nothing to create art, literature, science, or philosophy. If the Greeks had all been Spartans, we could afford to omit the study of Greek history.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING. — Ancient writers: Xenophon's *Polity of the Lacedaemonians* (Dakyn's edition) is the fullest ancient authority. Some pages of valuable extracts from Xenophon, with questions, are given in Fling's *Studies in Greek and Roman Civilization*. Plutarch's *Lycurgus* is more readable, perhaps, for young people.

Modern writers: Curtius, I, 175-315; Grote, II, 337-466 (12 vol. ed.); Holm, I, 194-278, and 430-447; Abbott, I, 194-224; Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, 77-115; Gilbert, 1-81; Oman, chs. vii, viii.

VI. RISE OF DEMOCRACY AT ATHENS, TO 500 B.C.

A. IMPORTANCE OF ATHENS, AND SOME OF THE CAUSES.

100. Place of Athens in History. — When people speak of ancient Greece, they usually think chiefly of Sparta and Athens. Through most of Greek history these cities were the two most powerful states; but they represented widely

different things. Athens was far more fit than Sparta to stand for Greek history. Indeed, she was to be the especial home of the freedom, the learning, the literature, and the art, which made the real glory of Hellas; so that the historian Holm well says, "*The history of Athens is for us the history of Greece.*"

101. The Consolidation of Attica. — *Athens was the only city in Attica* — a considerable territory. That is, Athens was a leading city, because it was more than an ordinary Greek city.

The like was true of Sparta. Sparta and Athens had both carried the political consolidation of the territory about them farther than any other Greek city had done. In other districts as large as Attica or Laconia there were always groups of independent cities. Boeotia, for instance, contained twelve cities, jealous of one another; and Thebes, the largest among them, could at best hope for only a limited leadership over her rivals.

In Attica, before history really began, the germs of such separate cities had been consolidated in one (§ 80). Indeed, consolidation had been carried farther even than with Sparta. Athens was the *home* of all the free inhabitants of Attica, not merely the *camp* of one ruling tribe. In Laconia union came through *subjection*, which left bitter distinctions between a mistress city and the other Laconians. In Attica union came through *incorporation*. The old legends had hinted at this difference: Lycurgus, they said, made the Spartans an army to hold down hostile subjects round about them, while Theseus made all inhabitants of Attica Athenians.

102. Conditions Favorable to a Many-sided Development. — The population of Athens was a fusion of many elements. Attica seems to have been the one spot of southern Greece not overrun by conquerors at the time of the Dorian migration (§ 85). Naturally, it became a refuge for Ionian¹ clans driven from the Peloponnesus. The richest and strongest of these clans were adopted into the tribes of Attica; the others were received

¹ The natives of Attica were Ionians. See § 86.

as dependents. The repeated introduction of fresh elements helped to make the people democratic and progressive,—open to outside influence. This tendency, too, was reënforced by the commercial life to which the location of Athens drew her, and to which also her thin soil drove her.

B. THE FIRST POLITICAL REVOLUTION: EUPATRID RULE.

103. Decline of the Homeric Kingship.—Like other Greek cities, Athens lost her kings in the dim centuries before we have any real history. According to the common tradition, the nobles began to restrict the royal power in Athens about 1000 B.C. The title of *king-archon* (§ 93), was left unchanged, and for a time the office was still hereditary and for life; but the holder kept only the priestly dignity. The other powers of the old rulers were given to new officers. Alongside the king-archon the nobles first set up, from among themselves, a *war-archon* (*polemarch*). Then they created a *chief-archon*, usually called *the Archon*, to act as judge and as administrator of the government. Next, in 752, the office of king-archon was limited to the term of ten years, and, of course, was made elective. For some time longer the king-archon was always chosen from the old royal family; but finally the office was thrown open to any noble. At last, in 682 B.C., the archons were all made annual officers; and alongside them were set six lesser archons, called *decision-givers*, to assist in the growing judicial work.

104. The Political Organization of the Eupatrids.—The nobles were known as *Eupatrids* (well-born). Apparently they were the chiefs, or clan elders, of the numerous clans in Attica. Their council was called *the Areopagus*, from the hill where it met. The Eupatrids ruled Attica through this assembly and through the archons chosen from their own number. The other tribesmen must have had an assembly for religious and military purposes; but it seems to have had even less voice than the popular assembly in Homeric times.

105. Economic¹ Oppression. — The Eupatrids tyrannized over the common tribesmen in economic matters also. Most of the land had come to belong to the Eupatrids. They tilled it mainly by tenants, who paid five sixths of the produce for rent. A bad season or hostile ravages often compelled these tenants to borrow seed or food, and to mortgage their persons for payment. If the debtor failed to pay promptly, he could be dragged off in chains and sold into slavery with his family.

Besides the great Eupatrid landlords and their tenants, there was a class of small farmers owning their lands; but often these men also were obliged to borrow of the Eupatrids, and in consequence to pass into much the condition of the poorer tenants. Aristotle² says: —

“The poor with their wives and children were the very bondsmen of the rich, who named them Sixth-men, because it was for this wage they tilled the land. The entire land was in the hands of a few. If the poor failed to pay their rents they were liable to be haled into slavery. . . . They were discontented also with every other feature of their lot, for, to speak generally, they had no share in anything.” — *Constitution of Athens*, 2.

C. SOME EARLY LOSS OF POWER BY THE EUPATRIDS, AND ATTEMPTS TO OVERTHROW THEM.

106. The Four Classes: Political Power based in Part upon Wealth. — The supremacy of the Eupatrids had rested largely on their superiority in war. They composed the “knights,” or heavy-armed cavalry of Attica. In comparison with this cavalry the early foot soldiery was only a light-armed mob. But, before 650, there grew up a heavy-armed infantry, with shield, helmet, and long spear. The serried ranks of these “hoplites” proved able to repel cavalry. In consequence, the

¹ “Economic” means “with reference to property,” or “with reference to the way of getting a living,” just as “political” means “with reference to government.” These terms are so convenient that students should become familiar with them.

² See the list of authorities on page 126 and also § 186.

importance of the Eupatrids in war declined, and there followed some decrease in their political privileges.¹

Better to maintain the military system, all the tribesmen were divided into four classes, based upon yearly income *from land*,—500-measure men, 300-measure men, 200-measure men, and those whose income was less than 200 measures² of corn. The first two classes were obliged to serve as knights, or cavalry, and doubtless at first were all Eupatrids; the third class were thought able to arm themselves as hoplites; the fourth class were called into the field less often, and only as light-armed troops.



LIGHT-ARMED GREEK SOLDIER.

This system was *designed to regulate service to the state*; but it became also, to some degree, a basis for the *distribution of political power*. From the three higher classes (all the heavy armed soldiery) was formed a new political Assembly, which elected archons (from the first class) and some other officers. Thus political rights ceased to be based wholly on birth, and became partly a matter of wealth. The rich merchants, who became landowners and who were required to serve as hoplites, secured some voice in elections.

107. Imperfect Results; Attempts at Tyranny.—In general, however, authority remained with the old oligarchy, who seemed almost as safely entrenched under the new system by their wealth as they had been before by birth. Indeed, they must have furnished a large part of the hoplites, by arming their dependents and servants.

The Eupatrid rule continued selfish and incompetent, and nothing had been done to cure the sufferings of the poor. The dissatisfaction of the people grew more and more bitter; and,

¹ Read Abbott, *History of Greece*, II, 22.

² A "measure" was a little over half a bushel.

at length, ambitious adventurers began to hope that they might overthrow the oligarchy and make themselves tyrants. One young conspirator, *Cylon*, with his forces, actually seized the Acropolis. The Eupatrids rallied, and Cylon was defeated; but the ruling oligarchy had received a fright, and they now made a great concession (§ 108).

108. Draco: Written Laws. — All Athenian law had been a matter of ancient custom. It was not written down, and, indeed, it was sometimes known only to the Eupatrids, from whose ranks came all the judges. The people felt that these judges abused their power in order to favor their own class¹ at the expense of the other tribesmen. Therefore the Athenians clamored for a written code. They did not ask yet for *new* laws, but only that the old laws might be fixed and known.

At last, in 621, after the attempt of Cylon, the Eupatrids consented that *Draco*, the chief-archon, should draw up a written code. This was done;² and the "laws of Draco" were engraved on wooden blocks and set up where all might see them. The result was to make men feel how unfit and harsh the old laws were, — "written in blood rather than ink," as was said in a later age. The Athenians were now ready to demand new laws.

D. SOLON AND THE OVERTHROW OF THE EUPATRIDS.

109. Solon: his Character and Rise to Notice. — Happily for Athens, just at this time she produced a rare man who was to render her great service. *Solon* was a descendant of the old

¹ It is curious to see elsewhere similar demands by the people upon the aristocrats for written laws, — as in Rome at the time of the Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables, and even in early Massachusetts, before the adoption of the *Body of Liberties*, the first code in America, in 1641.

² It is probable that Draco only reduced old customs to more definite form. If any changes in political power were made, they must have been slight. Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* is the only authority for ascribing political changes to Draco; and such changes are denied by another work of Aristotle (*Politics*, ii, 12).

kings. In his youth he had been a trader to other lands, and he had become known also as a poet, a general, and a philosopher. Now he was to show himself a statesman.

His patriotism had been proven. At one time the quarrels between the classes had so weakened Athens that little Megara,¹ under the firm rule of an enterprising "tyrant," had captured Salamis. In control of this island, it was easy for Megara to seize ships trying to enter the Athenian ports. Efforts to recover the important island failed so miserably that in despair the Athenians had decided to put to death any one who should again propose the attempt. But Solon shammed madness,—to claim a crazy man's privilege,—and, appearing suddenly in the Assembly, recited a warlike, patriotic poem which roused his countrymen to fresh efforts. Solon was made general, and he recovered the island and saved Athens from ruin.

110. Solon's Appointment as Archon, to make over the Constitution.—Solon was known to sympathize with the poor. In his poems he had blamed the greed of the Eupatrids and had pleaded for reconciliation between the classes. All trusted him, and the poor loved him. Thus when the civil strife was becoming actual war, the whole city turned to him. He was elected Archon, with special authority to make new laws and to remodel the government. This office he held for two years, *594 and 593 B.C.*

111. The Shaking-off of Burdens.—The first year Solon dealt with economic evils.

a. The old tenants were made free proprietors of the lands which they had cultivated for the Eupatrids.² Solon boasts in a poem of "freeing the enslaved land" by removing the stone pillars which had marked Eupatrid ownership.

b. All debts were canceled.

c. All Athenians in slavery in Attica were freed.

¹ A neighboring city on the Isthmus of Corinth.

² This view is not always accepted. Many scholars think that Solon simply canceled mortgages, and made the future transfer of land easier by removing certain religious obstacles.

d. It was made illegal to reduce Athenians to slavery.

e. To own more than a certain quantity of land was forbidden.

The last two regulations aimed to prevent any return of the old evils. The first three measures roughly redressed the past. They were, of course, a sweeping confiscation of property; and the Eupatrids showed great moderation in submitting to them peacefully. In later times the whole people celebrated these acts of Solon by a yearly "Festival of the Shaking-off of Burdens."

112. Political Reform.—Solon had not yet touched *directly* the form of government; but *indirectly* the economic changes of themselves would have resulted in great political change. Political power was already based upon landed property. Up to the time of Solon, the Eupatrids had owned most of the land. But now much of it had been given to the poor, and it was easy for any rich man to buy land. Thus, by the purchase of land, merchants rose into the first class, while Eupatrids sank into other classes, so that their very name disappeared.

Moreover, in the second year of his Archonship, Solon introduced *direct* political changes which went far toward making Athens a democracy.

a. *A Senate of four hundred* (one hundred by lot from the three higher classes of each Athenian tribe) took over the general administration from the Areopagus, and prepared measures to put before the Assembly.

b. *The fourth class*, who had had no political rights, were now admitted to the Assembly, though they were not allowed to hold office.

c. *The new Assembly* (all Athenians) discussed and decided upon the proposals of the new Senate; elected Archons from the first class,¹ and other officers from the three higher classes;

¹ Aristotle says that by Solon's constitution the Archons were chosen by lot from forty candidates nominated in equal numbers by the separate tribes. But if this was so, the practice of election seems to have been revived within a short time, and to have continued until 487 B.C. (§ 173).

and tried officers at the expiration of their terms, if any citizen accused them.

d. The Areopagus was no longer a Eupatrid council. It was composed of ex-archons, and was shorn of most of its powers. Its governing power had gone to the Senate; its judicial function (for the most part) to the Assembly and to new courts. It remained a court to try murder cases, and to exercise a supervision over the morals of the citizens, with power to impose fines for extravagance, insolence, or gluttony.

113. Additional Reforms.—Solon also replaced Draco's bloody laws with a milder code, introduced a new coinage better suited for foreign commerce, made it the duty of each father to teach his son a trade, limited the wealth that might be buried with the dead, restricted women from appearing in public, and enacted that any Athenian who remained neutral in a civil war should forfeit citizenship.

114. Summary of the Constitution and of the Changes of a Century.—In 682 B.C., when the Archons became annual officers (§ 103), a few noble families still owned most of the soil, possessed all political power, and held the rest of the people in virtual slavery.

In 593 B.C., when Solon laid down his office, nearly all Athenian tribesmen were landowners. All tribesmen were members of the political Assembly, which elected officers (so far as election was not settled by lot¹), tried them upon occasion, and decided public questions. Administrative power rested partly in annual officers and partly in a senate chosen by tribes. To hold office, a man had to possess enough wealth to belong to one of the three higher classes, and some offices were open only to the wealthiest class.²

¹ The lot was introduced to check the tendency to elect only the old chiefs. It was regarded as an appeal to the gods, and its use was always accompanied with religious ceremonies. It was used in a like way sometimes by the early Puritans in New England.

² In nearly all the American states, for some time after the Revolutionary War, important offices and the right to vote were open only to men with property.

E. THE TYRANTS.

115. Anarchy renewed. — Important as the reforms of Solon were, they did not end the fierce strife of factions. Bitter feuds followed between the *Plain* (wealthy landowners), the *Shore* (merchants), and the *Mountain* (shepherds and small farmers). Twice within ten years, anarchy prevented the election of an archon; and once the Archon tried to hold over without reelection, and so become a tyrant.

116. Peisistratus, 560-527. — From such anarchy the city was saved by *Peisistratus*. In 560 B.C. this noble made himself tyrant, by help of the democratic faction. Twice the aristocracy drove him into exile, once for ten years; but each time he recovered his power, almost without bloodshed, because of the favor of the poorer people.

The rule of Peisistratus was mild, wise, and popular. He lived simply, like other citizens. He even appeared in a law court, to answer in a suit against him. And he always treated the aged Solon (his kinsman) with deep respect, despite the latter's bitter opposition. Indeed, Peisistratus governed through the forms of Solon's constitution, and enforced Solon's laws, taking care only to have his own friends elected to the chief offices. He was more like the "boss" of a great political "machine" than like a "tyrant." During the third period of his rule, however, he did guard himself by mercenary soldiers and by banishing many hostile nobles.

Peisistratus encouraged commerce, enlarged and beautified Athens, built aqueducts and roads, and drew to his court a brilliant circle of poets, painters, architects, and sculptors, from all Hellas. The first complete edition of the Homeric poems is said to have been put together at his command and expense. *Anacreon* (§ 129 a) wrote his graceful odes at the Peisistratid court, and *Thespis* (§ 129 b) began Greek tragedy at the magnificent festivals there instituted to Dionysus (god of wine). The tyrant gave new splendor to the public worship, and instituted rural festivals in various parts of Attica,

to make country life more attractive. He divided the confiscated estates of banished nobles among landless freemen, and thus increased the number of peasant landholders. Attica was no longer plundered by invasion or torn by dissension. Since the Athenians could not yet govern themselves, it was well they had a Peisistratus.

“Not only was he in every respect humane and mild and ready to forgive those who offended, but in addition he advanced money to the poorer people to help them in their labors.

“For the same reason [to make rural life attractive] he instituted local justices, and often made expeditions in person into the country to inspect it, and to settle disputes between persons, that they might not come to the city and neglect their farms. It was in one of these progresses, as the story goes, that Peisistratus had his adventure with the man in the district of Hymettus, who was cultivating the spot afterwards known as the ‘Tax-free Farm.’ He saw a man digging at very stony ground with a stake, and sent and asked what he got out of such a plot of land. ‘Aches and pains,’ said the man, ‘and out of these Peisistratus must get his tenth.’ Peisistratus was so pleased with his frank speech and his industry that he granted him exemption from taxes.”—ARISTOTLE, *Constitution of Athens*, 17.

117. Expulsion of the Son of Peisistratus, 510 B.C.—In 527, Peisistratus was succeeded by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. Hipparchus, the younger brother, lived an evil life, and, in 514, he was murdered because of a private grudge. The rule of Hippias had been kindly, but now he grew cruel and suspicious, and Athens became ready for revolt.

Cleisthenes, one of a band of exiled nobles, saw his opportunity to regain his home. The temple of Apollo at Delphi had just been burned, and Cleisthenes engaged to rebuild it. He did so with great magnificence, using the finest of marble where the contract had called only for common limestone. After this, whenever the Spartans consulted the oracle, no matter what the occasion, they were always ordered by the priest to “first set free the Athenians.”¹ The Spartans had no quarrel with Hippias, but repeated commands from such a

¹ Herodotus (§ 185) says that Cleisthenes had bribed the oracle.

source could not be disregarded. Finally, in 510, a reluctant Spartan army, with the Athenian exiles, marched against the tyrant and expelled him.

F. REFORMS OF CLEISTHENES: ATHENS A DEMOCRACY.

118. Vigor of Free Athens.—The Athenians were now in confusion again, but the outcome proved that they had gained in strength and in power to govern themselves. The oligarchic party strove to restore its ancient control; but Cleisthenes wisely threw his strength upon the side of the people, and drove out the oligarchs. A Spartan army restored them for a moment, but was itself soon besieged in the Acropolis and captured by the aroused democracy. The Thebans and Euboeans seized what seemed a time of confusion to invade Attica, but were routed by a double engagement in one day.

The Athenians had enjoyed little fame in war, "but now," says Aristotle, "they showed that men will fight more bravely for themselves than for a master." Indeed, Athens was not content simply to defend herself. Chalcis in Euboea was stormed, and its trade with Thrace (§ 91) fell to Athens. At the same time Athens began her special kind of colonization, sending four thousand citizens to possess the best land of Chalcis, and to serve as a garrison there. These men retained full Athenian citizenship. They were known as *cleruchs*, or out-settlers. In this way Athens was to find land for her surplus population, and to fortify her influence abroad.

During the struggle Cleisthenes proposed a new constitution for Athens. The people adopted this constitution, and so made Athens a true democracy (§§ 121-125). In order to understand the reforms, however, it is well to notice closely what were the evils to be corrected (§§ 119, 120).

119. The Evils to be corrected.—There were three main evils which Cleisthenes sought to cure.

a. The constitution of Solon, though a great advance toward democracy, had still left the government mainly in the hands of the rich. The poorest class could not hold office, and the popular Assembly had not learned how to use its real powers. In some respects, too, its authority was seriously hampered by the law: thus, new measures could be introduced only by the Senate.

b. The jealousy between the clans of the Plain, of the Shore, and of the Mountain still distracted Athens. This evil was the greater because the voting was by clans. That way of voting also strengthened the influence of the clan chiefs: it was natural for each clan to rally around its own chief.

c. There was a bitter jealousy between the real Athenian tribesmen (or the citizens) and a large body of non-citizens. The presence of these aliens calls for a further explanation.

120. **The Metics, or Strangers.** — Solon's reforms had concerned tribesmen only; and probably in his day few strangers lived long in Attica. But in the ninety years between Solon and Cleisthenes, especially under the good rule of Peisistratus, the growing trade of Athens had drawn many aliens there. These men were enterprising and sometimes wealthy; but though they lived in the city, they had no part in its religion, its politics, its law, or its society.

No alien could marry an Athenian or own land in Attica. The city might find it pay to protect his property, in order to attract other strangers; but he had no secure legal rights. Nor could the son of an alien, or his son's son, or any later descendant, acquire any rights merely by continuing to live in Athens. Society was based on blood relationship. *By adoption* into an Athenian clan, a few strangers now and then won position as citizens; but only a revolution could bring the aliens *as a class* into the city.

A like condition was found in other Greek cities; but rarely were the aliens so large or so wealthy a class as in commercial Athens. The descendants of fugitives and of freed slaves swelled their numbers, and discontent might make them a

danger. Cleisthenes' plan was to take them into the state, and so make them strengthen it.

121. Geographical Tribes and Demes. — Cleisthenes began his work by marking off Attica into a hundred divisions, called *demes*. Each citizen was enrolled in one of these, and his son after him. This enrollment, instead of the old clan connection, became the proof of citizenship. Indeed, in future, a man took his surname from his deme, and no longer from his clan. The clan survived only for religious and social purposes. In all political matters it was replaced by the deme.

Each deme had its demarch, or chief, its deme-assembly, and its deme-treasury. That is, the demes became the units of local government within the city. The general government of the city was also based upon them. Ten demes — not close together, but scattered as widely as possible, so as to include the various local interests — composed a *tribe*, or ward; and the ten new artificial "tribes" replaced the old blood tribes in the Assembly.

By this arrangement, a clan could no longer act as a unit, since its members made parts, perhaps, of several "tribes." The influence of the clan chiefs declined, and other citizens were more likely to be chosen to office. Shore and Mountain, too, could no longer rally as units, because their members voted now in many different tribes, and often men of the Shore and of the Mountain found themselves united in the same tribe.

122. The State enlarged. — The invention of the demes helped likewise to solve the more difficult problem of admitting the non-citizen class. When old associations were being broken up and all citizens were being distributed in the new demes, it was possible for Cleisthenes to enroll also the aliens in the new units. This great reform he accomplished. Thus the *metics* (stranger-sojourners) of that day became citizens, and fresh, progressive, democratic influences were incorporated into Athenian life. This was one of the most striking and liberal reforms in all ancient history.

It must not be supposed, however, that outlanders continued to gain admission in the future, as with us, by easy naturalization. The act of Cleisthenes applied only to those then in Athens and to their descendants. In a few years another metic class grew up, with all the old disadvantages. Such a class was a constant phenomenon in the ancient cities.¹

123. The power of the Assembly was greatly enlarged. As before, it elected Archons and other officers, and tried them; but now the Senate was expected to submit to the Assembly all matters of importance. Thus the Assembly began to deal with foreign affairs, taxation, and the details of military campaigns. Discussion was no longer hampered. Any citizen could move amendments or introduce new business. To be sure, it took some time for the Assembly to realize its full power and to learn how to control its various agents, but its rise to supreme authority was now only a matter of natural growth.

124. A Summary of the Work of Cleisthenes.—Thus the three chief evils in the Athenian state (§§ 119–120) were in large part corrected. The main agent in reform had been the substitution of the geographical “tribes” for the old blood tribes. This was the essence of the work of Cleisthenes, as land reform had been the essence of Solon’s work. It had gone far toward getting rid of family and local faction, and it had strengthened the state by bringing in new citizens.

Cleisthenes had striven also to develop the democratic features of the older constitution and to weaken the aristocratic ones. To this end, besides strengthening the Assembly, he adopted a number of minor measures (§ 125).

125. Additional Reforms.—The *Senate* was enlarged to five hundred,—fifty by lot from each of the ten “tribes.” The five hundred divided themselves into ten committees of fifty each, and one of these committees was always in

¹ It is true that now for a while the Athenians permitted intermarriage with aliens, and that the children of such marriages became full citizens; but the older exclusive rule was afterward restored.

session. Ten *Generals* were elected annually from Solon's first three classes, to share the control of military matters with the *polemarch*. The *Archons* and the *Areopagus* were not seriously affected at the moment; but, as an indirect result of the changes which have been described, their power was to decline.

126. Ostracism. — One peculiar device of Cleisthenes deserves special mention. It was called *ostracism*, and it was designed to prevent factions in the state from growing dangerous. Solon had thought civil strife inevitable, and had sought only to force all to take sides (§ 113) so that the bad man might not win through the indifference of the multitude. Cleisthenes tried by ingenious means to head off civil strife altogether. Once a year the Assembly was given a chance to vote by ballot (on pieces of pottery, "ostraka"), each one against any man whom he deemed dangerous to the state. If six thousand votes were cast, the man receiving the largest number went into honorable exile for ten years.¹

SUGGESTION FOR TABULAR REVIEW OF ATHENIAN CONSTITUTIONS.

Let the class complete the tables on page 125, and make others for the constitution of Cleisthenes. (Use the same device later for the constitution at the time of Pericles.)

The word "constitution" in these phrases and tables does not mean a written document, but the unwritten practice regarding the government.

Legislation, it must be understood, is a rare thing until a late period when society has become highly complex. In the early period, law is simply custom; and men expect to make *new* laws, if at all, only through some legislative dictator like Solon. The column for legislation in these tables must be left blank for all early constitutions; in Athens, until the time of Pericles (§§ 172 ff.).

¹ Historians used to think that 6000 votes had to be cast against one man. See Grote or Curtius for illustration. The recently discovered *Constitution of Athens*, by Aristotle (see "References for Further Reading," page 126) makes it clear that this view was wrong. If 6000 citizens thought that *some one* ought to go into exile, in order to prevent strife, then the man against whom the greatest number of votes was cast had to go.

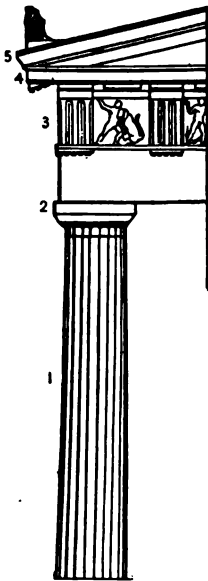
EUPATRID CONSTITUTION.

ELEMENTS.	LEGISLATION.	JUDICATORY.	ADMINISTRATION.	RELIGION.
Archons, 9; elected annually from and by the Eupatrids.		"The Archon" is chief judge; the six lesser archons assist.	"The Archon" is chief civil administrator. War archon is leader in war.	King-archon is high priest of the State.
Areopagus — a life-council of the Eupatrids.		An important tribunal.	General oversight.	General oversight.
Assembly — Athenian tribesmen.			Meets for military purposes.	Meets for religious purposes.

CONSTITUTION OF SOLON.

ELEMENTS.	LEGISLATION.	JUDICATORY.	ADMINISTRATION.	RELIGION.
Archons, 9; elected annually from the first class by the Assembly.		<i>As before.</i>	<i>As before.</i>	<i>As before.</i>
Areopagus — Ex-archons, for life.		<i>Fill in.</i>	<i>Fill in.</i>	<i>Fill in.</i>
Senate, 400; 100 from each tribe, chosen annually by lot from the higher classes.			<i>Fill in.</i>	
Assembly — Athenian tribesmen, arranged in four property classes.			<i>Fill in.</i>	<i>Fill in.</i>

(*pediments*) in front and rear were filled with statuary, as was also the *frieze*, or band of stone around the four sides between the cornice and the columns. Sometimes there was a second frieze upon the solid walls of the inclosed building inside the colonnade. Within were chambers for the statues of the gods, for the altar, and for all the utensils of the sacred service.



DORIC COLUMN.—From the Temple of Theseus at Athens.

1, The shaft; 2, the capital; 3, the frieze (triglyphs and metopes); 4, cornice; 5, part of roof, showing the low slope.

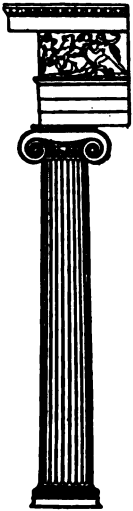
The building took much of its beauty from its colonnades; and the chief differences in the styles of architecture were marked by the columns and their capitals. According to differences in these features, a building is said to belong to the *Doric*, *Ionic*, or *Corinthian* "order."

In the *Doric order* the column has no base of its own, but rests directly upon the foundation from which the walls rise. The *shaft* is grooved lengthwise with some twenty flutings, and it has a slight outward swelling, not perceptible to the eye, but just enough to keep the shaft from seeming to taper too regularly and too fast. The *capital* is severely simple, consisting of a circular band of stone, swelling up from the shaft, capped by a square block, all without ornament. Upon the capitals rested a plain band of massive stones (*the architrave*), and above this was the frieze which supported the roof.

Outside the spaces within the gables, the ornament is confined to the frieze. This is divided at equal spaces by *triglyphs*, a series of projecting perpendicular flutings; and the spaces between the triglyphs (*metopes*) are filled with noble relief sculptures. The *Doric style* is the simplest of the three orders. Indeed it is almost austere in its

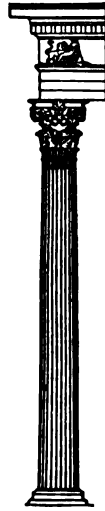
plainness, giving rise to a sense of self-controlled power and repose. Sometimes it is called a masculine style, in contrast with the more ornate and refined *feminine* character of the Ionic order.

The Ionic order came later into general use, but it was employed in Ionia even during this early period. In this order the column has a base arranged in three expanding circles. The shaft is more slender than the Doric. The swelling bell of the capital is often nobly carved, and it is surmounted by two spiral rolls (*volute*s). The frieze has no triglyphs, and the sculpture upon it is one continuous band.



IONIC
ORDER.

The Corinthian order is a later development and does not belong to the period we are now considering. It resembles the Ionian; but the capital is taller, lacks the volutes, and is more highly ornamented, with forms of leaves or animals.



CORIN-
THIAN
ORDER.

128. Lyric Poetry. — In poetry there was more development even than in architecture. The earliest Greek poetry had been made up of *ballads*, celebrating wars and heroes. These ballads were stories in verse, sung by wandering bards and harpers. The form and meter were simple and uniform. The

greater of such compositions rose to *epic poetry*, of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (§ 72) are the great examples. Their epoch is called the *Epic Age*.

But in the seventh and sixth centuries most poetry consisted of odes and songs in a great variety of meters, — expressive of the more varied life of the time. Love and pleasure are the favorite themes, and the poems are descriptive of *feelings* rather than of outward events. They were intended to



RUINS OF THE PARTHENON, on the Acropolis of Athens, east front. This famous temple is of the Doric order (§ 182).

be sung to the accompaniment of the lyre. They are therefore known as *lyrics*; and the seventh and sixth centuries are called the *Lyric Age*. The most famous poets of the period are grouped below.

129. Reference List of Early Poets.

a. Lyric and Elegiac Poets. — Seventh and sixth centuries.

From Lesbos: *Alcaeus*; *Arion*, patronized by Periander, tyrant of Corinth (§ 95); *Sappho*, whom the ancients were wont to designate simply "the poetess," just as they referred to Homer as "the poet"; *Terpander*.

From Ceos: *Simonides*, whose odes incited to Hellenic patriotism and who lived over into the next age.

From Teos: *Anacreon* (§ 116).

From Paros: *Archilochus*, who wrote war songs.

From Ephesus: *Callinus*.

From Attica (?): *Solon* (§§ 109-113); and perhaps *Tyrtaeus*, a war poet at Sparta in the Second Messenian War.

From Ionia (?), but living at Sparta: *Alcman*.

From Sicily: *Stesichorus*.

from Megara : *Theognis*, poet of the oligarchs against the people.
 from Boeotia : *Corinna*, a woman ; and *Pindar*,¹ who belongs also to
 the next age.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE WINGLESS VICTORY, on the Acropolis of Athens, Ionic order (§ 182).

b. *Poets representing other than Lyric Poetry.* — *Hesiod* (eighth century), from Boeotia : poetic history of creation and of the gods

¹ Pindar was a Theban noble, and was accounted the greatest Greek lyric poet. He delighted to celebrate the victors in the Olympic contests. Professor Jebb says of him (*Primer*, 68) : " The glory of his song has passed forever from the world, with the sound of the rolling harmonies on which it once was borne, with the splendor of rushing chariots and athletic forms around which it threw its radiance, with the white-pillared cities of the Aegean in which it wrought its spell, with the beliefs and joys which it nobled ; but those who love his poetry, and who strive to enter into its high places, can still know that they breathe a pure and bracing air, and can still feel vibrating through a clear, calm sky the strong pulse of an eagle's wings, as he soars with steady eyes against the sun."

(*Theogony*), and poems on agriculture (*Works and Days*); *Thespis*, of Megara, who under the patronage of Peisistratus at Athens began dramatic poetry (which was to be the chief form of literature in the next century and was to remain centered in Athens).

EXERCISES. — From the names in the table above, what part of Hellas seems foremost in culture in the Lyric Age? (Note that Alcman and Tyrtaeus, whatever their origin, are the first and last poets of Sparta.) Look up brief accounts of Sappho and Alcaeus.

130. Philosophy. — It was in the sixth century, too, that Greek philosophy was born. Its home was in Ionia. There first the Greek mind set out fearlessly and systematically to explain the origin of things. *Thales* of Miletus, “father of Greek philosophy,” taught that all things came from Water, or moisture. His pupil *Anaximenes* substituted Air for Water as the universal “first principle.” *Pythagoras*, born at Samos, but teaching in Magna Graecia, sought the fundamental principle, not in a kind of matter, but in Number, or Harmony. *Xenophanes* of Ionia, but living in Italy, affirmed that the only real existence was that of God, one and changeless — “neither in body like unto mortals, neither in mind”; the changing world, he said, did not exist; it was only a deception of men’s senses. To *Heraclitus* of Ephesus, on the other hand, “ceaseless change” itself was the very principle of things; the world, he taught, had evolved from a fiery ether, and was in constant flux.

This early philosophy was closely related to early science. Thales was the first Greek to foretell eclipses. *Anaximander*, another philosopher of Miletus, made maps and globes. The Pythagoreans naturally paid special attention to Geometry, and to Pythagoras is ascribed the famous demonstration about the square on the hypotenuse of a triangle.

The Pythagoreans, too, were the first to connect “philosophy” with conduct. The harmony in the outer world, they held, must be matched by a harmony in the soul of man.

VIII SUMMARY FOR THE PERIOD, 1000-500 B.C.

131. We can now observe that the obscure but important five centuries from 1000 to 500 B.C. were marked by six great movements:—

(a) The Hellenes grew to think of themselves as one in blood and culture. This development is called the growth of Hellenic consciousness (§ 187).

(b) Hellenic civilization expanded by colonization about all the Mediterranean coasts (§§ 89-92).

(c) A series of great political revolutions took place in nearly every city, (1) from monarchy to oligarchy, (2) from oligarchy to tyranny, and (3) from tyranny to democracy or back to aristocracy (§§ 93-95).

(d) Sparta rose to military leadership in Hellas (in the eighth and seventh centuries).

(e) Athens rose to leadership in democracy (in the sixth century).

(f) There took place an intellectual and artistic development (in the seventh and sixth centuries), especially marked in Ionia, which at this time seems to lead in Greek culture.

We have now reached a period where the details of history are somewhat better known and where a more connected story is possible. This story begins with the Persian Wars.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERSIAN ATTACK.

I. THE TWO ANTAGONISTS.

132. Persia. — About 500 B.C. the Greek and Oriental civilizations joined battle.¹ Within the preceding half century Persia had absorbed the four great empires of the East, — Media, Babylon, Egypt, and Lydia (§ 60). Thus it comprised the whole territory of the old Oriental civilizations, besides vast additions made by recent Persian kings. Now this mighty world-empire attacked the bustling, energetic, but small, straggling, and disunited Greek cities.

133. Hellas. — Three sections of Hellas were prominent in power and culture: *the European peninsula* (which we commonly call Greece); *Asiatic Hellas*, with the coast islands; and *Sicily and Magna Graecia* (§ 91). Elsewhere the cities were too scattered, or too small, or too busy with their own defense against surrounding savages, to be of great importance for the approaching contest. Asiatic Hellas fell easily to Persia before the real struggle began. Then the two other sections were attacked simultaneously, the one by Persia and the other by Carthage.

a. Sicily and Carthage. — Carthage, on the north coast of Africa, was a colony of Phoenicia. It had built up a great empire, and was now about to try to complete its seizure of Sicily.² That island, bringing Africa and Europe within reach of each other, was an important point from which

¹ The Persian wars were the opening of a contest between East and West which has gone on ever since, with the Mohammedan and Tartar invasions, the crusades, and the Eastern question of our own day for later chapters.

² For previous Carthaginian attempts, see Freeman's *Story of Sicily*.

to control Mediterranean trade. The Greek cities in Sicily and Italy were ruled by tyrants; and these rulers, uniting under *Gelon* of Syracuse, met the Carthaginian onset successfully with their armies of disciplined mercenaries. The struggle, however, kept the Western Greeks from helping their kinsmen against the Persians.

b. Greece: Wars, Class Strife, the Peloponnesian League.— In Greece, small as the forces seemed that could be mustered against the master of the world, they were further divided and wasted in internal struggles. Athens was at war with Aegina and with Thebes; Sparta had renewed an ancient strife with Argos (§ 96), and had crippled her for a generation by slaying in one battle almost the whole body of adult Argives.¹ Phocis was engaged in a struggle with Thessalians on one side and with Boeotians on the other. Worse than all this, the individual cities were often torn by cruel strife at home, — oligarchs against democrats.

In a sense Sparta was the head of Greece. She lacked the enterprise and daring that were to make Athens the city of the coming century; but her government was firm, her army was large and disciplined, and so far she had shown more genius than any other Greek state in organizing her neighbors into a military league. Two fifths of the Peloponnesus she ruled directly, and the other three fifths, except Argos, formed a war confederacy of which Sparta was the head.

It is true the union was very slight. On special occasions, at the call of Sparta, the states sent deputies to a conference to discuss peace or war; but there was no constitution, no common treasury, not even a *general* treaty. Each state was

¹ The old men and boys, however, were still able to defend Argos itself against any possible Spartan attack. This touches an important fact in Greek warfare: a walled city could hardly be taken by assault; it could fall only through extreme carelessness, or by treachery, or starvation. The last danger did not often exist, because the citizen armies of the besiegers could not keep the field long themselves. They were needed at home, and it was not easy for them to secure food for a long siege.

bound to Sparta by its *separate*¹ treaty; and in case of war each was expected to maintain a certain number of troops for the confederate army. But loose as this Peloponnesian league was, it was the greatest war power in Hellas, and it seemed the one rallying point for disunited Greece in the coming struggle. (Cf. § 99, close.)

II. THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE — CONQUEST AND REVOLT OF IONIA.

134. The Conquest of the Ionia Greeks. — To the close of the sixth century the Asiatic Hellenes excelled all other branches of the Greek race in culture.² Unfortunately for them, the empire of Lydia arose near them. That great state was unwilling to be shut off from the Aegean by the Greek cities, and it set out to conquer them. Even then, for some time, the little Greek states kept their independence; but, in 560,³ Croesus (§ 59) became king of Lydia, and this energetic monarch soon subdued the Greek cities of the Asiatic coast. Croesus, however, was a warm admirer of the Greeks, and his rule over them was gentle. The Greek cities were expected to acknowledge his sovereignty and to pay a small tribute in money; otherwise they were left to manage their own affairs at home and were favored in many ways in the Lydian empire.

When Cyrus the Persian attacked Croesus (§ 60), the Asiatic Greeks fought gallantly for Lydia. After the overthrow of Croesus, they tried to come to terms with Cyrus; but, finding themselves threatened with severe punishment, they struggled for a while for independence. They applied in vain to Sparta for aid.⁴ Then a federation was suggested,

¹ The union was so loose that the separate cities might make war upon each other inside the league.

² The names in §§ 129, 130 are a proof of this statement.

³ The same year in which Peisistratus became master of Athens.

⁴ Special report: the story of this appeal, as given by Herodotus, I, 152, 153. The student will do well also to observe how the large modern histories which tell the story follow the account by Herodotus.

(This seems a good place to call the attention of teachers to one feature of

but the Greeks could not rise to so wise a plan. The cities fell, one by one, before the arms of Cyrus; and under Persian despotism their old leadership in civilization soon vanished.

135. The Ionian Revolt in 500 B.C.; Athenian Aid.— Before the conquest by Persia, the Ionian cities had begun to get rid of tyrants. The Persians set up tyrants again everywhere, as the easiest means of control. Each tyrant knew that he could keep his power only by Persian support.

In the year 500 B.C., however, by a general rising, the Ionians deposed their tyrants and broke into revolt against Persia. Another appeal to Sparta proved fruitless; but Athens sent them twenty ships and little Eretria sent five. At first the allies were successful. They took Sardis, the old capital of Lydia, and were then joined by the other Asiatic Greeks. But treachery and mutual suspicion were rampant; Persian gold was used skillfully; and one defeat broke up the league. Then the cities were again subdued, one by one, in the four years following.

III. THE FIRST TWO ATTACKS UPON THE EUROPEAN GREEKS, 492-490 B.C.

136. Relation to the Ionian Revolt.— According to legend, the Persian king attacked European Greece because he wished to punish Athens for sending aid to the Ionian rebels.¹ No doubt Athens was pointed out by this act for special vengeance; but the Persian invasion would have come in any case, and would have come some years sooner, had the war in Ionia not kept the Persians busy.

this text-book. The story just referred to is easily told, and it could easily be put into the text. But it has no great historical value; at least, it is not essential to the understanding of the history. And any high school student, who has Herodotus accessible, can tell the story as well as the author. *This is the kind of outside reading that all students can easily do.*

¹ Special report: the story of Herodotus about the wrath of Darius, the Persian king. (The story has the character of a pure invention to flatter Greek vanity.)

The expanding frontier of the Persian empire had reached Thessaly just before 500 B.C., and the same motives that had carried Persian arms through Thrace and Macedonia would have carried them on into Greece. The Persian empire under Darius (§ 63) was still in full career of conquest; and though the Greek peninsula was small, its cities were becoming wealthy, and they were desired by Persia for their ships and their trade. *The real significance of the Ionian war was that it helped to delay the main Persian onset until the Greeks were better prepared.* The Athenians had been wise, as well as generous, in aiding the Ionians.

137. First Expedition against Greece, 492 B.C. Mount Athos.—Immediately after the end of the Ionian revolt Darius began vast preparations for the invasion of Greece. A great army was gathered at the Hellespont under *Mardonius*, son-in-law of the king; and a large fleet was made ready to accompany the army with supplies. In 492, these forces set out, advancing along the shores of the Aegean. But the army suffered from constant attacks by the savage Thracian tribes, and finally, as the fleet was rounding the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, a terrible storm dashed it to pieces. With it were wrecked all hopes of success. Mardonius had no choice but to retreat into Asia as best he could.

138. Second Expedition, 490 B.C. Marathon.—The failure of Mardonius filled Darius with wrath. Such a check in an expedition against the petty Greek states was wholly unexpected. Mardonius, though an able general, was disgraced, and a new expedition was intrusted to *Datis*.

Meantime, in 491, heralds were sent to all the Greek cities to demand "earth and water," in token of submission. The islands in the Aegean yielded at once. In continental Greece the demand was in general quietly refused; but in Athens and Sparta indignation ran so high that even the sacred character of ambassadors did not save the messengers. At Athens they were thrown into a pit, and at Sparta into a well, and told to "take thence what they wanted."

In the spring of 490, the Persians were ready for the second expedition. This time, taking warning from the disaster at Mount Athos, the troops were embarked on a mighty fleet, which proceeded directly across the Aegean. Stopping only to receive the submission of certain islands by the way, the fleet reached the island of Euboea without a check.

There Eretria was captured, through treachery. The city was destroyed, and most of the people were sent in chains to Persia. Then the Persian army landed on the plain of *Marathon* in Attica, to punish Athens. Hippias, the exiled tyrant of Athens (§ 117), was with the invaders, confidently expecting to regain his throne; and he had pointed out this admirable place for disembarking the hostile forces.

At first most of the Athenians wished to fight only behind their walls. Sooner or later this must have resulted in ruin, especially as there were some traitors within the city hoping to admit Hippias. Happily *Miltiades*, one of the ten Generals (§ 125), persuaded the others to march out and attack the Persians at once.

From the rising ground where the hills of Mount Pentelicius meet the plain, the ten thousand Athenian hoplites faced the Persian host for the first struggle between Greeks and Asiatics on European ground.

A swift runner had run the hundred and fifty miles of rugged hill country to implore the aid that Sparta had promised. The messenger reached Sparta on the second day; but the Spartans waited a week, on the ground that an old law forbade them to set out on a military expedition before the full moon.¹



PLAN OF MARATHON. Cf. map, page 147.

¹ For the sincerity of the Spartan excuse, see Grote, IV, 463-464, and Holm, II, 26, note 9. Read Browning's poem, *Pheidippides*.

- The heroic little Boeotian city of *Plataea*, however, remembering how Athens had sometimes protected it against Thebes, joined the Greek army with its full strength of a thousand hoplites.

Without other help, the Athenians won a marvelous victory over ten times their number of the most famous soldiery in the world. The result was due to the generalship of *Miltiades* and to the superior equipment of the Greek hoplites. Their dense, heavy array, charging with long, outstretched spears, by its sheer weight broke the light-armed Persian lines, which were utterly unprepared for conflict on such terms. The Persians always fought gallantly, but their darts and light scimeters made little impression upon the heavy bronze armor of the Greeks, while their linen tunics and wicker shields counted for little against the thrust of the Greek spear. One hundred and sixty-two Athenians fell. The Persians left over sixty-four hundred dead upon the field.¹

The Athenians tried also to seize the fleet; but here they were repulsed. The Persians embarked and sailed safely away. They took a course that might lead to Athens. Moreover, the Greeks had just seen signals flashing² to the enemy from some traitor, and Miltiades rightly feared them to be an invitation to attack the city in the absence of the army. Without rest, he hurried his wearied forces over the twenty-two miles of road to Athens. Fortunately the fleet had to sail round a long promontory (map, page 147), and when it appeared off Athens, Miltiades and his hoplites had arrived also. The Persians did not care to face again the men of Marathon; and the same day Datis set sail for Asia.

139. Moral Importance of Marathon.—Natural as the result came to seem in later times, it took high courage at that day to stand before the hitherto unconquered Persians, even without such tremendous odds. "The Athenians," says Herodo-

¹ Special report: the story of the battle in full.

² The signals were flashes of light from the polished surface of a shield at a distance, off somewhere in the mountains of Attica.

tus, "were the first of the Greeks to face the Median garments, . . . whereas up to this time the very name of Mede¹ had been a terror to the Hellenes." Athens broke the spell for the rest of Greece, and grew herself to heroic stature in an hour.

The memory of Marathon became the richest inheritance of the Athenians, and inspired them to daring enterprise. The sons of the men who conquered on that field could find no odds too crushing, no prize too dazzling, in the years to come. It was now that the Athenian character first showed itself as Thucydides (i, 70) described it a century later: "The Athenians are the only people who succeed to the full extent of their hope, because they throw themselves without reserve into whatever they resolve to do."

IV. ATHENS—FROM MARATHON TO THERMOPYLAE.

140. Internal Faction crushed.—Soon after Marathon, Egypt revolted against Persia; and so the Greeks gained ten years more of respite. Except in Athens, however, little use was made of the interval. In that city the democracy grew in unity and in power, while the oligarchs were weakened and terrorized. This involved the ruin of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon. Miltiades was originally an Athenian noble who had made himself tyrant of Chersonese.² Not long before the Persian invasion, he had brought upon himself the hatred of the Great King,³ and had fled to Athens. Here he became at once a prominent supporter of the oligarchic party. The Democrats tried to prosecute him for his previous "tyranny"; but the attempt failed, and when the Persian invasion came, the Athenians were fortunate in having his experience and ability to guide them. Soon after Marathon,

¹ The terms "Mede" and "Persian" are often used interchangeably.

² Or Chersonesus; a peninsula settled by Greek colonists, near the entrance to the Black Sea. See map following page 72.

³ Report the story as Herodotus gives it.

however, Miltiades failed in an expedition against Paros, into which he had persuaded the Athenians; and then the Democrats secured his overthrow. He was condemned to pay an immense fine, and is said to have died soon afterward in prison.

This blow was followed by the ostracism of some oligarchic leader each season for several years, until that party was utterly broken. Thus Athens was saved from its most serious internal dissension.

141. Themistocles makes Athens a Naval Power.—The victorious Democrats at once divided into new parties. The more moderate section was content with the constitution of Cleisthenes and was disposed to follow old customs. Its leader was *Aristides*, a calm, conservative man, surnamed “the Just.” The radical wing, disposed to new methods and further change, was led by *Themistocles*. Themistocles was sometimes less scrupulous and upright than Aristides, but he was one of the most resourceful and far-sighted statesmen of all history.

Themistocles was bent upon a great departure from past custom in Athenian affairs. He wished to make Athens a great naval power. He saw clearly that the real struggle with Persia was yet to come, and that the result could be decided by victory on the sea. Such victory was more probable for the Greeks than victory on land. The Persian empire, vast as it was, had almost no seacoast except Phoenicia and Ionia, and therefore could not so vastly outnumber the Greeks in ships as in men; and if the Greeks should secure command of the sea, Persia would be unable to attack them at all.

But this policy of Themistocles broke with all tradition. Seafarers though the Greeks were, up to this time they had not in any considerable degree used ships in war. Attica, in particular, had almost no navy. The party of Aristides wished to hold to the old policy of fighting on land, and they had the recent glorious victory of Marathon to strengthen their arguments. Feeling ran high. Finally, in 483, the leaders ap-

pealed to the ostracism. Fortunately, Aristides was banished,¹ and Themistocles became the ruling spirit in Athens.

He at once put his new policy into operation. Rich veins of silver had recently been discovered in the mines of Attica. These mines belonged to the state, and a large revenue from them had accumulated in the public treasury. It had been proposed to divide the money among the citizens; but Themistocles persuaded his countrymen to reject the tempting plan, and instead to build a great fleet. Thanks to this policy, in the three years left before the next Persian invasion, Athens became the greatest naval power in Hellas. The decisive victory of Salamis was to be the result (§ 148).

V. THE THIRD AND MAIN ATTACK, 480-479 B.C.

142. Persian Preparation. — Meantime, happily for the world, the great Darius died, and the invasion of Greece fell to his vain and feeble son, *Xerxes*. Marathon had proved that no Persian fleet by itself could transport troops sufficient for the enterprise, so the plan of Mardonius's expedition (§ 137) was tried again, but upon a larger scale both as to army and fleet.

Another such accident as had wrecked the first expedition was guarded against by the construction of a ship canal through the isthmus of Mount Athos, — a great engineering work that took three years. Meantime, supplies were collected at stations along the way; the Hellespont was bridged with chains of boats covered with planks;² and at last, in the spring of 480, Xerxes in person led a mighty host of many nations into Europe.

Ancient reports put the Asiatics at from one and a half

¹ While the voting was going on (according to Herodotus) a stupid fellow, who did not know Aristides, asked him to write the name Aristides on the shell he was about to vote. Aristides did so, asking, however, what harm Aristides had ever done the man. "No harm," replied the voter; "indeed, I do not know him; but I am tired of hearing him called 'the Just.'"

² Read in Herodotus the story of Xerxes' wrath when the first bridge broke, and when he ordered the Hellespont to be flogged.

million to two million soldiers, with followers and attendants to raise the total to five millions. Modern critics think Xerxes may have had some half-million effective troops, with numerous followers. In any case the numbers vastly exceeded those which the Greeks could bring against them. A fleet of twelve hundred ships accompanied the army.

143. The Greek Preparation. — *The danger forced the Greeks into something like common action:* into a greater unity, indeed, than they had ever known, unless in the legendary war against Asiatic Troy. Sparta and Athens joined in calling a Hellenic congress at Corinth, on the Isthmus, in 481 B.C. The deputies that appeared bound their cities by oath to aid one another, and pledged their common efforts to punish any states that should join Persia. Plans of campaign were discussed, and Sparta was formally recognized as leader. Ancient feuds were pacified, and messengers were sent to implore aid from outlying portions of Hellas.

This last measure, however, had little result. Crete excused herself on a superstitious scruple; Corcyra promised a fleet, but took care it should not arrive; and Gelon of Syracuse (§ 133 a) had his hands full at home with the Carthaginian invasion. Indeed, the double attack by Asia and Africa upon the two sections of the European Greeks was probably concerted, so as to prevent any joining of Hellenic forces.

The outlook was full of gloom. Argos, out of hatred for Sparta, and Thebes, from jealousy of Athens, had refused to attend the congress, and were ready to join Xerxes. Even the Delphic oracle predicted ruin and warned the Athenians in particular to flee to the ends of the earth.

144. The Lines of Defense: Plan of Campaign. — Against a land attack the Greeks had three lines of defense. The first was at the Vale of Tempe near Mount Olympus, where only a narrow pass opened into Thessaly. The second was at Thermopylae, where the mountains shut off northern from central Greece, except for a road only a few feet in width. The third was behind the Isthmus of Corinth.

At the congress at Corinth the Peloponnesians had wished selfishly to abandon the first two lines. They urged that all patriotic Greeks should retire at once within the Peloponnesus, the final citadel of Greece, and fortify the Isthmus by an impregnable wall. This plan was as foolish as it was selfish. Greek troops might have held the Isthmus against the Persian land army; but the Peloponnesus was readily open to attack by sea, and the Persian fleet would have found it easier here than at either of the other lines of defense to land troops in the Greek rear without losing touch with its own army. Such a surrender of two thirds of Greece, too, would have meant a tremendous reënforcement of the enemy by excellent Greek soldiery. Accordingly, it was decided to resist the entrance of the Persians into Greece by meeting them at the Vale of Tempe.

145. The Loss of Thessaly.—Sparta, however, had no gift for going to meet an attack, but must always await it on the enemy's terms. From fifty thousand to one hundred thousand men should have held the Vale of Tempe. The garrison which had been sent there was feeble and insufficient, and it retreated before the Persians appeared. Xerxes entered Greece without a blow, and the Thessalian cities, deserted by their allies, joined the invaders with their powerful cavalry.

146. Thermopylae: the Loss of Central Greece.—This made it evident, even to Spartan statesmen, that to abandon central Greece would strengthen Xerxes further; and it was decided in a half-hearted way to make a stand at Thermopylae. The pass was only some twenty feet wide between the cliff and the sea, and the only other path was one over the mountain, equally easy to defend. Moreover, the long island of Euboea approached the mainland just opposite the pass, so that the Greek fleet in the narrow strait could guard the land army against having troops landed in the rear.

The Greek fleet at this place numbered 270 ships. Of these the Athenians alone furnished half. The land defense had been left to the Peloponnesian league and the other non-mari-

time states. To take care of this supremely important duty Sparta had collected a shamefully small force. The Spartan king, *Leonidas*, lay in the pass with three hundred Spartans and three thousand other Peloponnesian hoplites, besides light-armed Helots and a few thousand allies from central Greece. The main force of Spartans was again left at home, on the ground of a religious festival.

The Persians reached Thermopylae without a check. Battle was joined at once on land and sea, and raged for three days. Four hundred Persian ships were wrecked in a storm, and the rest were checked by the Greek fleet in a sternly contested conflict at *Artemisium*. On land Xerxes flung column after column of chosen troops into the pass, to be beaten back each time in rout. But on the third night *Ephialtes*, "the Judas of Greece," guided a force of Persians over the mountain path, which, with criminal carelessness, had been left only slightly guarded. Leonidas' position could no longer be held. The allies withdrew, but the three hundred Spartans remained with their king and died gallantly in the pass their country had sent them to defend.

Sparta had shown no capacity to command in this great crisis; but her citizens did set Greece an example of calm heroism that has stirred the world ever since. In later times the burial place of the three hundred was marked by this inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Sparta that we lie here in obedience to her command."¹

147. The Strategy of Themistocles.—At the moment, Thermopylae was disastrous. Xerxes advanced on Athens² and was joined by nearly all the states of central Greece, while the Theban oligarchs welcomed him with genuine joy. The Peloponnesians would risk no further battle outside their own

¹ Special reports: the story of the one Spartan who escaped; the Thebans and Thespians who remained with the Spartans—their motives, and the strange neglect shown them in Greek history.

² Read in Grote's *History of Greece* (V, 144-149) the striking story of the return of the Athenian fleet after Thermopylae and of the abandonment of the city.

peninsula, and the Athenians took refuge on their fleet. Delphi had finally prophesied safety for them within "wooden walls." Some thought the palisade of the Acropolis was meant, but Themistocles, who perhaps had secured the prophecy, persuaded his fellow-citizens to put their trust in the "wooden walls" of their ships. The Spartan admiral, by urgent entreaty, had been brought to delay the retreat of the fleet at Salamis long enough to help remove the women and children from Athens.



G. The Greek fleet at Salamis. PPP. The Persian fleet. X. The Throne of Xerxes. (The "Long Walls" were not built until later; § 165.)

Themistocles, however, planned for more than escape. He was determined that the decisive battle should be fought at this spot. The narrow strait between the shore and Salamis

helped to make up for the small numbers of the Greek ships; and it was evident, to his insight, that if the fleet withdrew to Corinth, as the Peloponnesians insisted it should, all chance of united action would be lost. The fleet would at once break up. Some ships would sail home to defend their own cities; and others, like those of Megara and Aegina, feeling that their cities were deserted, might join the Persians.



BAY OF SALAMIS.

The Athenians furnished 200 of the 378 ships now in the fleet. With wise and generous patriotism they had yielded the chief command to Sparta, with her ten ships; but of course Themistocles carried weight in the council of captains. It was he who, by persuasion, entreaties, and bribes had kept the despairing navy from abandoning the land forces at Thermopylae, before the sea fight off Artemisium. A similar but greater task now fell to him. Debate waxed fierce in the night council. Arguments were exhausted, and Themistocles had recourse to threats. The Corinthian admiral sneered that the allies need not regard a man who no longer represented a

Greek city. The Athenian retorted that he represented two hundred ships, and could make a city where he chose; and, by a threat to sail away to found a new Athens in Italy, he forced the allies to remain. Even then the decision would have been reconsidered, had not the wily Athenian made use of a strange stratagem. He sent a secret message to Xerxes, pretending friendship, notifying him of the weakness and dissensions of the Greeks, and advising him to block up the straits to prevent their escape.

Xerxes took this treacherous advice. Aristides, whose ostracism had been revoked and who now slipped through the hostile fleet in his single ship to join his countrymen, brought the news that they were surrounded. There was now no choice but to fight.

148. The Battle of Salamis. — The Persian fleet more than doubled the Greek, and was itself largely made up of Asiatic Greeks, while the Phoenicians and Egyptians, who composed the remainder, were famous sailors. The conflict the next day lasted from dawn to night, but the Greek victory was overwhelming.

“ A king sat on the rocky brow ¹
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations, — all were his.
He counted them at break of day,
And when the sun set, where were they ? ”

Aeschylus (§ 183), who fought on board an Athenian ship, gives a noble picture of the battle in his drama, *The Persians*. The speaker is a Persian, telling the story to the Persian queen-mother: —

“ Not in flight
The Hellenes then their solemn pæans sang,
But with brave spirits hastening on to battle.
With martial sound the trumpet fired those ranks:
And straight with sweep of oars that flew thro' foam,

¹ A golden throne had been set up for Xerxes, that he might better view the battle. These lines are from Byron.

They smote the loud waves at the boatswain's call ;
 And swiftly all were manifest to sight.
 Then first their right wing moved in order meet ;
 Next the whole line its forward course began ;
 And all at once we heard a mighty shout —
 ' O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country ;
 Free, too, your wives, your children, and the shrines
 Built to your fathers' Gods, and holy tombs
 Your ancestors now rest in. The fight
 Is for our all.' . . .

. . . And the hulls of ships
 Floated capsized, nor could the sea be seen,
 Filled as it was with wrecks and carcasses ;
 And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses,
 And every ship was wildly rowed in flight,
 All that composed the Persian armament.
 And they, as men spear tunnies, or a haul
 Of other fishes, with the shafts of oars,
 Or spars of wrecks, went smiting, cleaving down ;
 And bitter groans and wailings overspread
 The wide sea waves, till eye of swarthy night
 Bade it all cease : — and for the mass of ill,
 Not, tho' my tale should run for ten full days,
 Could I in full recount them. Be assured
 That never yet so great a multitude
 Died in a single day as died in this."

149. Illustrative Incidents. — Two incidents in the celebration of the victory throw light upon Greek character.

a. The commanders of the various city contingents in the Greek fleet voted a prize of merit to the city that deserved best in the action. The Athenians had furnished more than half the whole fleet ; they were the first to engage, and they had especially distinguished themselves ; they had seen their city laid in ashes, and only their steady patriotism had made a victory possible. Peloponnesian jealousy, however, passed them by for their rivals of Aegina, who had joined the Spartan league.

b. A vote was taken, also, to award prizes to the two most meritorious commanders. Each captain voted for himself for the first place, while all voted for *Themistocles* for the second.¹

¹ Herodotus, viii, 93 ; Plutarch's *Themistocles*.

150. The Temptation of Athens. — On the day of Salamis the Sicilian Greeks won a decisive victory over the Carthaginians at *Himera*. For a while that battle closed the struggle in the West. In Greece the Persian chances were still good. Xerxes, it is true, fled at once to Asia with his shattered fleet; but he left his general, the experienced Mardonius, with three hundred thousand chosen troops. Mardonius withdrew from central Greece for the time, to winter in the plains of Thessaly; but he would be ready to renew the struggle in the spring.

The Athenians began courageously to rebuild their city, which Xerxes had laid in ashes. In the early spring, Mardonius offered them an alliance, with many favors and with the restoration of their city at Persian expense. This action shows that Mardonius looked upon Athens as the soul of the Greek resistance. The terrified Spartans sent in haste, with many promises, to beg the Athenians not to desert the cause of Hellas. There was no need of such anxiety. The Athenians sent back the Persian messenger: "Tell Mardonius that so long as the sun holds on his way in heaven, the Athenians will come to no terms with Xerxes." They then courteously declined the Spartan offer of aid in rebuilding their city, and asked only that Sparta take the field early enough so that Athens need not be again abandoned without a battle.

Sparta made the promise, but did not keep it. Mardonius approached rapidly. The Spartans found another sacred festival before which it would not do to leave their homes; and the Athenians, in bitter disappointment, a second time took refuge at Salamis. With their city in his hands, Mardonius offered them again the same favorable terms of alliance. Only one of the Athenian Council favored even submitting the matter to the people, and he was instantly stoned by the enraged populace, while the women inflicted a like cruel fate upon his wife and children. Even such violence does not obscure the heroic self-sacrifice of the Athenians. Mardonius

burned Athens a second time, laid waste the farms over Attica, cut down the olive groves (the slow growth of many years), and then retired to the level plains of Boeotia.

151. **Battle of Plataea, 479 B.C.** — Athenian envoys had been at Sparta for weeks begging for instant action, but they had been put off with meaningless delays. The fact was, Sparta still clung to the stupid plan of defending only the Isthmus. Some of her keener allies, however, at last made the Ephors see the uselessness of the wall at Corinth if the Athenians should be forced to join Persia with their fleet. Then Sparta acted with energy, and gave a striking proof of her resources. One morning the Athenian envoys, who had given up hope, announced indignantly to the Spartan government that they would at once return home. To their amazement, they were told that during the night 50,000 Peloponnesian troops had set out for central Greece.

The Athenian forces and other reinforcements raised the total of the Greek army to about 100,000, and the final contest with Mardonius was fought near the little town of *Plataea*. Spartan generalship blundered sadly, and many of the allies were not brought into the fight; but the stubborn Spartan valor and the Athenian skill and dash won a victory¹ which became a massacre. It is said that of the 260,000 Persians engaged, only 3000 escaped to Asia. The Greeks lost in the battle itself only 154 men.

152. **The Meaning of the Greek Victory.** — The victory of Plataea closed the first great period of the Persian War. A second period was to begin at once, but it had to do with freeing the Asiatic Greeks. That is, Europe took the offensive. No hostile Persian was ever again to set foot in European Greece.

The Greeks called the Persians and Carthaginians *barbarians* (§ 87 a); but they were not barbarians in our sense of the word. In some respects, indeed, they stood for quite as

¹ Special report: compare the story given by Herodotus (ix, 12-89) with that of modern critics.

high a civilization as the Greeks then did. They possessed refinement and high moral ideas. Ancient Greece as a Persian province would have had an infinitely happier fate than modern Greece has had for many centuries as a Turkish province.

None the less, a Persian victory would have meant the extinction of the world's best hope. The Persian civilization was Oriental (§§ 66, 67). The victory of the Greeks decided that the despotism of the East should not crush the rising freedom and individuality of the West in its first home. This was what Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea meant for the future world.

To the Greeks themselves their victory opened a new epoch. They were victors over the greatest of world-empires. It was a victory of intellect and spirit over matter. Unlimited confidence gave them still greater power. New energies stirred in their veins and found expression in manifold forms. The matchless bloom of Greek art and thought, in the next two generations, had its roots in the soil of Marathon and Plataea.

FOR FURTHER READING.—Ancient writers: Herodotus, vi-ix; Plutarch, *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. Modern authorities: Cox, *Greeks and Persians*, chs. v-viii; Bury, 241-258, 285-304; Holm, II, chs. i-vi; Grote, chs. xxxvi-xlii; Abbott, II, chs. i-v; Curtius, bk. iii, ch. i. For the Carthaginian attack, see Freeman, *Story of Sicily*, chs. v, vi.

EXERCISE.—1. Summarize the causes of the Persian wars. 2. Devise and memorize a series of *catch-words* for rapid statement, that shall suggest the outline of the story quickly. Thus:—

Persian conquest of Lydia and so of Asiatic Greeks; revolt of Ionia, 500 B.C.; Athenian aid; reconquest of Ionia. First expedition against European Greece, 492 B.C., through Thrace: Mount Athos. Second expedition, across the Aegean, two years later: capture of Eretria; landing at Marathon; excuses of Sparta; arrival of Plataeans; Miltiades and battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

(Let the student continue the series through the war.)

CHAPTER V.

ATHENIAN LEADERSHIP, 478-404 B.C. (FROM THE PERSIAN WAR THROUGH THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR).

I. GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

153. Preparation at Athens: the Building of the Walls and the Peiraeus.—Immediately after Plataea, the Athenians began once more to rebuild their temples and homes. Themistocles, however, persuaded them to leave even these in ashes and first surround the city with walls. Some of the Greek cities at once showed themselves basely eager to keep Athens helpless. Corinth, especially, urged Sparta to interfere; and, to her shame, Sparta did protest against the fortification. Such walls, she said, might prove an advantage to the Persians if they should again occupy Athens.

The helpless condition of the Athenians was due to their heroic sacrifice for Hellas, and this interference by Corinth and Sparta was cruelly unjust. It seemed probable, however, that Sparta would even use force to prevent the Athenians from building their walls. Attica, which had been ravaged so recently by the Persians, was in no condition to resist a Peloponnesian army; but Themistocles had recourse to wiles. As Thucydides tells the story:—

“The Athenians, by the advice of Themistocles, replied that they would send an embassy to discuss the matter, and so got rid of the Spartan envoys. Themistocles then proposed that he should himself start at once for Sparta, and that they should give him colleagues who were not to go immediately, but were to wait until the wall had reached a height which could be defended. . . . On his arrival, he did not at once present himself officially to the magistrates, but delayed and made excuses, and when any of them asked him why he did not appear before the Assembly, he said that he was waiting for his colleagues who had been

detained. . . . The friendship of the magistrates for Themistocles induced them to believe him, but when everybody who came from Athens declared positively that the wall was building, and had already reached a considerable height, they knew not what to think. He, aware of their suspicions, asked them not to be misled by reports, but to send to Athens men of their own whom they could trust, to see for themselves and bring back word.

“The Spartans agreed; and Themistocles, at the same time, privately instructed the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys as quietly as possible, and not let them go till he and his colleagues had got safely home. For by this time, those who were joined with him in the embassy had arrived, bringing the news that the wall was of sufficient height, and he was afraid that the Lacedaemonians, when they heard the truth, might not allow him to return. So the Athenians detained the envoys, and Themistocles, coming before the Lacedaemonians, at length declared, in so many words, that Athens was now provided with walls and would protect her citizens: henceforward, if the Lacedaemonians wished at any time to negotiate, they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was best for their own and the common good.”

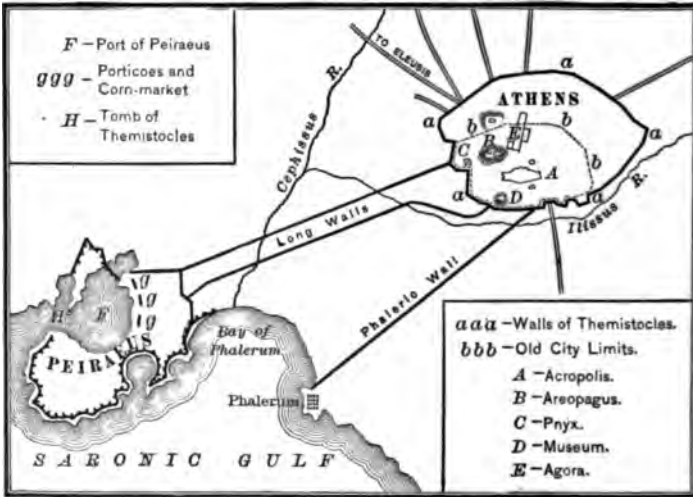
Neglecting all private concerns, the Athenians had toiled with feverish haste—men, women, children, and slaves. To later generations the story was told in part by the irregular nature of the walls. No material was held too precious. Inscribed tablets and fragments of sacred temples, and even monuments from the burial grounds, were seized for the work.

But Themistocles was not yet content. Athens lay several miles from the shore. While he was Archon, some years before (493 B.C.), with a view to future naval greatness, he had given the city a magnificent harbor, by improving the bay of the *Peiraeus*. (Until that time the only port had been the exposed open roadstead of Phalerum.) Now, after protecting Athens itself, he persuaded the people to fortify this new port. Accordingly, the *Peiraeus*, on the landside, was surrounded with a massive wall of solid masonry, clamped with iron, sixteen feet broad and thirty feet high, so that old men and boys might easily defend it against any enemy.

The Athenians were thus in possession of two walled cities, each four or five miles in circuit, and only six miles apart.

The metics who thronged the port had fled at the Persian invasion; but this new security, together with special inducements now held out to strangers, brought back the merchant class in crowds, to contribute to the power and wealth of Athens.

While these fortifications were in progress, Themistocles took care that Athens should not lose her supremacy on the sea. He secured a vote of the Assembly ordering that twenty new ships should be added each year to the fleet.



PLAN OF ATHENS AND ITS PORTS.¹

154. The League of Plataea: Proposal and Failure. — Just after the victory of Plataea, there had gleamed forth a fleeting promise of a united Hellas. While the Greek army was still encamped at Plataea, it was agreed to hold there each year a congress of all Greek cities, and constantly to maintain eleven thousand troops and a hundred ships, for war against Persia.

This proposal for a *Pan-Hellenic Confederation* came from

¹ The "Long Walls" and the wall to Phalerum were not built until several years after the events mentioned in this section. See § 165.

the Athenians, but it was intended that Sparta should keep the headship which had been intrusted to her during the war. For a brief time, danger had forced a make-shift union upon the Greeks. This plan was a wise and generous attempt to make that union lasting.

It was not to be. Most of the European Greeks lost interest in the confederacy when it became plain that there was no more danger from Persia; and the jealous action of Sparta regarding the fortification of Athens showed that a true union would be difficult indeed. Instead of one confederacy, Greece fell into two rival leagues. Sparta remained the head of the old Peloponnesian league. Athens became the head of a new and more brilliant union. This new league grew out of the transfer of the war to Asia, to free the Ionian Greeks (§§ 155 ff.).

155. The Growing Prominence of Athens. — Though Sparta had held command in the war, still the repulse of Persia had counted more for the glory of Athens than of Sparta. Athens had made greater sacrifices than any other state. She had shown herself free from petty vanity, and had acted with a broad patriotism. Herodotus, in his history of the war, feels constrained to insist that the victory over Persia was due mainly to the skill and energy of the Athenians. They furnished the best ideas and ablest leaders; and, even in the field, Athenian enterprise and vigor accomplished at least as much as Spartan discipline and valor.

Sparta had been necessary as a rallying point. Had it not been for her great reputation, the Greeks would not have known where to turn for a leader, and so, probably, could not have come to any united action. But she had shown miserable judgment; her leaders, however brave, had proved incapable and sometimes corrupt;¹ and now that war against Persia was to be carried on at a distance, her lack of enterprise became even more evident. Meantime, events were happening in Asia Minor which were to force Athens into leadership. The Euro-

¹ Special report: King Leotychides in Thessaly. See also Pausanias at Byzantium, § 156.

pean Greeks had been unwilling to follow any but Spartan generals on sea or land; but on the Ionian coast Athens was the more popular city,¹ and her superior activity and fitness at once won recognition.

156. Athens assumes Leadership of the Ionian Greeks (479 B.C.).— Before the battle of Plataea, while the Persian army still remained on Greek soil, the Greeks had carried the war into Asia. In the early spring of 479 B.C., a fleet had crossed the Aegean to assist Samos in a revolt against Persia. A Spartan king commanded the expedition, but three fifths of the whole fleet were Athenian ships.

On the very day of Plataea,² this Greek force won a double victory at *Mycale*, on the coast of Asia Minor: the Greeks defeated a great Persian army, and seized and burned the three hundred Persian ships. No Persian fleet showed itself again in the Aegean for nearly a hundred years, until after the fall of Athens.³

The victory of Mycale was a signal for the cities of Ionia to revolt again against Persia. The Spartans, however, shrank from the task of defending Hellenes so far away, and proposed to transport the Ionians to European Greece. The Ionians refused to leave their homes, and the Athenians in the fleet declared that Sparta should not so destroy "Athenian colonies."⁴ The Spartans seized the excuse to sail home, leaving the Athenians to protect the Ionians as best they could. The Athenians gallantly undertook the task, and began at once to attack and drive out the Persian garrisons in the cities of the Aegean.

The next spring (478) Sparta thought better of the matter, and sent *Pausanias* to take command of the allied fleet. Pau-

¹ Many of the Ionian cities, like Miletus, looked upon Athens as their founder. See § 90.

² According to ancient writers; but modern authorities doubt this coincidence of dates.

³ Of course the Persian garrisons in the various islands remained until they were dislodged; but Persia sent them no reinforcements.

⁴ Cf. § 90.

sanias had been the general of the Greeks at the battle of Plataea; but that victory seems to have turned his head. He treated the allies with contempt and neglect, and even entered into treasonable correspondence with the Persians.

At this time the treason was only suspected by the Ionians, not surely known; but they found the insolence of the Spartan unbearable, and asked the Athenians to take the leadership. The Spartans recalled Pausanias, to stand trial for treason,¹ and sent another general to the fleet. The allies, however, refused to receive him, choosing instead to remain under Athenian command. Then Sparta and the Peloponnesian league withdrew wholly from the war.

Thenceforth Athens was the leader in the struggle to free the Asiatic Greeks. The war in future was waged on Asiatic shores; and the Greeks who took part, except the Athenians, had had no share in Plataea.

157. The Confederacy of Delos. — After getting rid of Sparta, the first step of the allies was to organize a confederacy. The chief part in this great work fell to *Aristides*, the commander of the Athenian ships in the allied fleet. Aristides proposed a plan of union, and appointed the number of ships and the amount of money that each of the allies should furnish each year. The courtesy and tact of the Athenian, and his known honesty, made all the states content with his proposals, and his arrangements were readily accepted.²

The union was called the *Confederacy of Delos*, or the Delian league, because its seat of government and its treasury were to be at the island of Delos, the center of an ancient Ionian amphictyony.³ Here was held an annual congress of deputies from the different cities. Each member of the league had one vote.⁴ Athens was the "president" of the league. Her

¹ Special report: the story of the punishment of Pausanias.

² EXERCISE. — 1. Could Themistocles have served Athens at this time as well as Aristides did? 2. Report upon the life of Themistocles after the fortification of the Peiræus.

³ For explanation of this term, see § 87 c.

⁴ Like our states in Congress under the old Articles of Confederation.

Generals commanded the fleet, and her delegates presided at the Congress.¹

The purpose of the league was to free the Aegean completely from the Persians, and to keep them from ever coming back. The allies seem to have meant to make the union *perpetual*. Lumps of iron were thrown into the sea when the oath of union was taken, as a symbol that it should be binding until the iron should float. The league was mainly Ionian in blood and maritime in interests. It was, therefore, a natural rival of Sparta's Dorian inland league.

158. Work and Growth of the League.—The league did its work faithfully and well. Its chief military hero was the Athenian *Cimon*, son of Miltiades. Year after year the allied fleet reduced one Persian garrison after another, until the whole region of the Aegean—all its coasts and islands—was free. Then, in 466, Cimon carried the war beyond the Aegean and won his most famous victory at the mouth of the *Eurymedon*, in Pamphylia (map following page 98), where in one day he destroyed a Persian land host and captured a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels.

Naturally, the league grew in size. It came to include nearly all the islands of the Aegean and the cities of the northern and eastern coasts. The cities on the straits and shores of the Black Sea, too, were added, and the rich trade of that region streamed through the Hellespont to the Peiraeus. After the victory of the Eurymedon, many of the cities of the Carian and Lycian coasts joined the confederacy. Indeed, it was felt that all the Greeks of the Aegean and of neighboring waters were under obligation to join, since they all had part in the blessings of the union. Aristophanes (§ 183) speaks of a "thousand cities" in the league, but this number is probably a poetic exaggeration. Only two hundred and eighty are known by name.

¹ In return Athens bore more than her fair share of burdens: apparently over half the total outlay, though she possessed less than one sixth the total resources. See Holm, *History of Greece*, II, 215.

159. Changes in the Character of the Delian League.—Very soon an important change began in the character of the league. The Asiatic Greeks were unwilling to make steady exertions. As soon as the pressing danger and the first enthusiasm were over, *many cities chose to pay more money, instead of furnishing ships and men.* They became indifferent, too, about the congress, and readily left matters to Athens. Athens, on the other hand, was ambitious, and eagerly accepted burdens and responsibilities. Thus the fleet became almost wholly Athenian. Then it was no longer necessary for Athens to consult the allies as to the management of the war, and the congress became of little importance.

Alongside this process a still greater change appeared. Here and there, cities began to refuse even the payment of money. This, of course, was secession. Persia, such cities said, was no longer dangerous, and the need of the league was over. But the Athenian fleet, patrolling the Aegean, was all that kept the Persians from reappearing; and Athens, with good reason, held the allies by force to their engagements.

The first attempt at secession came in 467, when the union was only ten years old. Naxos, one of the most powerful islands, refused to pay its contributions. Athens at once attacked Naxos, and, after a stern struggle, brought it to submission. But the conquered state was not allowed to return into the union, as were our southern states after the American Civil War. It lost its vote in the congress, and indeed it no longer had any connection whatever with the league: *it became a mere subject of Athens.*

160. The "Delian League" becomes the "Athenian Empire."—From time to time other members of the league attempted secession, and met a fate like that of Naxos. Athens took away their fleets, leveled their walls, made them pay a small tribute, and bound them by such terms as she chose to impose.¹ Just how many such rebellions there were we do not

¹ See Abbott, *History of Greece*, II, 344-346, for an inscription showing the conditions imposed by Athens upon one community. Some details for other

know; but before long the cities that had not rebelled found themselves treated much like those that had. *The confederacy of equal states became an empire, with Athens for its "tyrant city."* The meetings of the congress ceased altogether. The treasury was removed from Delos to Athens, and the funds and resources of the old league were used for the glory and the selfish purposes of Athens. Athens, however, continued to perform faithfully the work for which the union was formed.

By 450 B.C. Lesbos, Chios, and Samos were the only states of the league that kept anything like their original independence, and even they had no voice in the government of the empire. Besides these states, however, Athens had other independent allies that had never belonged to the Delian Confederacy—like Plataea, Corcyra, Naupactus, and Acarnania, in Greece; Neapolis and Rhegium in Italy; and Segesta and other Ionian cities in Sicily.

On the whole, despite the strong tendency to city independence, the subject cities seem to have been attached to Athens. Even enemies confessed that the bulk of the people looked gratefully to Athens for protection against the oligarchs. Athens was the true mother of Ionian democracy. As the Athenian Isocrates said, "*Athens was the champion of the masses, denying the right of the many to be at the mercy of the few.*" In nearly every city of the empire the ruling power became an Assembly and Senate, like those at Athens.

FOR FURTHER READING.—Sources: For this interesting period (indeed for the whole half century between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars) we have very little in the way of contemporary records, or "sources," because of the loss of ancient manuscripts. The nearest approach to a contemporary narrative is the very brief account with which Thucydides introduces his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Plutarch's *Lives* ("Themistocles" and "Aristides") have somewhat the value of a source, because, though Plutarch wrote several centuries later, he had access to many sources since lost. The like is true of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* for this period.

cities are given in the same volume, 371-373. Freeman, *Federal Government*, I, 23-29, gives a good comparison between the subject cities and the American states or British colonies.

Modern Authorities: Cox, *Athenian Empire*, ch. i; the *Histories of Bury* (328-342), Holm (II, chs. vii-ix), Grote (V, 324-358, 390-420), Abbott (II, 246-257, 293-300), and Curtius (II, 322-348); Cox, *Greek Statesmen* ("Themistocles," "Aristides," "Pausanias," "Cimon").

II. THE FIRST PERIOD OF STRIFE WITH SPARTA, TO THE THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE, 461-445 B.C.

161. Jealousy between Athens and Sparta.—Greece had divided into two great leagues, under the lead of Athens and Sparta. These two powers now quarreled, and their strife made the history of Hellas for many years.

For some time Athens and Sparta had been growing jealous of each other; but the first hostile step came from Sparta. In 465, Thasos, a member of the Confederacy of Delos, revolted; and Athens was employed for two years in conquering her. During the struggle Thasos asked Sparta for aid. Sparta and Athens were still nominally in alliance, under the league of Plataea; but Sparta seized the offered opportunity and planned secretly to invade Attica.

162. Athens sends Aid to Sparta in her Need.—This treacherous attack was prevented by a terrible earthquake which destroyed part of Sparta and threw the whole state into confusion. The Helots revolted, and Messenia (§ 96) made a desperate attempt to regain her independence. Instead of attacking Athens, Sparta, in dire need, called upon her for aid.

At Athens this request led to a sharp political dispute. The democratic party, led by *Ephialtes* and *Pericles*, was opposed to sending help; but *Cimon* (§ 158), the leader of the aristocratic party, urged that the true policy was for Sparta and Athens to aid each other in keeping the double leadership of Hellas. Athens, he said, ought not to let her yoke-fellow be destroyed and Greece be lamed. This generous but short-sighted advice prevailed; and Cimon led an Athenian army to Sparta's aid (462 B.C.).

163. Sparta insults Athens : an Open Quarrel. — A little later, however, the Spartans began to suspect the Athenians of the same bad faith of which they knew themselves guilty, and sent back the army. Indignation at this insult ran high at Athens; and the anti-Spartan party was greatly strengthened. Cimon was ostracized (461 B.C.), and the aristocratic faction was left leaderless and helpless for many years.

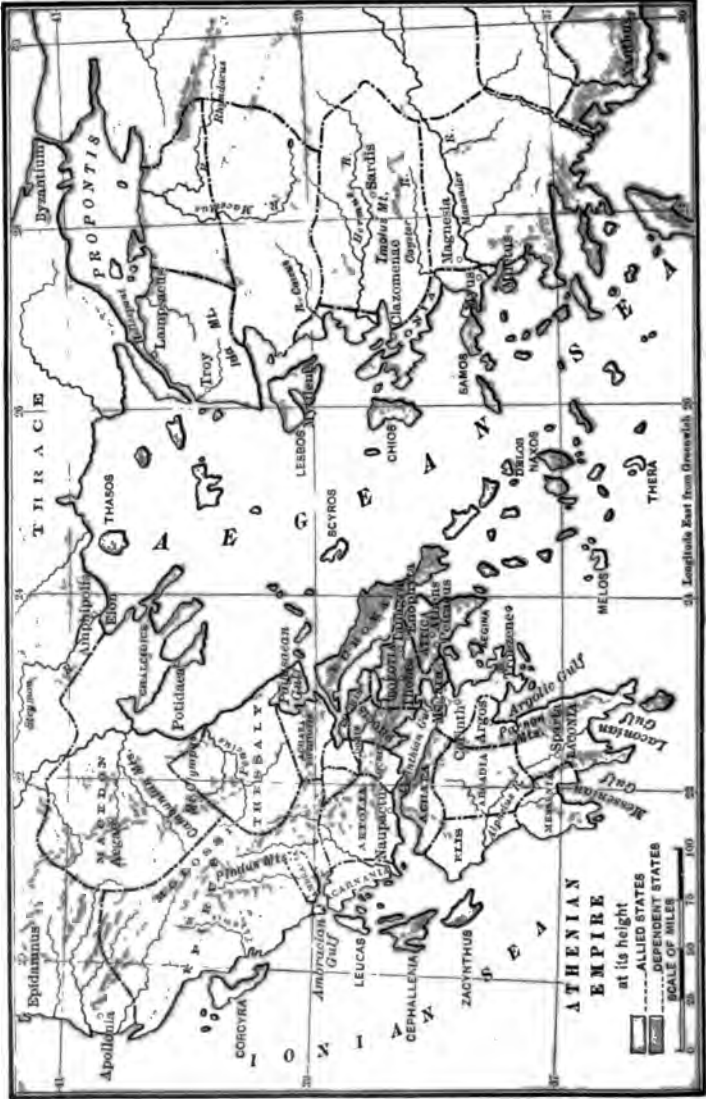
At almost the same time Ephialtes was murdered by aristocrat conspirators; and Pericles, the remaining leader of the Democrats, was left in sole control. Under his influence Athens formally renounced her old alliance with Sparta, and entered into treaty with Argos, Sparta's sleepless enemy. Less than twenty years after the victory of Plataea, the two great powers of Greece stood in open opposition, ready for armed conflict.

164. Pericles builds up a Land Empire for Athens. — Thus far the Athenian empire had been mainly a maritime power. Pericles planned to extend it likewise over inland Greece, and so to supplant Sparta. The alliance with Argos has been mentioned, but this was chiefly important as a challenge to Sparta. Pericles established Athenian influence also in Thessaly by treaties with the great chiefs there, and thus secured the aid of the famous Thessalian cavalry. Then Megara, on the Isthmus of Corinth, sought Athenian alliance, in order to protect itself against Corinth, its powerful neighbor. This involved war with Corinth, but Pericles gladly welcomed Megara because of its ports on the Corinthian Gulf (see map opposite), and because, in possession of that city, he could prevent invasion of Attica by land from the Peloponnesus.¹

165. Marvelous Activity of Athens : Growth of a Land Empire. — A rush of startling events followed. Corinth and Aegina declared war upon Athens. Aegina was blockaded and re-

¹ Megara had long walls running the whole width of the narrow isthmus from sea to sea. These walls were easily defended against any open attack, even by a greatly superior force.





duced after a long siege; Corinth was struck blow after blow, even in the Corinthian Gulf; and Athenian fleets ravaged the coasts of Laconia and burned the Spartan dockyards. At the same time, while keeping up her fleet in the Aegean, Athens sent a great armament of 250 ships to aid Egypt in a revolt against Persia.¹

Elsewhere also for a time Athens was almost uniformly victorious. In particular, she interfered in Boeotia, against the control of oligarchic Thebes, and set up friendly democracies in many of the cities there. A Spartan army crossed the Corinthian Gulf and appeared in Boeotia, to check Athenian progress. It won a partial victory at *Tanagra*,—the first real battle between the two great states,—but used it only to secure an undisturbed retreat into the Peloponnesus. The Athenians at once reappeared in the field, crushed the Thebans in a great battle at *Oenophyta*, and became masters of all Boeotia. Pericles sought to confirm Athenian influence there by thoroughly expelling the oligarchs. At the same time *Phocis* and *Locris* allied themselves to Athens, so that she seemed in a fair way to extend her land empire over all central Greece, to which she now held the two gates, Thermopylae and the passes of the Isthmus. A little later *Achaea*, in the Peloponnesus itself, was added to the Athenian league.

The activity of Athens at this period is marvelous. It is impossible even to mention the multiplied instances of her matchless energy and splendid daring for the few years after 460, while the empire was at its height. For one instance: just when Athens's hands were fullest in Egypt and in the siege of Aegina, Corinth tried a diversion by invading Megaris. Athens did not recall a man, but, arming the youths and the old men past age of service, repelled the invaders. The Corinthians, stung by shame, made a second, more determined attempt, and were again repulsed with great slaughter. It

¹ Such a fleet required 50,000 sailors (200 to a ship), and from 2000 to 5000 hoplites. The sailors, however, came largely from the non-citizen class, and some perhaps were slaves.

was at this time, too, that the city completed her fortifications, by building the *Long Walls* from Athens to Peiræus (maps, pages 147 and 156),—a measure which added to the city a large open space where the country people might take refuge in case of invasion.

166. Loss of the Land Empire.—How one city could carry on all these activities is almost beyond comprehension. But the resources of Athens were severely strained, and a sudden series of stunning blows well-nigh exhausted her. The expedition in Egypt had at first been brilliantly successful, so that Persia seemed upon the point of being deprived of all contact with the Mediterranean. But unforeseen disaster followed, and the 250 ships and the whole army in Egypt were lost. This stroke would have annihilated almost any other Greek state. Megara, which had itself invited an Athenian garrison, now treacherously massacred it and joined the Peloponnesian league. A Spartan army entered Attica through the recovered passes; and, at the same moment, Euboea burst into revolt. All Boeotia, too, except Plataea, fell away: after an Athenian defeat, the oligarchs won the upper hand in its various cities and joined themselves to Sparta.

167. The Thirty Years' Truce, and Peace with Persia.—The activity and skill of Pericles saved Attica and Euboea; but the inland possessions and alliances were for the most part lost, and in 445 B.C. a *Thirty Years' Truce* was concluded with Sparta.

A little before this, according to a somewhat vague account, by the *Peace of Callias*, Persia had recognized the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks and had promised to send no warship into the Aegean. In any case, these conditions were secured in practice, whether by express treaty or not, and the long war with Persia, too, came to a close. For fifteen years Athens had almost unbroken peace. Then the truce between Sparta and Athens was broken, and the great Peloponnesian War began (§§ 192 ff.). That struggle ruined the power of Athens and the promise of Greece. Therefore, before entering upon

its story, we will stop here for a survey of Greek civilization at this period of its highest glory, in Athens, its chief center.

FOR FURTHER READING.—See page 162. Cox's *Athenian Empire* remains perhaps the best single account for high school purposes. The opening chapters of Abbott's *Pericles* and of Grant's *Greece in the Age of Pericles* now become useful. Both these volumes are exceedingly readable. Cox's *Greek Statesmen* ("Cimon," "Ephialtes," "Pericles").

III. THE EMPIRE AND THE IMPERIAL CITY IN PEACE.

168. The Three Forms of Athenian Greatness.—The *intellectual greatness* of Athens obscures the fact sometimes that she stood also for a *great material power* and for a *high political development*. A complete survey calls for all three topics. The latter two have been partly discussed, and may be best disposed of here before the first one is taken up.

A. MATERIAL STRENGTH.

"*The Athens of the fifth century was a great state in a higher sense than most of the kingdoms of the Middle Ages. . . . For the space of a half century her power was quite on a par with that of Persia, . . . and the Athenian Empire is the true precursor of those of Macedonia and Rome.*" — HOLM, II, 259.

169. Relative Power.—Athens had failed to keep her land dominion, and the chance for a united Hellas had passed; but at the moment the loss of territory did not seem to lessen her strength. The maritime empire was saved and consolidated; and, for a generation more, the Greeks of that empire were the leaders of the world in power as in culture. They had proved themselves more than a match for Persia; the mere magic of the Athenian name sufficed to keep Carthage from renewing her attack upon the Sicilian Greeks; the Athenian colonies in Thrace easily held in check the rising Macedonian kingdom; Rome, which three centuries later was to absorb Hellas into her world-empire, was still a barbarous village on the Tiber bank. In the middle of the fourth century B.C. the center of physical power in the world was imperial Athens.

170. Population.—The cities of the empire counted some three millions of people.¹ The number seems small to moderns; but it must be kept in mind that the population of the world was small, and that the Athenian empire was made up of cultured, wealthy, progressive communities.

To be sure, slaves made a large fraction of this population. Attica itself contained about two hundred and fifty thousand people, of whom probably one fourth were slaves.² Thirty thousand or forty-five thousand were metics (§ 122, close). This left a citizen population of some one hundred and fifty thousand, of whom perhaps thirty-five thousand were adult males. To this number should be added half as many *cleruchs* (§ 118), whom Pericles had sent to garrison outlying parts of the empire.

The *cleruchs*, unlike other Greek colonists, kept their enrollment in the Attic demes, with all the rights of citizenship, though they could not vote unless they came to Athens in person. They were mostly from the poorer classes, and were given lands in the new settlements sufficient to raise them at least to the class of hoplites (§ 106).

171. Revenue.—The empire was rich, and the revenues of the government were large, for an ancient state. Athens drew a yearly income of about four hundred talents (\$400,000 in our values) from her Thracian mines and from the port dues and the taxes on metics. The tribute from the subject cities amounted to six hundred talents. This tribute was fairly assessed, and it bore lightly upon the prosperous Greek communities. The Asiatic Greeks paid only one sixth as much as they had formerly paid Persia; and the tax was much less than it would have cost the cities merely to defend themselves against pirates, had Athenian protection been removed.³

¹ See Holm, *History of Greece*, II, 223, 224.

² Older estimates said four hundred thousand slaves—a number now absolutely discredited.

³ A good discussion is given in Holm, II, 214-216 and 223-226. See also Abbott, II, 521.

Indeed, the whole tribute would not keep one hundred ships manned and equipped for a year, to say nothing of building them; and when we remember the standing navy in the Aegean and the great armaments that Athens sent repeatedly against Persia, it is plain that she bore her full share of the imperial burden.

B. GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS AND OF THE EMPIRE.

172. Main Steps in Political Development.—In the seventy years between the reforms of Cleisthenes and the truce with Sparta, Athens had become a perfect democracy, and had developed a peculiar machinery for government. The main steps of progress were four.

- a. The office of *General* had grown greatly in importance.
- b. The *Assembly* had extended its authority to all matters of government, in practice as well as in theory.
- c. The Areopagus had lost power, and large *popular courts* (*dicast courts*) had gained importance.
- d. *The state had begun to pay its citizens for public services.*

The constitution was not recast at any one moment within this period, as it had been earlier, at the time of Solon and of Cleisthenes. Indeed, the change was more in the *spirit of the people* than in the *form of institutions*. The first two steps mentioned (the increased power of the Generals and of the Assembly) came altogether from a gradual change *in practice*, without any change in the written law. The other two steps were brought about by piecemeal legislation. The guiding spirits in this development were *Ephialtes* and *Pericles*.

173. The Generals and the "Leaders of the People."—In 487 b.c. Solon's old method of choosing Archons by lot (§ 112 c, note 2) was restored. The Archonship then quickly grew unimportant, and its chief powers were taken over by the board of ten Generals. When Themistocles, in his early career, carried important measures, like the improvement of the Peiræus (§ 153), he held the office of Archon; when

Cimon or Pericles guided the policy of Athens, they held the office of General.

Indeed, the Generals became the administrators of the government. It was usually they who proposed to the Assembly the levy of troops, the building of ships, the raising of money, the making of peace or war. When the Assembly had decided to do any of these things, the Generals saw to the execution of them. In particular, they managed all relations with foreign states: they held all ordinary intercourse with ambassadors, and they sent out their agents to watch movements abroad. They were subject absolutely to the control of the Assembly, but they had great opportunities to influence it: they could call special meetings at will, and they had the right to speak whenever they wished. The Assembly turned to them naturally for advice.

But any man who could might persuade the Assembly, whether he held office or not; and the more prominent speakers and leaders in the Assembly were known as "leaders of the people." Even though he held no office, the "leader of the people" most trusted by the popular party could exercise a greater authority than any General could without that popular confidence. To make things work smoothly, therefore, it was desirable that the Board of Generals should contain the "leader of the people," for the time being, to bring forward its plans in the Assembly. Pericles was recognized "leader of the people" for many years, and was usually elected each year president of the Board of Generals. This gave him a position in many ways like that of a prime minister in England.¹

174. The Assembly² met on the Pnyx,³ a sloping hill whose side formed a kind of natural theater. It held forty regular meetings each year, and many special meetings.⁴ Its com-

¹ On the Generals, read Holm, II, 201, 202.

² On the Assembly, read Grant's *Age of Pericles*, 141-149.

³ See plan of Athens, page 176.

⁴ Thus a patriotic citizen was called upon to give at least one day a week to the state in this matter of political meetings alone.

position had become thoroughly democratic: the old distinctions between the four "classes" had faded out, and any free Athenian might be elected to any office.

Cleisthenes had left the Assembly supreme, in theory; but, in fact, its various agents — Archons, Generals, Council — at first exercised much independent authority. It was only after some time that the Assembly came to think it proper to supervise these other forces day by day; and it was only by practice that it learned how to do so.

But in the Age of Pericles this had come to pass. All other powers had become the obedient servants of the Assembly. The Council of Five Hundred existed not to guide it, but to do its bidding. The Generals were its creatures, and might be deposed by it any day of their short term of office. No act of government was too small or too great for it to deal with. The Assembly of Athens was to the greatest empire of the world in that day all, and more than all, that a New England town meeting ever was to its little town. The world has never seen such a phenomenon elsewhere.

175. The Waning of the Areopagus. — The Areopagus was made up of ex-Archons. Thus when the Archonship became an ornamental office, a like fate followed for the Areopagus. During the Persian War that body had shown great patriotism, and had recovered part of its ancient influence; but before the death of Ephialtes (§ 163), it had been reduced to a minor criminal court.

176. The Dicasteries. — The chief judicial business now fell to large jury courts, of a democratic nature. They may have been introduced by Solon, but their importance became fully developed under Pericles. Six thousand citizens were chosen by lot each year (probably only from those who offered themselves); one thousand of these were held in reserve; while the others were divided into ten jury courts of five hundred each. These courts were called *dicasteries*. Sometimes, for important cases, two or more dicasteries were thrown together.

To the dicasteries the Assembly turned over the trial of

officials: thus they became high courts of impeachment. It was with a view to this duty that each dicast took an oath "above all things to favor neither tyranny nor oligarchy, nor in any way to prejudice the sovereignty of the people." Besides performing this political function, the dicasteries had three other distinct kinds of work: (1) they were supreme imperial courts, to settle all disputes between separate cities of the empire; (2) they were courts of appeal for important cases in the subject cities; and (3) they were the ordinary courts for all Athenians. A dicastery was both judge and jury: it decided by majority vote, and no appeal from its verdict was possible.

No doubt large bodies of this kind, without the check that even our small juries have in trained judges to guide them, gave many wrong and evil verdicts. Passion and pity and bribery all interfered, at times, with even-handed justice; but, on the whole, the system worked astonishingly well. Probably no other community has ever been educated up to a point where it could have made so great a success of such machinery. It is notable that any citizen of a subject city was sure to get redress from these courts if he had been wronged by an Athenian officer. The public conscience was sensitive in that respect to a praiseworthy degree.

177. State Pay.—Since these courts had so great weight, and since they tried political offenders, it was essential that they should not fall wholly into the hands of the rich. To prevent this, Pericles introduced a small payment for jury duty. The amount, three obols a day (about ten cents), would furnish a day's food for one person in Athens, but it did not answer for a family.¹ Such pay might help to reconcile a citizen to jury duty, but it would not create "professional" jurymen.

Afterward, Pericles extended public payment to other political services. Aristotle says that some 20,000 men—

¹ It was about one third the average day's wage for a *workingman*, or one fifth that of a skilled artisan.

over half the whole body of citizens—were constantly in the pay of the state. Half of this number, however, were engaged in some form of military service. But, besides the 6000 jurymen, there were the 500 senators, 700 city magistrates, 700 more officials representing Athens throughout the empire, and many inferior state servants; so that always from a third to a fourth of the citizens were in the civil service.

Pericles has been accused sometimes of corrupting the Athenians by the introduction of payment. But there is no proof that the Athenians were corrupted; and, further, such a system was inevitable when the democracy of a little city became the master of an empire. It was quite as natural and proper as is the payment of congressmen and judges with us. Sparta secured a less desirable end in a less desirable way. She kept her whole citizen class on constant *military* footing by giving them the free use of state slaves to till their lands (§ 98).

178. Political Ability of the Average Athenian.—Many of the offices in Athens could be held only once by the same man, so that each Athenian citizen could count upon serving his city at some time in almost every office. Politics was his occupation; office-holding, his regular business.

A high average of intelligence is the only explanation of the fact that such a system worked. It certainly did work well. With all its faults, the rule of Athens in Greece was vastly superior to the rude despotism that followed under Sparta, or the anarchy under Thebes (§§ 201–212). It gave to a large part of the Hellenic world a peace and security never enjoyed before, or after, until the rise of Roman power. Athens itself, moreover, was governed better and more gently than oligarchic cities like Corinth.

The historian Freeman claims that this success was due mainly to the training in politics which the Athenian received by his constant experience. This training of the average Athenian, as Mr. Freeman says, more nearly resembled that of the average member of Parliament [or

of the American Congress] than it did that of the average citizen of England or America.

“Moderns are apt to blame the Athenian Democracy for putting power in hands unfit to use it. The truer way of putting the case would be to say that the Athenian Democracy made a greater number of citizens fit to use power than could be made fit by any other system. . . . The Assembly was an assembly of citizens—of average citizens without sifting or selection; but it was an assembly of citizens among whom the political average stood higher than it ever did in any other state. . . . The Athenian, by constantly hearing questions of foreign policy and domestic administration argued by the greatest orators the world ever saw, received a political training which nothing else in the history of mankind has been found to equal.”¹

179. The Final Verdict upon the Empire.—It is easy to see that the Athenian system was imperfect, tried by our standard of government; but it is more to the point to see that it was an advance over anything ever before attempted.

To be sure, in Attica itself the thirty-five thousand male citizens were less than half the adult males. Even adding the cleruchs, the fifty thousand cannot have been more than one fifteenth of the adult males of the empire. It certainly is to be regretted that Athens did not continue to admit aliens to citizenship, as had been done once by Cleisthenes; it is to be regretted that she did not extend to the men of her subject cities that imperial citizenship which she did leave to her cleruchs. But the important thing is, that she had moved farther than had any other state up to this time. The admission of metics by Cleisthenes and the cleruch citizenship were notable advances. *The broadest policy of the age ought not to be condemned as narrow.*

180. Leaders and Parties: Pericles.—A few words will review party history up to the leadership of Pericles. All factions in Athens had united patriotically against Persia, and afterward in fortifying the city; but the brief era of good

¹ Freeman, *Federal Government*. On the advantages of small states, read pages 37-43 (first edition), from which these passages are taken. Read also a spicy paragraph in Wheeler's *Alexander*, 116, 117.

feeling was followed by a renewal of party strife. The Aristocrats rallied around Cimon, while the two wings of the Democrats were led at first, as before the invasion, by Aristides and Themistocles. When Themistocles was banished, his friend Ephialtes became the leader of the extreme Democrats. When Ephialtes was assassinated, Pericles stepped into his place.

The aristocratic party had been ruined by its pro-Spartan policy (§§ 162-163). The two divisions of the Democrats reunited, and for a quarter of a century Pericles was in practice as absolute as a dictator. Thucydides calls Athens during this period "a democracy in name, ruled in reality by its ablest citizen."

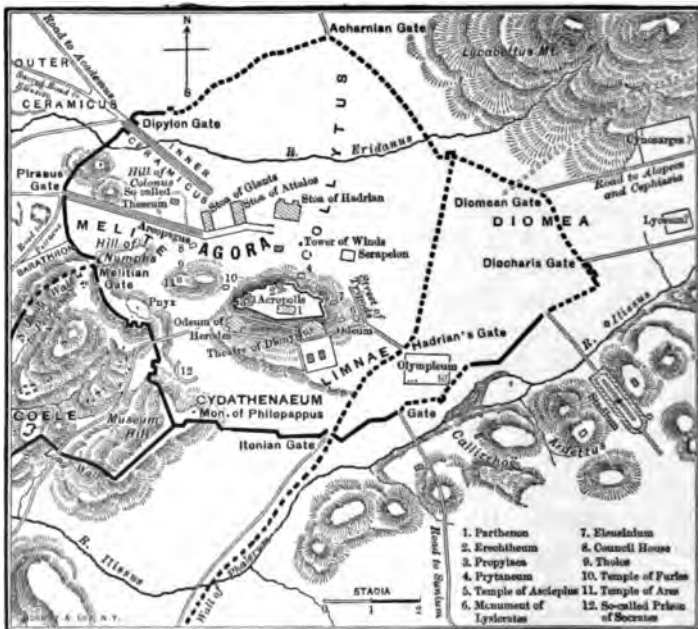
Pericles belonged to the ancient nobility of Athens, though to families that had always taken the side of the people. His mother was the niece of Cleisthenes the reformer, and his father had impeached Miltiades (§ 140), so that the enmity between Cimon and Pericles was hereditary. The supremacy of Pericles rested in no way upon the flattering arts of later popular leaders. His proud reserve verged on haughtiness, and he was rarely seen in public. He scorned to show emotion. His stately gravity and unruffled calm were styled Olympian by his admirers — who added that, like Zeus, he could on occasion overbear opposition by the majestic thunder of his oratory.

The great authority of Pericles came from no public office. He was elected General, it is true, fifteen times, but in the board he had most weight chiefly because of his unofficial position as "leader of the people" (§ 173). It must be remembered that, General or not, he was master only so long



PERICLES. — A portrait bust, now in the Vatican.

as he could carry the Assembly, and that he was compelled to defend each of his measures against all who chose to attack it. The long and steady confidence given him honors the people of Athens no less than the statesman; and his noblest praise is that which he claimed for himself upon his death-bed,—that, with all his authority, and despite the bitterness of party strife, “no Athenian has had to put on mourning because of me.”



MAP OF ATHENS, with some structures of the Roman period.—(The term “Stoa,” which appears so often in this map, means “porch” or portico. These porticoes were inclosed by columns, and their fronts along the Agora formed a succession of colonnades. Only a few of the famous buildings can be shown in a map like this. The “Agora” was the great public square, or open market place, surrounded by shops and porticoes. It was the busiest spot in Athens, the center of the commercial and social life of the city, where men met their friends for business or for pleasure.)

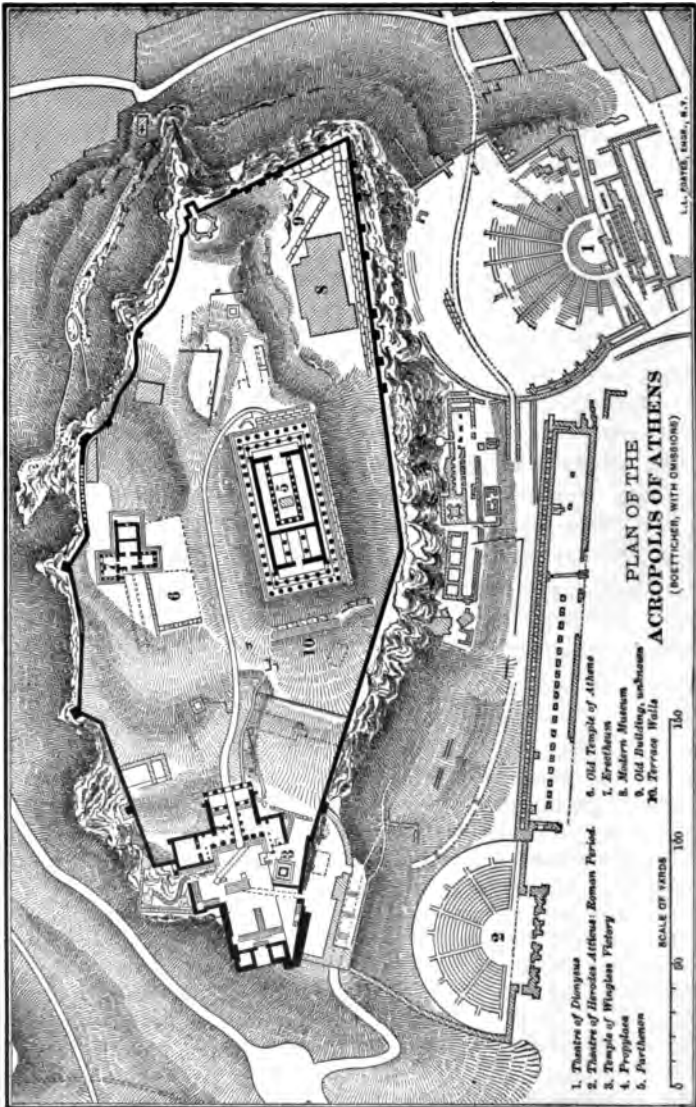
Pericles stated his own policy clearly. As to the empire, he sought to make Athens at once the *ruler* and the *teacher* of Hellas, — the political and intellectual center. Within the city itself, he wished *the people to rule*, not merely in theory, but in fact, as the best means of training them for high responsibilities.

C. INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC ATHENS.

181. The True Significance of Athens. — After all, in politics and war, Hellas has had superiors. Her true service to mankind and her imperishable glory lie in her literature, her philosophy, and her art. It was in the Athens of Pericles that these forms of Greek life developed most fully, and this fact makes the real significance of that city in history.

182. Architecture and Sculpture. — Part of the policy of Pericles was to adorn Athens from the surplus revenues of the empire. The injustice of this is plain; but the result was to make the city the most beautiful in the world, so that, ever since, her mere ruins have intralled the admiration of men. Greek art was just reaching its perfection; and all about Athens, under the charge of the greatest artists of this greatest artistic age, arose temples, colonnades, porticoes, theaters, — inimitable to this day.

“No description can give anything but a very inadequate idea of the splendor, the strength, the beauty, which met the eye of the Athenian, whether he walked round the fortifications, or through the broad streets of the Peiræus, or along the Long Walls, or in the shades of the Academy, or amidst the tombs of the Ceramicus; whether he chattered in the market place, or attended assemblies in the Pnyx, or loitered in one of the numerous porticoes, or watched the exercises in the Gymnasia, or listened to music in the Odeum or plays in the theaters, or joined the throng of worshipers ascending to the great gateway of the Acropolis. And this magnificence was not the result of centuries of toil; it was the work of fifty years. . . . Athens became a vast workshop, in which artisans of every kind found employment, all, in their various degrees, contributing to the execution of the plans of the master minds, Phidias, Ictinus, Calliocrates, Mnesicles, and others.” — ABBOTT, *Pericles*, 303–308.



The center of this architectural splendor was the ancient citadel of the Acropolis, no longer needed as a fortification, but crowned with white marble, and devoted to religion and art. The "holy hill" was inaccessible except on the west.



THE PARTHENON TO-DAY, from the northwest.

Here was built a stately stairway of sixty marble steps, leading to a series of noble colonnades and porticoes (*the Propylaea*) of surpassing beauty. From these the visitor emerged upon the leveled top of the Acropolis, to find himself surrounded by temples and statues, any one of which alone might make the fame of the proudest modern city.

Just in front of the entrance stood the colossal bronze statue of *Athene the Defender*, whose broad spear point, glittering in the sun, was the first sign of the city to the mariner far out at sea. On the right of the entrance and a little to the rear was the temple of the *Wingless Victory*, and near the center of the open space rose the larger structures of the *Erechtheum* and the *Parthenon*. This last, the temple of the virgin goddess Athene (*Parthenon* means "maiden's chamber"), remains absolutely peerless in its loveliness among the buildings of the

world. It was in the Doric style,¹ and of no great size, — only some 100 feet by 250, while the marble pillars supporting its low pediment rose only thirty-four feet from their base of three receding steps. The effect was due wholly, not to the sublimity and grandeur of vast masses, but to the perfection of proportion, to exquisite beauty of line, and to the delicacy



FIGURES FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE.

and profusion of ornament. On this structure, indeed, was lavished without stint the highest art of the art capital of all time. The fifty life-size or colossal statues in the pediments, and the four thousand square feet of smaller reliefs in the inner frieze and in the metopes, were all finished with perfect skill, even in the unseen parts.²

The ornamentation of the Parthenon, within and without,

¹ See § 127 for explanation of this and other terms used in this description. That section should be reviewed carefully at this point.

² These reliefs are now for the most part in the British Museum and are often referred to as the *Elgin Marbles*, from the fact that Lord Elgin secured them, shortly after 1800, for the English government. The student can judge of the original position of part of the sculpture on the building from the illustration of the Parthenon on page 179. The frieze within the colonnade (§ 127) cannot be shown in such pictures. It was a band of relief, about four feet in width, running entirely around the temple.

was cared for by *Phidias* and his disciples. *Phidias* still ranks as the greatest of sculptors.¹ Much of the work on the Acropolis he merely planned, but the great statues of *Athene* were his special work. The bronze statue has already been mentioned. Beside this, there was, within the Parthenon, a smaller, but still colossal, statue in gold and ivory, even more notable.² Professor Mahaffy has said of all this Parthenon sculpture:—

“The beauty and perfection of all the invisible parts are such that the cost of labor and money must have been enormous. There is no show whatever for much of this extraordinary finish, which can

only be seen by going on the roof or by opening a wall. Yet the religiousness of the unseen work has secured that what *is* seen shall be perfect with no ordinary perfection.”



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

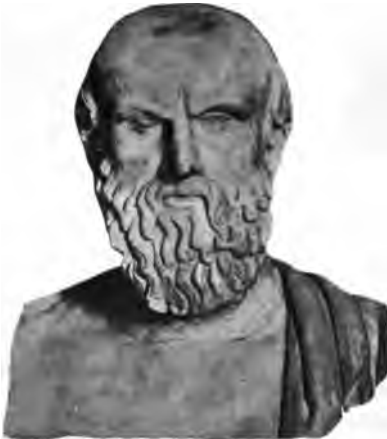
¹ *Phidias* has been rivaled, if at all, only by his pupil *Praxiteles*. The *Hermes* of *Praxiteles* is one of the few great works of antiquity that survive to us; and of his *Faun* we have a famous copy in Rome, which plays a part in Hawthorne's novel *The Marble Faun*.

² These two works divide the honor of *Phidias*' great fame with his *Zeus* at Olympia, which, in the opinion of the ancients, surpassed all other sculpture in grandeur. *Phidias* said that he planned the latter work, thinking of Homer's *Zeus*, at the nod of whose ambrosial locks Olympus trembled.

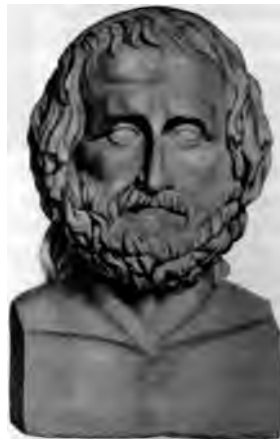


THE ACROPOLIS, as restored by Rehlender. (From the west.)

183. The Drama. — In the age of Pericles, the chief form of poetry became the *tragic drama* — the highest development of Greek literature. As the tenth century was the epic age, and the seventh and sixth the lyric (§ 128), so the fifth century begins the dramatic period.



AESCHYLUS.



EURIPIDES.

Portrait busts, now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.



THE ACROPOLIS TO-DAY, from the west: Propylaea and Temple of Victory.

The drama began in the songs and dances of a chorus in honor of Dionysus, god of wine. The leader of the chorus



SOPHOCLES. — A portrait-statue, now in the Lateran Museum at Rome.

came at length to recite stories, between the songs. Thespis (§ 129) at Athens, in the age of Peisistratus, had developed this leader into an actor, — apart from the chorus and carrying on dialogue with it. Now *Aeschylus* added another actor, and his younger rival, *Sophocles*, a third.¹ *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles*, and their successor, *Euripides*, are the three greatest Greek tragedians. Together they produced some two hundred plays, of which thirty-one survive.

wine god, — not from the great religious festivals, however, but from the rude village merrymakings. Even upon the stage, the comedy left many traces of this rude origin; and it was sometimes misused to attack men like Pericles and Socrates. Still, its great master, *Aristophanes*, for his wit and genius, must ever remain one of the bright names in literature.

Attic comedy also grew out of the worship of the

¹ The Greek tragedy never permitted more than three actors upon the stage at one time. The Greek drama cannot be easily compared with the modern. Sophocles and Shakespeare differ somewhat as the Parthenon differs from a vast Gothic cathedral. In a Greek play the scene never changed, and all the action had to be such as could have taken place in one day. That is, the "unities" of time and place were strictly preserved, while the small number of actors made it easy to maintain also a "unity of action."



THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS. — Present condition, looking toward the Acropolis.

184. Pericles's Policy as to Theater Money. — The great *Theater of Dionysus*, in Athens, was on the southeast slope of the



THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS. — Restoration, looking from the hillside.

Acropolis—the rising seats, cut in a semicircle into the rocky hill, looking forth, beyond the stage, to the hills of southern Attica and over the blue waters of the Aegean. It could seat the whole free male population of the city. Here, twice a year, for some days, the masterpieces of the Greek drama were presented. Pericles secured from the public treasury the admission fee for each citizen who chose to ask for it. This measure was altogether different from the payment of officers and dicasts. It must be kept in mind that the Greek stage was the modern pulpit and press in one. The practice of free admission was designed to advance religious and intellectual

training, rather than to give amusement. It was a form of adult education at state expense.

185. History.—*Prose* literature now appears, with history as its leading form. The three great historians of the period are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*. For charm in storytelling they have never been excelled. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus; he traveled widely, lived long at Athens as the friend of Pericles, and finally in Italy composed his great *History of the Persian Wars*, with an introduction covering the world's history up to



THUCYDIDES.—Capitoline Museum.

that event. Thucydides, an Athenian general, wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War (§§ 192 ff.). Xenophon belongs rather to the next century. He also was an Athenian. He completed the story of the Peloponnesian War, and gave us, with other works, the *Anabasis*, an account of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the Persian empire in 401 B.C. (§ 205).

186. Philosophy.¹ — The age of Pericles saw a rapid development in philosophy, — and this movement also had Athens for its most important home. *Anaxagoras* of Ionia, the friend of Pericles, taught that the ruling principle in the universe was Mind: "In the beginning all things were chaos; then came Intelligence, and set all in order." He also tried to explain comets and other strange natural phenomena, which had been looked upon as miraculous.

But *Anaxagoras*, like *Democritus* and *Empedocles* of the same period, turned in the main from the old problem of a fundamental principle to a new problem, — how man knows the universe. That is, they tried to explain the working of the human mind. These early attempts at explanation were not very satisfactory, and so next came the *Sophists*, with a skeptical philosophy. Man, the *Sophists* held, cannot reach truth itself, but must be content to know only *appearances*. They taught rhetoric, and were the first of the philosophers to accept pay.²

Socrates, the founder of a new philosophy, is sometimes confounded with these *Sophists*. Like them, he abandoned the attempt to understand the material universe, and ridiculed gently the attempted explanations of *Anaxagoras*. He took for his motto, "Know thyself," and considered philosophy to consist in *right thinking upon human conduct*. True wisdom, he taught, is to know what is good and to do what is right; and he tried to make his followers see the difference between justice and injustice, temperance and intemperance, virtue and vice.

¹ This section deals with matters hard to understand, and the student ought not to be required to recite upon it. The section can best be read in class, and talked over. It may well be preceded by a reading of § 130 upon the earlier Greek philosophy.

² Thus these philosophers were accused of advertising for gain, to teach youth "how to make the worse appear the better reason," and the name "sophist" received an evil significance. Many of the *Sophists*, however, were brilliant thinkers, who did much to clear away old mental rubbish. The most famous were *Gorgias*, the rhetorician, a Sicilian Greek at Athens, and his pupil, *Isocrates*.

Socrates was a poor man, an artisan sculptor, who neglected his trade, to talk in the market place. He wore no sandals, and dressed meanly; and his large bald head and ugly face, with its thick lips and flat nose, made him good sport for the comic poets. His practice was to entrap unwary antagonists into public conversation by asking innocent-looking questions, and then, by the inconsistencies of their answers, to show how shallow their opinions were. Of course this proceeding afforded huge merriment to the crowd of youths who followed the bare-footed philosopher, and it made him bitter enemies among his victims: but his method of argument (which we still call "the Socratic method") was a permanent addition to our intellectual weapons; and his beauty of soul, his devotion to knowledge, and his largeness of spirit make him the greatest name in Greek history. Late in life (399 B.C.) he was accused of impiety and of corrupting the youth, and, on a close vote, was condemned to death by the dicasts, mainly because he would not condescend to defend himself in any ordinary way.

Socrates refused to escape from prison, and after memorable conversations with his friends upon immortality, he drank the fatal hemlock with a gentle jest upon his lips.¹ His execution is the greatest blot upon the intelligence of the Athenian democracy.

The most famous disciple of Socrates was *Plato* (the "broad-browed"). Plato, and his great pupil and rival, *Aristotle*, belong really to the following period of history. Their names are the greatest in the history of ancient thought,—among the very greatest of all time; but their philosophy is too complex to describe here. Aristotle in particular was many-sided and modern in his thought. Besides his philosophical treatises, he wrote upon rhetoric, logic, poetry, politics, physics, and natural history, and built up all the knowledge of the ancient world into a complete system.

¹ Special report: the trial and death of Socrates. See *Plato's Apology*, *Xenophon's Memorabilia*, *Curtius' History*, IV, 148-164, and other accounts.

187. Education.—Education at Athens typified that of Ionian Greece, and was in marked contrast with Spartan education (§ 99). It aimed to train harmoniously the intellect, the sense of beauty, the moral nature, and the body. At the age of seven the boy entered school, but he was constantly under the eye not only of the teacher, but of a trusted servant of his own family, called a pedagogue. The chief subjects for study were Homer and music. Homer, it has well been said, was to the



THE WRESTLERS.

Greek at once Bible, Shakespeare, and Robinson Crusoe.

When the youth left school, it was only to enter on a wider training, in the political debates of the Assembly, in the lecture halls of the Sophists, in the many festivals and religious processions, in the plays of the great dramatists at the theaters, and in the constant enjoyment of the noblest and purest works of art.

Physical training¹ began with the child and continued through old age. No Greek youth would pass a day without

¹ Read Gardner, *New Chapters*, 266-270, if accessible.

devoting some hours to developing his body and to overcoming any physical defect or awkwardness that he might have. All



THE DISK THROWER. — After Myron. Now in the Vatican.

classes of citizens, except those bound by necessity to the workshop, met for exercise. The result was a perfection of physical power and beauty never attained so universally by any other people.

188. Religion and Morality.—The two religions, of the clan and of Olympus, have been briefly described. Both these kept their hold upon the faith of most Athenians even in the age of Pericles. Neither, at first, had much to do with conduct toward men. To be sure, the good sense and clear thinking of the Greeks

had freed their religion from the grossest features of Oriental worship; but on the whole their moral ideas are to be sought in their philosophy, literature, and history, rather than in their theology.¹

The early Greeks believed in a place of terrible punishment for a few great offenders *against the gods* (*Odyssey*, xi,

¹ The old myths explaining the origin of the gods sometimes attributed grossly immoral conduct to them; but Homer wrote: "Verily, the blessed gods love not froward deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men" (*Odyssey*, xiv, 83, 84). And in the sixth century B.C. Theognis (§ 129) wrote: "We live like children, and the Almighty plan controls the froward children of weak men."

577 ff.), and in an Elysium of supreme pleasure for a very few others particularly favored by the gods. For the mass of men, however, the future life was to be "a washed-out copy of the brilliant life on earth"—its pleasures and pains both shadowy. Thus Odysseus meets Achilles in the home of the dead:—

"And he knew me straightway when he had drunk the dark blood; yea, and he wept aloud, and shed big tears as he stretched forth his hands in his longing to reach me. But it might not be, for he had now no steadfast strength nor power at all in moving, such as was aforetime in his supple limbs. . . . But lo, other spirits of the dead that be departed stood sorrowing, and each one asked of those that were dear to them."—*Odyssey*, xi, 390 ff.

And in their discourse, Achilles exclaims sorrowfully:—

"Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death, O great Odysseus. Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, even with a lack-land man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead."

Later philosophers, like Socrates, rose to higher conceptions; but for most Greeks, even in the best periods, the future life remained unreal and unimportant.¹ The Greeks accepted frankly the search for pleasure as natural and proper. Self-sacrifice had little place in their ideal. They were moved, not by the Christian's spiritual love for the beauty of holiness, nor by his hatred of sin, but by an intellectual admiration for the beauty of moderation and of temperance.

Individual characters at once lofty and lovable were not numerous. No society ever produced so many great men, but many societies have produced better men. Greek excellence was intellectual rather than moral. Trickery and wily deceit mark most of the greatest names, and not even physical or moral bravery can be called a national characteristic.

At the same time, a few individuals tower to great heights, and a few Greek teachers give us some of the noblest morality of the world. Says Mahaffy (*Social Greece*, 8), after acknowl-

¹ The remarkable quotations given below (§ 189) represent the mountain peaks, not the general level, of Greek thought on this subject.

edging the cruelty and barbarity of Greek life: "Socrates and Plato are far superior to the Jewish moralists; they are superior to the average Christian moralist; it is only in the matchless teaching of Christ himself that we find them surpassed."

189. Illustrative Extracts.—The following passages illustrate the moral ideas of the best of the Greeks. They are taken from Athenian writers of the age of Pericles:—

a. From Aeschylus.

"The lips of Zeus know not to speak a lying speech,
But will perform each single word."

"I think not any of the gods is bad."

"Justice shines in smoke-grimed houses and holds in regard the life that is righteous; she leaves with averted eyes the gold-bespangled palace which is unclean, and goes to the abode that is holy."

b. From Sophocles.

"Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough
That thou, a mortal man, should'st overpass
The unwritten laws of God that know no change."

c. From Socrates to his Judges after his condemnation to death (Plato's Apology).— "Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know this of a truth—that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods. . . . The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die, you to live. Which is better, God only knows."

d. From Plato's Republic.— "My counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow justice and virtue, considering that the soul is immortal and able to endure every sort of good and every sort of evil. Thus we shall live dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here, and when, like conquerors in the games, we go to receive our reward."

e. A Prayer of Socrates (from Plato's Phaedrus).— "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be the wealthy, and may I have such a quantity of gold as none but the temperate can carry."

190. Summary: Extent and Degree of Athenian Culture.—The amazing extent and degree of Athenian culture overpower

the imagination. With few exceptions, the famous men mentioned in §§ 182–185 were Athenian citizens. In the fourth century B.C. that one city gave birth to more great men of the first rank, it has been said, than the whole world has ever produced in any other equal period of time.

Artists, philosophers, and writers swarmed to Athens, also, from less-favored parts of Hellas; for, despite the condemnation of Socrates, no other city in the world afforded such freedom of thought, and nowhere else was artistic merit so appreciated. The names that have been mentioned give but a faint impression of the splendid throngs of brilliant poets, artists, philosophers, and orators, who jostled each other in the streets of Athens. This, after all, is the final justification of the Athenian democracy; and Abbott (*History*, II, 415), one of its sternest modern critics, is forced to exclaim, “Never before or since has life developed so richly as it developed in the beautiful city which lay at the feet of the virgin goddess.”¹

The finest glorification of the Athenian spirit is contained in the great funeral oration delivered by Pericles over the Athenian dead, at the close of the second year of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides gives the speech and represents no doubt the ideas, if not the words, of the orator:—

“And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have our regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined, and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city, the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own. . . .

“And in the matter of education, whereas our adversaries from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. . . .

¹ The patron deity of Athens was Pallas Athene, the virgin goddess (§ 88), whose temple, the Parthenon, crowned the Acropolis.

"If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers?"

"We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character. . . .

"In the hour of trial Athens alone is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages. . . . For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. . . .

"To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. . . .

"I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, and who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonor always present to them. . . .

"For the whole earth is a sepulcher of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone, but in the hearts of men. Make them your examples, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, do not weigh too nicely the perils of war. . . ."

191. Summary: Limitations. — At the same time two limitations in Greek culture must be noted.

a. It rested necessarily on slavery, and consequently could not honor labor, as modern culture at least tries to do. The main

business of the citizen was government and war. Trades and commerce were left largely to the free non-citizen class, and manual labor was performed mainly by slaves.

As a rule, it is true, this slavery was not harsh. In Athens, in particular, the slaves were ordinarily hardly to be distinguished from the poorer citizens, and indeed they were better treated than were poor citizens in many oligarchic states; but there was always the *possibility* of cruelty, and in the mines, even in Attica, the slaves were killed off brutally by merciless hardships.

b. Greek culture was for males only. It is not probable that the wife of Phidias or of Thucydides could read. Women had lost the freedom of the simple and rude society of Homer's time, without gaining much in return. Except at Sparta, where physical training was thought needful for them, they passed a secluded life even at home, in separate women's apartments. They had no public interests, and appeared rarely on the streets. At best, they were only higher domestic servants. The chivalry of the mediæval knight toward woman and the love of the modern gentleman for his wife were equally unthinkable by the finest Greek society.

A rare exception proves the rule. No account of the Athens of Pericles should omit mention of *Aspasia*. She was a native of Miletus, and was loved by Pericles. Since she was not an Athenian citizen he could not marry her; but he lived with her in all respects as his wife—a union not grievously offensive to Greek ideas. The dazzling wit and beauty of Aspasia made the home of Pericles the focus of the intellectual life of Athens. Anaxagoras, Socrates, Phidias, delighted in her conversation, and she has sometimes been credited with inspiring the political policy of Pericles himself; but she is the only woman who need be named in Greek history after the time of Sappho and Corinna (§ 129).

FOR FURTHER READING. — See remarks on page 162. To the modern writers there named the student may add Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*; Abbott, *Pericles*; and Cox, *Greek Statesmen*. Plutarch's "Pericles" (in the *Lives*) is of course exceedingly valuable as an early account. On the Athenian Constitution, Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, ch. vi. For art and culture: Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek*

Civilization and Social Life of the Greeks; Jebb, *Primer of Greek Literature*; Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*; Murray, *Greek Archaeology*; Marshall, *Short History of Greek Philosophy*.

IMAGINATIVE EXERCISES.—This period affords excellent material for exercises based upon the training of the historic imagination. Let the student absorb all the information he can find upon some historical topic, until he is filled with its spirit, and then reproduce it *from the inside*, with the dramatic spirit—as though he lived in that time—not in the descriptive method of another age. The following topics are suggested (the list can be indefinitely extended, and such exercises may be arranged for any period):—

1. A captive Persian's letter to a friend after Plataea.
2. A dialogue between Socrates and Xantippe.
3. An address by a revolted Messenian at Ithome to his fellows.
4. Extracts from a diary of Pericles.
5. A day at the Olympic games (choose some particular date).

IV. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 431-404 B.C.

192. Causes.—There was a natural opposition of character between the two great powers of Greece. The cities of the Athenian empire were Ionian in blood, democratic in politics, commercial in interests. Most of the cities of the Peloponnesian league were Dorian in blood and aristocratic in politics, and their citizens were great landowners whose land was tilled by slaves. This difference between the Athenian and Spartan states gave rise to mutual distrust and jealousy. It was easy for any misunderstanding to ripen into war.

Still, if none of the cities of the Peloponnesian league had had any interests whatever on the sea, the two opposing powers might each have gone its own way without crossing the other's path: the jealousy would have smouldered, but perhaps no occasion would have come for it to flame forth. But Corinth and Megara (members of Sparta's league) had trade for their main interest, like Athens; and, after the growth of the Athenian empire, they felt the basis of their prosperity slipping from under them. They had lost the



trade of the Aegean, and Athens had gained it. And now Athens was reaching out also for the commerce of the western coasts of Greece.

Thus, to the antagonism of character and feeling between the two halves of Greece, there was added a real conflict of interests. Next to Sparta, Corinth was the most powerful city in the Peloponnesian league; and she finally persuaded Sparta to take up arms against Athens, before the Thirty Years' Truce (§ 167) had run quite half its length.

The immediate occasion for the struggle was found in some defensive aid which Athens gave Corcyra against an attack by Corinth¹ in 432 B.C.; but in the negotiations that followed, this matter of Corcyra quickly fell out of sight, and the quarrel was joined on broader issues.² Sparta posed as the champion of a free Hellas: "Athens had enslaved the cities of the Aegean; let her set them free." That was an arrogant demand for Athens to give up her empire. Athens replied that Sparta might first set free Messenia and the Perioeci towns of Laconia; and in 431 the war began.

193. Resources and Plans. — The Peloponnesian league could muster a hundred thousand hoplites, against whom in that day no army in the world could stand; but it could not keep many men in the field longer than a few weeks. Sparta could not capture Athens, therefore, and must depend upon

¹ Corcyra was the third naval power in Greece. Corinth was second only to Athens. Corinth and Corcyra had come to blows, and Corcyra asked to be taken into the Athenian league. Athens finally promised defensive aid, and sent ten ships with instructions to take no part in offensive operations. A great armament of 150 Corinthian vessels appeared off the southern coast of Corcyra. Corcyra could muster only 110 ships. In the battle that followed, the Corinthians were at first completely victorious. They sank or captured many ships, and seemed about to destroy the whole Corcyran fleet. Then the little Athenian squadron came to the rescue, and by their superior skill quickly restored the fortune of the day. Read the story in Grote and in Thucydides.

² Special reports: the narrative of the deliberations at Sparta regarding war or peace (note especially Thucydides' account of the Corinthian speech regarding Sparta and Athens).

ravaging Attic territory and inducing Athenian allies to revolt.

Athens had only some twenty-six thousand hoplites at her command, and half of these were needed for distant garrison duty. But she had a navy even more unmatched on the sea than the Peloponnesian army was on land. Her walls were impregnable. The islands of Euboea and Salamis, and the open spaces within the Long Walls, could receive her country people with their flocks and herds. The corn trade of south Russia was securely in her hands. The grain ships could enter the Peiræus as usual, however the Spartans might hold the open country of Attica. Athens could easily afford to support her population for a time from her annual revenues, to say nothing of the immense surplus of 6000 talents in the treasury.

When war began, the Spartans marched each year into Attica with overwhelming force and remained there for some weeks, laying waste the crops, burning the villages, and cutting down the olive groves, up to the very walls of Athens. At first, with frenzied rage, the Athenians clamored to march out against the invader; but Pericles strained his great authority to prevent such a disaster, and finally he convinced the people that they must bear this insult and injury with patience. Meantime, an Athenian fleet was always sent to ravage the coasts and harbors of Peloponnesus and to conquer various exposed allies of Sparta. Each party could inflict considerable damage, but neither could get at the other to strike a vital blow. The war promised to be a matter of patience and endurance.

Here Athens seemed to have an advantage, since she had the stronger motive for not giving up. She was fighting to preserve her empire. Sparta, on the other hand, was not in any danger, and might easily become weary of a fruitless contest. This was the hope of Pericles.

194. An Unforeseen Factor: the Plague in Athens. — The plan of Pericles might have been successful, had the Sparta

tans not been encouraged by a tragic and unforeseen disaster that fell upon Athens. A terrible plague had been ravaging western Asia, and in the second year of the war it reached the Aegean. In most parts of Hellas it did no great harm; but in Athens it was peculiarly deadly.

The people of all Attica, crowded into the one city, were living under unusual and unwholesome conditions; and the pestilence returned each summer for several years. A fourth of the population perished, and for a time society seemed utterly demoralized.¹

195. Twenty-seven Years of War.—Still, the Athenians soon recovered their buoyant hope, and the war dragged on with varying success for twenty-seven years, with one short and ill-kept truce,—a whole generation growing up from the cradle to manhood in incessant war. A story of the long struggle in detail would take a volume. Only a few matters seem fitting for mention here. Among them are the remarkable Athenian naval victories, often against great odds, and the rise of “demagogues” in Athens (§§ 196, 197).

196. Athenian Naval Supremacy.—On the sea the superiority of Athens consisted not merely in the size of her navy, but even more in its skill. The other Greeks fought still, as they had done at the time of Salamis, by dashing their ships against each other, beak against beak, and then, if neither was sunk, in grappling the vessels together, and fighting as if on land. The Athenians, however, had now learned to maneuver their ships, rowing swiftly about the enemy with many feints and stratagems, and seizing the opportunity to sink a ship by a sudden blow at an exposed point. By their improved tactics they had revolutionized naval warfare, and for years small fleets of Athenian ships proved equal to triple their number of the enemy.² Gradually, however, the Pelopon-

¹ Read the account by Thucydides.

² Special report to illustrate these points: the story of Phormio's victories in the Corinthian Gulf in 431. Compare the accounts of Thucydides and Grote. No other writers have told this part of Greek history in so striking a fashion.

nesians learned something of the Athenian tactics, and this difference became less marked.

197. New Leaders. — The deadliest blow of the plague was the striking down of Pericles, who died in the third year of the war. Never had the Athenians so needed his controlling will and clear, calm judgment. He was followed by a new class of leaders, — men of the people, like *Cleon* the tanner, and *Hyperbolus* the lampmaker, — men of strong will and of some force, but rude, untrained, unscrupulous, and dependent upon popular arts to win the multitude. Such men were to lead Athens into many blunders and crimes.¹ Over against them stood only a group of incapable aristocrats, led by the good but stupid *Nicias*, and the brilliant, unprincipled adventurer *Alcibiades*.¹

Athens was peculiarly unfortunate in her statesmen at this period. She produced no Themistocles, or Aristides, or Pericles; and Phormio and Demosthenes, her great generals, were usually absent from the city. Sparta, on the other hand, produced greater generals than ever before in her history, in *Brasidas*, whose brilliant campaigns overthrew Athenian supremacy on the coast of Thrace,¹ and in *Lysander*, who was finally to bring the war to a close.

198. Athenian Disaster in Sicily. — The turning-point in the war was an unwise and misconducted Athenian expedition against Syracuse. Two hundred perfectly equipped ships and over forty thousand men, — among them eleven thousand of the flower of the Athenian hoplites, — were pitifully sacrificed by the superstition and miserable generalship of their leader, *Nicias* (413 B.C.).¹

¹ Special reports: (1) Cleon's leadership. (2) The trial of the Athenian generals after the victory of Arginusae. (3) The massacre of the Mytilenean oligarchs (story of the decree and the reprieve). (4) Massacre of the Mellians by Athens, 415 B.C. (5) Note the merciless nature of the struggle, as shown by other massacres of prisoners: *i.e.*, Thebans by Plataeans, 431 B.C.; Plataeans by Thebans, 427 B.C.; thousands of Athenians in the mines of Syracuse; the four thousand Athenians after Aegospotami. (6) The career of Alcibiades. (7) The Thracian campaigns. (8) The Sicilian expedition.

But even after this crushing disaster Athens refused peace that should take away her empire. Every nerve was strained, and the last resources and reserve funds exhausted, to build and man new fleets. Indeed, the war lasted nine years more, and part of the time Athens seemed as supreme in the Aegean as ever. Two things are notable in the closing chapters of the struggle, — the attempt to overthrow democracy in Athens and the betrayal of the Asiatic Greeks to Persia by Sparta (§§ 199, 200).

199. The Rule of the Four Hundred. — In 411, after a century of quiet, the oligarchs tried to secure the government in Athens. Wealthy men of moderate opinions were wearied by the heavy taxation of the war. The democracy had blundered sadly and had shown itself unfit to deal with foreign relations, where secrecy and dispatch are essential; and at home its new leaders were particularly offensive to the more aristocratic elements.

Under these conditions, the officers of the fleet conspired with oligarchic societies at home. Some leading democrats were assassinated; their party was terrorized; and the Assembly was induced to pass a decree for a new constitution. Five of the conspirators chose ninety-five others, and each of the hundred added three more, making a council of *Four Hundred*. This body was to govern the city and appoint all magistrates.

The Four Hundred were pledged to create an Assembly of *five thousand* of the wealthy citizens; but this step they hesitated to take. Meantime, they betrayed Athenian interests to Sparta, and proved generally incompetent, except in murder and plunder. After a few months, the Athenian fleet at Samos revolted and deposed its oligarchic officers. Then the democracy at home expelled the Four Hundred and restored the old constitution.

200. Sparta betrays the Asiatic Greeks to Persia. Aegospotami and the Surrender of Athens. — In 412, immediately after the destruction of the Athenian army and fleet in Sicily, Persian satraps appeared again upon the Aegean coast. *Sparta at*

once bought the aid of their gold by promising to betray the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks, to whom the Athenian name had been a shield for seventy years. Persian funds now built fleet after fleet for Sparta, and slowly Athens was exhausted, despite some brilliant victories. In 405, her last fleet, discouraged and perhaps betrayed by its commanders, was surprised and captured at *Aegospotami*. Lysander, the Spartan commander, in cold blood put to death the four thousand Athenian citizens among the captives.

Aegospotami marks the end. Athens still held out despairing but stubborn, until starved into submission by a terrible siege. In 404, the proud city surrendered to the mercy of its foes. Corinth and Thebes wished to raze it from the earth; but Sparta had no mind to do away with so useful a check upon Thebes. Athens formally renounced all claims to empire, gave up all old alliances, surrendered all her ships but twelve, and promised to "follow Sparta" in peace and war. The Long Walls and the defenses of the Peiraeus were demolished, to the music of Peloponnesian flutes; and Hellas was declared free!

Events were at once to show that this promise was a cruel mockery. The only power that could have grown into a free and united Greece had been ruined, and it remained only to see to what foreign master Greece should fall.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Sources: Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* is the great authority. Thucydides was an Athenian general. He was banished because his carelessness permitted a serious loss in Thrace, but we have no reason to think him unfair in his history unless it be toward his accuser, Cleon. Xenophon, in his *Hellenica*, takes up the story of the latter part of the war. Plutarch's *Lives* ("Alcibiades," "Nicias," and "Lysander") are useful for this period.

Modern authorities: Cox, *Athenian Empire*, chs. iii-vii; the closing parts of Grant's *Age of Pericles*, and of Abbott's *Pericles*; the *History* of Bury (chs. x, xi), Holm (II, xxi-xxiv, xxvii-xxviii), Abbott (III, chs. iii-xii), Grote (chs. xlvi-lix), and Curtius (bk. iv); Whibley, *Political Parties in Athens*.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE FALL OF ATHENS TO THE FALL OF HELLAS.

404-338 B.C.

201. Decline of the City-state. — At Aegospotami the brilliant political work of Athens was undone. Persia had already begun again to enslave the Greeks of Asia; Carthage again did the like in Sicily; and in the European peninsula the power which so long had kept these barbarians in check was crushed.

The Athenian empire had lasted seventy glorious years. Nearly an equal time was yet to elapse before Hellas fell under Macedonian sway; but the period is one of shame or of profitless conflict, and it need not detain us long.

I. SPARTAN SUPREMACY, 404-371 B.C.

A. DESPOTISM OVER GREECE, AND DECAY AT SPARTA.

202. Rule by "Decarchies" and Harmosts. — After Aegospotami, Sparta was mistress of Greece more completely than Athens had ever been, but her rule was to last only about thirty years, and most of that time was given to wars to maintain her authority. She had promised to set Hellas free; but the cities of the old Athenian empire found that they had exchanged a mild, wise rule for a coarse and stupid despotism.¹ Their old tribute was doubled; their self-government was taken away; bloodshed and confusion ran riot.

Everywhere Sparta overthrew the old democracies, and set up instead oligarchic governments. Usually the management of a city was given to a board of ten men, called a *decarchy*.² These oligarchies, of course, were dependent upon Sparta. To

¹ Read Cox, *Athenian Empire*, 229-231, on the contrast between the Athenian and the Spartan systems.

² Compare with the Persian practice of setting up tyrannies, dependent upon Persia, in the Ionian cities (§ 135).

support them, there was placed in many cities a Spartan military governor, called a *harmost*, with a Spartan garrison. The garrisons plundered at will; the harmosts grew rich from extortion and bribes; the decarchies were slavishly subservient to their masters, the Spartans, while they wreaked upon their fellow-citizens a long pent-up vengeance, in confiscation, outrage, expulsion, assassination, and massacre.¹

203. Spartan Decay. — In Sparta itself luxury and corruption had replaced the old simplicity. As a result, the number of full citizens was rapidly growing smaller. Property was gathered into the hands of a few, while many other Spartans grew too poor to support themselves at the public mess (§ 99). These poorer men ceased to be looked upon as citizens. They were not permitted to vote in the Assembly, and were known as "Inferiors."

In 700 B.C. Sparta had had nine or ten thousand citizens. Until the Peloponnesian War, that number had not greatly changed; but before the close of the Spartan supremacy it had shrunken to two thousand.²

The class of "Inferiors" added by their discontent to the standing danger from the Helots. Indeed, a plot was formed among these classes to change the government, and seemingly only an accident prevented an armed revolution.³ Even at home the Spartan rule during this period rested on a volcano.

204. The Enslavement and the Recovery of Athens. — For a time even Athens remained a victim to Spartan tyranny and to her own oligarchs, like any petty Ionian city. After the surrender, in 404, Lysander appointed a committee of thirty from the oligarchic clubs of Athens "to reëstablish the consti—

¹ With regard to these decarchies, an Athenian exclaimed, just after their overthrow: "What form of oppression escaped them? Or what deed of shame or cruelty did they not perpetrate? They found their friends among the most lawless; they considered traitors as benefactors; they chose to be themselves slaves to Helots [the harmosts were often of low birth] that they might be supported while they outraged their country."

² Even before the terrible blow at Leuctra (§ 210).

³ Special report: the conspiracy of Cinadon.

tution of the fathers." Meantime, they were to hold absolute power. This committee was expected to undo the reforms of Pericles and Cleisthenes and even of Solon, and to restore the ancient oligarchy. As a matter of fact they did worse than that: they published no constitution at all, but instead they filled all offices with their own followers and plotted to make their rule permanent.

These men were known as "the Thirty Tyrants." They called in a Spartan harmost and garrison, to whom they gave the fortress of the Acropolis; they disarmed the citizens, except some three thousand of their own adherents; and then they began a bloody and greedy rule. Rich democrats and metics were put to death or driven into exile, and their property confiscated. The victims of this proscription were counted by hundreds, perhaps by thousands. Even larger numbers fled, and, despite the orders of Sparta, were sheltered by Thebes.¹

The guiding genius of the Thirty was *Critias*, a brilliant but unscrupulous pupil of Socrates. After a little, the more cautious members rallied around *Theramenes*, and tried to check the wholesale butchery; but they at once became victims themselves. Critias sent Theramenes to immediate execution, and continued his reckless career. He had crushed opposition within the city, and he counted upon Lysander to protect him against attack from without.

This reign of terror lasted over a year. Then, in 403, one of the democratic exiles, *Thrasybulus*, with a band of companions from Thebes, seized the Peiraeus. The men of the port rose to his support. The Lacedaemonian garrison and the forces of the Thirty were defeated. A quarrel between Lysander and the Spartan king prevented serious Spartan interference, and the old democracy was restored at Athens.

¹ Thebes had felt aggrieved that her services in the Peloponnesian War received no reward from Sparta, and now she would have been glad to see Athens more powerful again.

The metics and sailors of the Peiræus had fought valiantly with the democrats against the Thirty. Thrasybulus, one of the most liberal of Greek statesmen, now urged that they should be made full citizens. This just measure would have compensated Athens partly for her terrible losses in the Peloponnesian War; but, unfortunately, it was not adopted. In other respects, however, the restored democracy showed itself generous as well as moderate. A few of the most guilty of the Thirty were punished, but for all others a general amnesty was declared. Critias had fallen in battle.

The good faith and moderation of the democracy contrasted so favorably with the cutthroat rule of the two recent experiments at oligarchy (§ 199) that Athens was undisturbed in future by revolution. Other parts of Greece, however, were less fortunate, and democracy never again became so generally established in Hellenic cities as it had been in the age of Pericles.

B. WARS AND LEAGUES, TO THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

205. The March of the Ten Thousand. Renewal of War with Persia. — Meantime, important events were taking place in the East. In 401, the weakness of the Persian empire was made strikingly manifest. *Cyrus the Younger*, brother of the king Artaxerxes, endeavored to seize the Persian throne. As a satrap in Asia Minor, Cyrus had given Sparta decisive help against Athens before the battle of Aegospotami; and now, through Sparta's favor, he was able to enlist ten thousand Greeks in his army.

Cyrus penetrated to the heart of the Persian empire; but in the battle of *Cunaxa*, near Babylon, he was killed, and his Asiatic troops routed. The Ten Thousand Greeks, however, proved unconquerable by the Persian host of half a million. By treachery the leaders were entrapped and murdered; but under the inspiration of *Xenophon*¹ the Athenian, the Ten

¹ *Xenophon's Anabasis* is our authority for these events. Cf. § 185.

Thousand chose new generals and made a remarkable retreat to the Greek districts on the Black Sea.

Until this time the Greeks had waged their contests with Persia only along the *coasts* of Asia. After the Ten Thousand had marched almost at will through so many hostile nations, the Greeks began to dream of conquering and Hellenizing the Asiatic *continent*. Seventy years later, Alexander the Great was to make this dream a fact. First, however, the attempt was made by *Agésilau*s, king of Sparta.

Sparta had brought down upon herself the wrath of Persia by favoring Cyrus; and Agésilau>s now burned with a noble ambition to free and protect the Asiatic Greeks, who a little before had been abandoned to Persia by his country. Thus war began between Sparta and Persia. In 396, Agésilau>s invaded Asia Minor with a large army, and seemed in full career of conquest, when he was checked by the progress of events in Hellas (§ 206).

206. A Greek League against Sparta, 395 B.C.—No sooner was Sparta engaged with Persia than enemies rose against her in Greece itself. Thebes and Corinth had been bitterly chagrined that Sparta kept for herself all the gains of the great Peloponnesian War; and now these cities joined Athens and Argos in a struggle against Sparta. Persia supplied the allies with funds. Sparta found herself with two wars on her hands; and almost at once the empire she had gained at Aegospotami was shattered, in a defeat by *Conon*, an Athenian in Persian service. Conon was the ablest of the Athenian generals in the latter period of the Peloponnesian War. At Aegospotami he was the only one who had kept his squadron in order; and after all was lost, he had escaped to Rhodes and entered Persian service. Now, in 394, in command of a Phoenician fleet, at the battle of *Cnidus* he completely destroyed the Spartan naval power.

Spartan authority in the Aegean vanished at once. Conon sailed from island to island, expelling the Spartan harmosts and garrisons, and restoring the democracies; and in the next

year he anchored in the Peiræus and rebuilt the Long Walls. These events raised Athens again to the place of one of the great powers, and threw Sparta back into her old position as mere head of the inland Peloponnesian league.

207. Peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C. — Accordingly, after a few more years of indecisive war, Sparta sought peace with Persia. In 387, the two powers invited all the Greek states to send deputies to Sardis, where the Persian king dictated the terms. The document read:—

“King Artaxerxes deems it just that the *cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus*, should belong to himself; the rest of the Hellenic cities, both great and small, he will leave independent, save Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, together with those who share my views [the Spartans], will war against the offenders by land and sea.”—XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, v, 1.

Sparta held that these terms dissolved all the other leagues (like the Boeotian, of which Thebes was the head), but that they did not affect her own control over her subject towns in Laconia, nor weaken the Peloponnesian confederacy.

Thus Persia and Sparta again conspired to betray the Greeks. Persia would help Sparta keep the European Greek states divided and weak, as they were before the Persian War; and Sparta would help Persia recover her old authority over the Asiatic Greeks. By this crowning iniquity the tottering Spartan supremacy was bolstered up a few years longer.¹

C. FROM THE BETRAYAL OF HELLAS TO LEUCTRA.

208. High-handed Aggressions. — Sparta had saved her power by infamy. She used it with the same brutal cunning as in the past. The Spartan government cynically announced the maxim that anything was right which was expedient, and

¹ Of course the shame of betraying the Asiatic Greeks must be shared by the enemies of Sparta, who had used Persian aid against her; but the policy had been first introduced by Sparta in seeking Persian assistance in 412 against Athens (§ 200); and so far no other Greek state had offered to surrender Hellenic cities to barbarians as the price of such aid.

avored a jealous policy of keeping down all beginnings of greatness in Greece.

Thus, Arcadia had shown signs of growing strength, but the leading city, Mantinea, was now broken up, and the inhabitants dispersed in villages. By treachery, in time of peace, a Spartan force seized the citadel of Thebes. And, a little later, when the Athenian naval power began to revive, a like treacherous, though unsuccessful, attempt was made upon the Peiraeus.

209. Thebes and Athens again make War upon Sparta. — These high-handed outrages were to recoil upon the offender. Thebes and Athens, who had been wantonly injured, joined in a new attack upon Sparta.

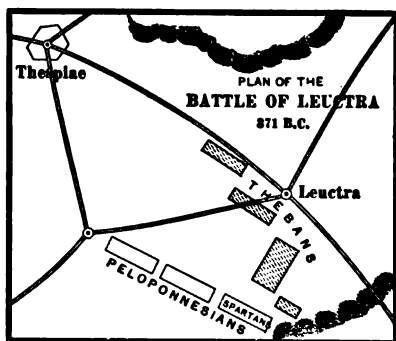
First there came a revolution within Thebes. The Spartan garrison there supported an oligarchic Theban government which drove crowds of citizens into exile. Athens received them, just as Thebes had sheltered Athenian fugitives in the time of the Thirty Tyrants; and from Athens *Pelopidas*, a leader of the exiles, struck the return blow.¹ In 379, Thebes was surprised and seized by the exiles, and the government passed into the hands of the democrats. War followed for many years between Thebes and Athens on one side and Sparta on the other, but there were no decisive results.

210. Leuctra; the Overthrow of Sparta. — In 371 B.C., the contending parties, wearied with fruitless strife, concluded peace. But when the deputies were about to sign for their cities, Epaminondas, the Theban representative, demanded the right to sign for all Boeotia, as Sparta did for all Laconia. Athens would not support Thebes in this position. Sparta, therefore, excluded Thebes from the peace and turned to crush her, now left alone. A powerful army at once invaded Boeotia, — and met with an overwhelming defeat by a smaller Theban force at *Leuctra*.

This amazing result was due to the military genius of *Epaminondas*. Hitherto the Greeks had fought in long lines, from

¹ Special report: Pelopidas' expedition from Athens.

eight to twelve men deep. Against such a Spartan line Epaminondas adopted a new arrangement that marks a step in war-



fare. He massed his best troops in a solid column, fifty men deep, on the left, opposite the Spartan wing in the Peloponnesian army. His other troops were spread out as thin as possible. The solid phalanx was set in motion first; then the thinner center and right wing advanced more

slowly, so as to engage the attention of the enemy opposite, but not to come into action until the battle should have been won by the massed column.

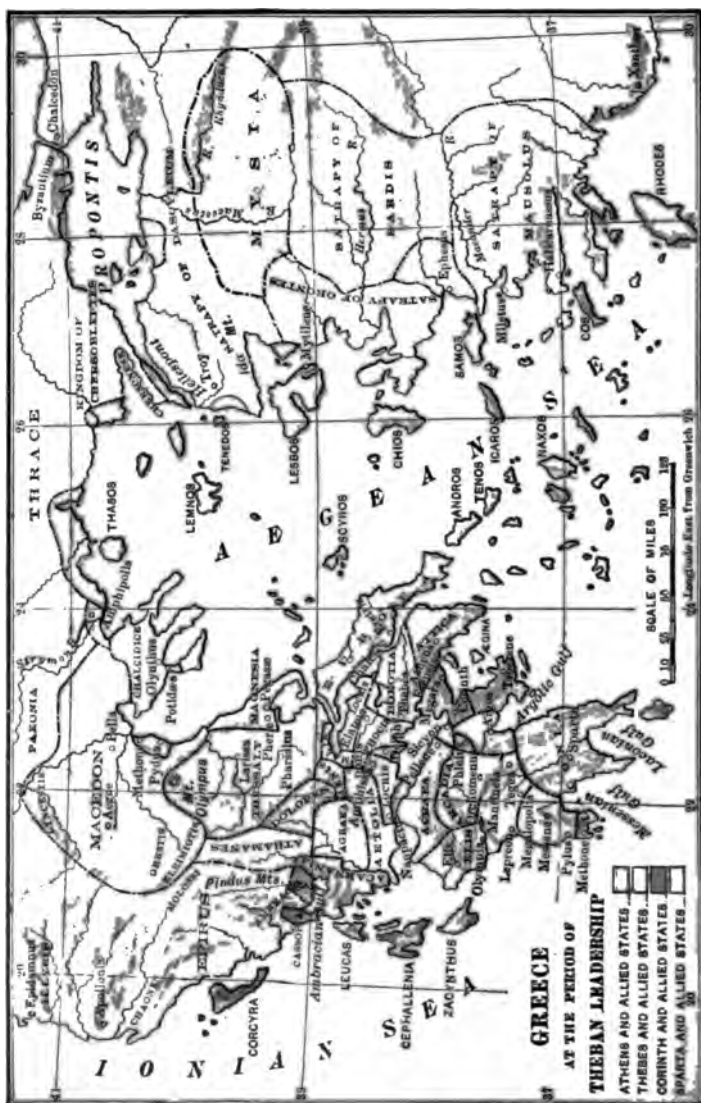
In short, Epaminondas adopted a device whereby he could mass a great part of his force against one part of his enemy's line.¹ The weight of the Theban charge crushed through the Spartan force and trampled it under. Four hundred of the seven hundred Spartans, with their king and with a thousand Perioeci, went down in ten minutes.

The mere loss of men was a fatal enough blow, now that Spartan citizenship was so reduced (the number of full citizens after this battle did not exceed fifteen hundred), and the effect upon the military prestige of Sparta was even more deadly. At one stroke Sparta sank into a second-rate power.² None the less, the Spartan character never showed to better advantage. Sparta was always greater in defeat than in victory, and she met her fate with heroic courage. The

¹ The Spartans seem to have been unable to modify their military system so as to cope with the evident peril from these new tactics, which were to win again with almost equal ease at Mantinea (§ 211).

² See §§ 248, 249 for her brief revival in the third century.





news of the overthrow did not interfere with a festival that was going on, and only the relatives of the *survivors* of the battle appeared in mourning.

II. THEBAN SUPREMACY.

§11. Epaminondas.—For nine years after Leuctra Thebes was the head of Greece. This position she owed to her great leader, *Epaminondas*, whose life marks one of the fair heights to which human nature can ascend. Epaminondas was great as general, statesman, and philosopher; but he was greatest as a man, lofty and lovable in nature. In his earlier days he had been looked upon as a dreamer, and when the oligarchs of Thebes drove out Pelopidas and other active patriots (§ 209), they only sneered while Epaminondas continued calmly to preach of liberty to the young. Later, it was recognized that, more than any other man, he had prepared the way for the overthrow of tyranny; and after the expulsion of the oligarchs he soon became the chief leader and organizer of the restored democracy.

Epaminondas sought to do for Thebes what Pericles had done for Athens; and while he lived success seemed possible. Unhappily the few years remaining of his life he was compelled to give mainly to war, to guard against Spartan recovery. Laconia was repeatedly invaded. During these campaigns Epaminondas freed Messenia, on one side of Sparta, and organized Arcadia, on the other side, into a federal union,—so as to “surround Sparta with a perpetual blockade.” The great Theban aided the Messenians to found a new capital, *Messene*; and in Arcadia he restored Mantinea, which Sparta had destroyed (§ 208). In this district he also founded *Megalopolis*, or “the Great City,” by combining forty scattered villages.

Athenian aid saved Sparta from complete destruction, but drew down Theban vengeance upon herself. Epaminondas turned upon Athens, built fleets, swept the Athenian navy from

the seas, and made Euboea a Theban possession. Meantime Pelopidas had been active in the north. Both Thessaly and Macedonia were brought under Theban influence, and the young *Philip*, prince of Macedon, spent some years in Thebes as a hostage.

The leadership of Thebes, however, rested solely on the supreme genius of her one great statesman, and vanished instantly at his death. In 362, for the fourth time, Epaminondas marched against Sparta, and at *Mantineia* won another great victory, by tactics like those of Leuctra. This was the greatest land battle ever fought between Hellenes, and nearly all the states of Greece took part on one side or the other. But the victory of Thebes bore no results; for Epaminondas himself fell on the field, and his city sank at once to a slow and narrow policy.

No state was left in Greece to assume leadership. Within the Peloponnesus, Arcadians and Messenians proved incapable of steady government; and a turbulent anarchy, in place of the stern Spartan rule, seemed the only fruit of the brief glory of the great Theban.

212. Anarchy in Greece; Failure of the City-state.—The failure of the Greek cities to unite in larger states made it certain that sooner or later they must fall to some outside power. Sparta and Thebes (with Persian aid) had been able to prevent Athenian leadership; Thebes and Athens had overthrown Sparta; Sparta and Athens had been able to check Thebes. Each state had been discredited and exhausted in turn.

Athens had had seventy glorious years of leadership. Sparta's thirty years of tyranny and Thebes' short supremacy were followed by over twenty years more of anarchy, before Greece fell finally to a foreign master. But during those years the weakness of the Greek political system became more and more plain, and a new nation was growing up on the north to replace that system with something stronger (§§ 213 ff.).

FOR FURTHER READING.—Plutarch's *Lives* ("Agesilaus" and "Pelopidas"), Sankey's *Spartan and Theban Supremacies* ("Epochs"), and the standard histories. For the usual high school student, the period is worth little library study, unless, perhaps, for the exploits of Pelopidas and the character of Epaminondas.

III. THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST.

213. Macedon: its People and King. — The Macedonians were part of the "outer rim of the Greek race." They were still barbaric, and perhaps were mixed somewhat with non-Hellenic elements. Until shortly before this time they had remained a loose union of tribes; but now a series of able kings had consolidated them into a real nation. The change was so recent that Alexander a little later could say to his army: —

"My father, Philip, found you a roving people, without fixed habitations and without resources, most of you clad in the skins of animals, pasturing a few sheep among the mountains, and, to defend these, waging a luckless warfare with the Illyrians, the Triballans, and the Thracians on your borders. He gave you the soldier's cloak to replace the skins, and led you down from the mountains into the plain, making you a worthy match in war against the barbarians on your frontier, so that you no longer trusted to your strongholds so much as to your own personal valor for safety. He made you to dwell in cities and provided you with wholesome laws and institutions. Over those same barbarians, who before had plundered you and carried off as booty both yourselves and your substance, he made you masters and lords." — **ARRIAN**, vii, 9.



PHILIP II. — From a gold medallion struck by Alexander.

This *Philip II* is one of the most remarkable men in history.¹ He was ambitious, crafty, sagacious, persistent, unscrupulous, an unflinching judge of character, and a marvelous

¹ Read Wheeler's characterization, *Alexander the Great*, 5-7.

organizer. He set himself to make his people true Greeks by making them the leaders of Greece. He was determined to secure that primacy for which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had all vainly striven.



The struggle revealed the advantages of a consolidated national monarchy as against divided, mutually jealous city-states, and of a single powerful ruler, able to keep his own counsel and to pursue one policy unwaveringly, as against city assemblies, with their public discussions, changing votes, and conflicting plans.

214. Philip's Aims and Methods.—At Philip's accession Macedon was still a poor country without a good harbor. The first need was an outlet on the sea. Philip found one by con-

quering the Chalcidic peninsula; and his energy developed the gold mines of the district until they furnished him a yearly revenue of a thousand talents — as large as that of Athens at her greatest power.

Then Philip turned to Greece itself. Here he used an adroit mingling of cunning, bribery, and force. In all Greek states, among the pretended patriot statesmen, there were secret servants in his pay. He set city against city; and the constant tendency to quarrels among the Greeks played into his hands.

The only man who saw clearly the designs of Philip, and who at the same time constantly opposed them, was *Demosthenes* the Athenian. Demosthenes was the greatest orator of Greece. To check Macedonia became the one aim of his life; and the last glow of Greek political independence flames up in his passionate appeals to Athens to defend Hellas against Macedon as she had once done against Persia.

“Suppose that you have one of the gods as surety that Philip will leave *you* untouched, in the name of all the gods, it is a shame for you in ignorant stupidity to sacrifice the rest of Hellas!”

The noble orations (the *Philippics*) by which Demosthenes sought to move the Athenian assembly to action against Philip are still unrivaled in literature,¹ but their practical effect was to secure only spasmodic action.

215. The Macedonian Army. — The most important work of Philip was his army. This was as superior to the four-months citizen armies of Hellas as Philip's diplomacy was superior to that of a popular assembly. The king's wealth enabled him to keep ready for action a disciplined force. He enlarged the Theban phalanx, and improved it, so that the ranks presented five rows of bristling spears projecting beyond the front soldier.² The flanks were protected by light-

¹ Special report: Demosthenes.

² Special report: the Macedonian phalanx. A good account is found in Curtius' *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*, 34–37. This phalanx is one of the things Philip owed to his life in Thebes (§ 211).

armed troops, and the Macedonian nobles furnished the finest of cavalry.

At the same time a field "artillery" first appears, made up of curious engines able to throw darts and great stones three hundred yards. Such a mixture of troops, and on a permanent footing, was altogether novel. Philip created the instrument with which his son was to conquer the world.

216. Chaeronea and the Congress of Corinth.—In 338 B.C. Philip threw off the mask and invaded Greece. Athens and Thebes combined against him, — to be hopelessly crushed at the *battle of Chaeronea*. Then a congress of Greek states at Corinth recognized Macedonia as the head of Greece. This congress adopted a constitution¹ which was proposed by Philip, and which provided that the separate states should retain their local self-government, but that foreign matters, including war and peace, should be committed to Philip. Philip was also declared general in chief of the armies of Greece for a war against Persia.

217. The History of Hellas ended; a Wider History begun.—Thus Philip posed, wisely, not as the conqueror, but as the champion of Greece against the great foe of all Hellenes. He showed a patient magnanimity, too, toward fickle Greek states, and in particular he strove to reconcile Athens. He was wise enough to see that he needed, not reluctant subjects, but willing followers.

The conquest was disguised under the color of a national union for a national purpose; but none the less the history of Hellas had closed. Greece thereafter, until well into the nineteenth century, was only a province of this or that foreign power. The history of Hellenic culture, however, was not closed. The Macedonian conquest was to spread that civilization over the vast East and so create a new Graeco-Oriental world. *The history of Hellas merges in the history of a wider Hellenism.*

¹ Holm, III, 283 ff.

For this new history, Philip had prepared by his two great achievements. He had united Greece under Macedon for a national undertaking, and he had previously created the army and the treasure with which his son was to carry that undertaking to successful issue. For these things Philip II ranks among the great forces in history.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Sources: Xenophon's *Hellenica* and Demosthenes' *Orations*. Modern authorities: Wheeler's *Alexander*, 14–18 and 64–80 (the best brief account); Holm, III, chs. xiv–xviii; Curteis' *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*, chs. i–vii; Sankey's *Spartan and Theban Supremacies* (close); Bury's *History of Greece*, ch. xvi; Curtius' *History of Greece*, V, bk. vii.

EXERCISE. — Review the period 405–338 B.C. by “catchwords” (see Exercise on page 153).

IV. THE WESTERN GREEKS, 480–336 B.C.

218. Even at the risk of interrupting the main story, a brief sketch of events in Magna Graecia ought to be included in this portion of Greek history. For a few years after the repulse of Carthage in 480 B.C. (§ 133 *a*) the tyrant *Gelon* and his brother and successor, *Hiero*, made Syracuse the most powerful city in the West. Indeed, for a short time just before the full bloom of Athens, Syracuse was the center of Greek civilization and the most brilliant city in the world. Between 475 and 450 B.C. the tyrants gave way to democracies in Magna Graecia; but the old union of the cities was lost, and petty wars and incessant internal strife blasted the rising culture.

It was these dissensions and the wars between Ionians and Dorians in Sicily that called in Athens (415–413 B.C.), to her own ruin, during the Peloponnesian War. Then, in 409, Carthage renewed her designs, and quickly overran all the island except Syracuse, which was saved by a new tyrant, *Dionysius*. This remarkable ruler built up a great military power, and in a long war won back much of the island, setting up dependent tyrants in the various cities, after the fashion of Gelon before him.

Thus the prize of Sicily hung between Greek and Carthaginian for a century more, until it was finally seized by Rome. The only matter

that need be mentioned here was the career of *Timoleon the Liberator*¹ (344-336 B.C.), who for a brief period drove out the tyrants, preserved order, and checked the Carthaginians. Soon after his death the noted *Agathocles* restored the rule of tyrants, which lasted until Rome became mistress.

¹ For the Western Greeks, read Plutarch's *Lives* ("Timoleon" and "Dion") and Freeman's *Story of Sicily*.

PART III.

THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD.

With Alexander the stage of Greek influence spreads across the world, and Greece becomes only a small item in the heritage of the Greeks.

— MAHAFFY.

The seed-ground of European civilization is neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two.— BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

CHAPTER I.

THE MINGLING OF EAST AND WEST.

I. THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER.

219. The Youth and Character of Alexander the Great.— Philip of Macedon was assassinated in 336, two years after Chaeronea, just as he was about to begin the invasion of Asia, and his work was taken up by his son *Alexander*.

Father and son were both among the greatest men in history, but they were very unlike. In many ways Alexander resembled his mother, Olympias, a semibarbaric princess from Epirus,— a woman of intense passions and generous enthusiasms. Says Benjamin Ide Wheeler:—

“ While it was from his father that Alexander inherited his sagacious insight into men and things, and his brilliant capacity for timely and determined action, it was to his mother that he undoubtedly owed that passionate warmth of nature which betrayed itself not only in the furious outbursts of temper occasionally characteristic of him, but quite as much in a romantic fervor of attachment and love for friends, a delicate tenderness of sympathy for the weak, and a princely largeness and generosity of soul toward all, that made him so deeply beloved of men and so enthusiastically followed.” — *Alexander the Great*, 5.

As a boy, Alexander had been fearless and self-willed, with fervent affections and with a restless eagerness for action.¹ These traits in some degree marked his whole career; but his early training taught him to curb his impulses, to endure hardship, and to despise ease and luxury. The young prince was devoted to Homer and he knew the *Iliad* by heart. Homer's Achilles he claimed for an ancestor and took for his ideal. His later education was directed by Aristotle (§ 186), and from this great teacher he learned to admire Greek art and science and to come closely into sympathy with the best Greek culture.



ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER IN A LION-HUNT.

Two sides of a gold medallion of Tarsus.

220. Accession: Restoration of Order. — At his father's death Alexander was a stripling of twenty years. He was to prove a rare military genius;² and, on occasion, he could be shrewd and adroit in diplomacy; but at this time he was known only as a rash boy. No one thought that he could hold together the empire that had been built up by the force and cunning of the great Philip. Revolt broke out everywhere; but the young king showed himself at once both statesman and general. With

¹ Special report: anecdotes from Plutarch regarding Alexander's boyhood.

² He never lost a battle and never refused an engagement.

marvelous rapidity he struck crushing blows on this side and on that. A hurried expedition restored order in Greece; the savage tribes of the north were quieted by a rapid march beyond the Danube; then, turning on rebellious Illyria, Alexander forced the mountain passes and overran the country.

Meanwhile it was reported in the south that Alexander was killed or defeated among the barbarians. Insurrection again blazed forth; but with forced marches he suddenly appeared a second time in Greece, falling with swift and terrible vengeance upon Thebes, the center of the revolt. The city was taken by storm and leveled to the ground, except the house of Pindar (§ 129), while the thirty thousand survivors of the population were sold as slaves. The other states were terrified into abject submission, and were treated generously. Then, with his authority firmly reestablished, Alexander turned, as the champion of Hellas, to attack Persia.

221. The Persian Campaigns.—In the spring of 334 B.C. Alexander crossed the Hellespont with thirty-five thousand disciplined troops. The army was quite enough to scatter any Oriental force, and as large as any general could handle in long and rapid marches in a hostile country; but its size



HEAD OF ALEXANDER RONDANINI. — Probably a copy of the gold-ivory portrait statue by the sculptor Leochares, just after the battle of Chaeronea. Now at Munich.

contrasts strangely with that of the huge horde Xerxes had led against Greece a century and a half before.

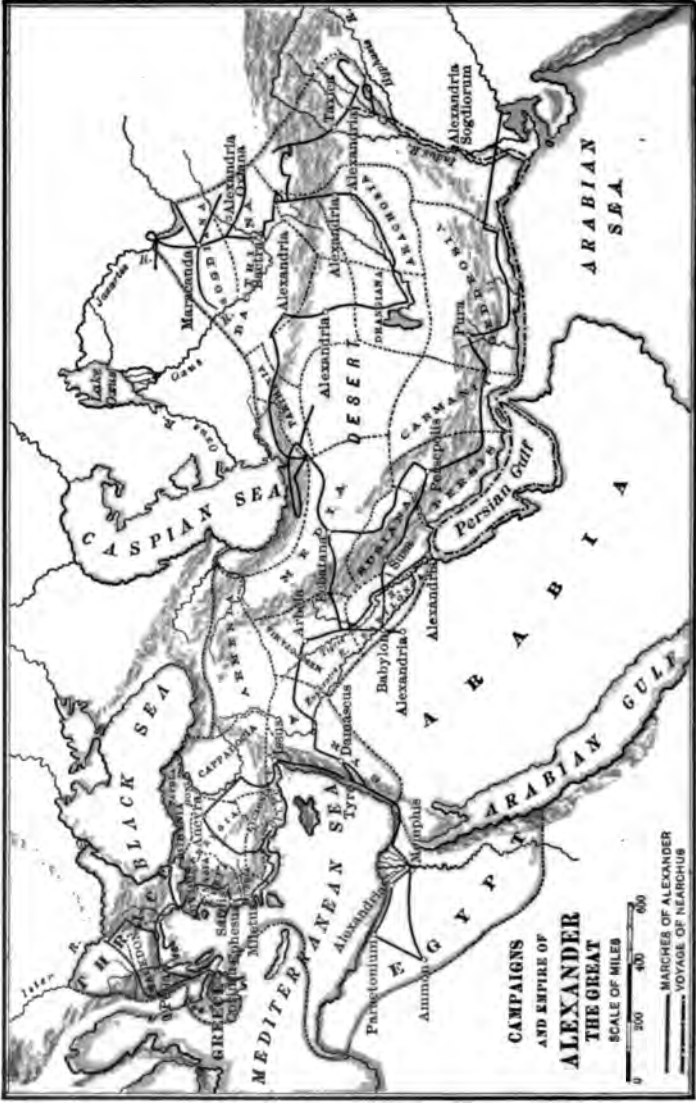
The path of march and the immense distances traversed can be best traced by the map. The conquest of the main empire occupied five years, and the story falls into three distinct chapters, each marked by a world-famous battle.

a. Asia Minor: Battle of the Granicus.—The Persian satraps of Asia Minor met the invaders at the Granicus, a small stream in the Troad. With the personal rashness that was the one blot upon his supreme military skill, Alexander himself led the Macedonian charge through the river and up the steep bank into the midst of the Persian cavalry, where he barely escaped death. The Persian nobles fought, as always, with gallant self-devotion, but in the end they were utterly routed. Then the Greek mercenaries in Persian pay were surrounded and cut down to a man. No quarter was to be given Hellenes fighting as traitors to the cause of Hellas.

The victory cost Alexander only 120 men, and it made him master of all Asia Minor. During the next few months he set up democracies in the Greek cities, and organized the government of the various provinces.

b. The Mediterranean Coast: Battle of Issus.—To strike at the heart of the empire at once would have been to leave behind him a large Persian fleet, to encourage revolt in Greece. Alexander wisely determined to secure the entire coast, and so protect his rear, before marching into the interior. Accordingly he turned south, just after crossing the mountains that separate Asia Minor from Syria, to reduce Phoenicia and Egypt. Meantime the Persians had gathered a great army but at *Issus* Alexander easily overthrew their host of six hundred thousand men, led by King Darius in person. Darius allowed himself to be caught in a narrow defile between the mountains and the sea, and the cramped space made the vast numbers of the Persians an embarrassment to themselves; they soon became a huddled mob of fugitives, and the Macedonians wearied themselves with slaughter.





**CAMPAIGNS
AND EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER
THE GREAT**

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600

— MARCHES OF ALEXANDER
— VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS

Alexander now assumed the title King of Persia. The sieges of Tyre (§ 51) and Gaza detained him a year; but Egypt welcomed him as a deliverer, and by the close of 332, all the sea power of the world was his. While in Egypt he showed his constructive genius by founding *Alexandria* at one of the mouths of the Nile—a city destined for many centuries to be a commercial and intellectual center for the world, where before there had been only a haunt of pirates.

c. The Tigris-Euphrates District: Battle of Arbela.—Darius now proposed that he and Alexander should divide the empire between them. Rejecting this offer contemptuously, Alexander took up his march for the interior. Following the ancient routes from Egypt to Assyria (§ 7), he met Darius near *Arbela*, not far from ancient Nineveh. The Persians are said to have numbered a million men. Alexander purposely allowed them choice of time and place, and by a third decisive victory proved the hopelessness of resistance. Darius never gathered another army. The capitals of the empire—Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis—surrendered, with enormous treasure¹ in gold and silver, and the Persian Empire had fallen (331 B.C.).

222. Campaigns in the Far East.—The next six years went, however, to much more desperate warfare in the eastern mountain regions, and in the Punjab.² Alexander carried his arms almost twice as far east from Babylon as Babylon was from Macedonia. He traversed great deserts, subdued the warlike and princely chiefs of Bactria and Sogdiana up to the steppes of the wild Tartar tribes beyond the Oxus, twice forced the passes of the Hindukush (a feat almost unparalleled), conquered the valiant mountaineers of what is now Afghanistan, and led his army into the fertile and populous plains of northern India. He crossed the Indus, won realms beyond the ancient Persian province of the Punjab, and planned still more distant empires; but on the banks of the Hyphasis River his faithful

¹ Special report: the treasure found in these cities, and its significance.

² A district of northern India; § 60.

Macedonians refused to be led farther, to waste away in inhuman perils, and the chagrined conqueror was compelled to return to Babylon. This city he made his capital, and here he died of a fever two years later (323 B.C.) in the midst of preparations to extend his conquests both east and west. These last years, however, were given mainly to organizing the empire; and to the results of this constructive work we will now turn our attention.

II. THE RESULTS OF ALEXANDER'S WORK.

223. Alexander's Expanding Views: "Merging of East and West."—Alexander began his conquest to avenge the West upon the East. But he came to see excellent and noble qualities in Oriental life, and he rose rapidly to a broader view. He aimed no longer to hold a world in subjection by the force of a small conquering tribe, but rather to mold Persian and Greek into one people on terms of equality. He wished to marry the East and the West,—“to bring them together into a composite civilization, to which each should contribute its better elements.”

Persian youth were trained by thousands in Macedonian fashion to replace the veterans of Alexander's army; Persian nobles were welcomed at court and given high offices; and in general the government of Asia was intrusted largely to Asiatics, on a system similar to that of Darius the Great (§ 63). Alexander himself adopted Persian manners and customs. He even married Persian wives, and he bribed and coaxed his officers and soldiers to do the like. All this was part of a deliberate design to encourage the fusion of the two peoples. The Macedonians jealously protested, and even rebelled, but were quickly reduced to obedience; and there is no question as to the statesmanlike wisdom of Alexander's plan.

“The dream of his youth melted away, but a new vision in larger perspective arose with ever strengthening outlines in its place. The

¹ Topic: anecdotes of Alexander's later years; the change in his character. See Wheeler's *Alexander* for an ardent defense, and note pages 227-229 for an excellent description.

champion of the West against the East faded in mist, and the form of a world monarch, standing above the various worlds of men and belonging to none, but molding them all into one, emerged in its stead."—WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 376.

224. Hellenism the Active Element: the Many Alexandrias. —

At the same time Alexander saw that to fulfill this mission he must throw open the East to Greek ideas. The races might mingle their blood; the Greek might learn much from the Orient, and in the end be absorbed by it; but the thought and art of little Hellas with its active energy must *leaven* the vast passive mass of the East.

One great measure, designed for this end, was the foundation of chains of cities, to bind the conquests together and to become the homes of Hellenic influence. Alexander himself built seventy of these towns (usually called from his



ALEXANDER AS APOLLO. — Now in the Capitoline Museum.

name, like the Alexandria in Egypt). Their walls sprang up under the pick and spade of the soldiery along the lines of march. One great city, we are told, walls and houses, was completed in twenty days. Sometimes these places were mere garrison towns on distant frontiers, but oftener they were mighty emporiums at the intersection of great lines of trade. There was an Alexandria on the Jaxartes, on the Indus, on the Euphrates, as well as on the Nile. The sites were chosen

wisely, and many of these cities remain great capitals to this day, like Herat and Kandahar.¹

This building of Greek cities was continued by Alexander's successors.² Once more, and on a vaster scale than ever before, the Greek genius for colonization found vent. Each new city had a Greek nucleus. Usually this consisted only of worn-out veterans, left behind as a garrison; but enterprising youth, emigrating from old Hellas, continued to reënforce the Greek element. The native village people roundabout were gathered in to make the bulk of the inhabitants; but these also soon took on Greek character. From scattered, ignorant rustics, they became artisans and merchants, devotedly attached to Greek rule and zealous disciples of Greek culture.

The cities "were all built on a large and comfortable model; they were well paved; they had ample provision for lighting by night, and a good water supply; they had police arrangements, and good thoroughfares." Even in that despotic East, they received extensive privileges and enjoyed a large amount of self-government: they met in their own assemblies, managed their own courts, and collected their own taxes. They made the backbone of Hellenism throughout the world for centuries, and were truly Greek in character. Greek was the ordinary speech of their streets; Greek architecture built their temples, and Greek sculpture adorned them; they celebrated Greek games and festivals; and, no longer in little Hellas alone, but over the whole East, in Greek theaters, vast audiences were educated by the plays of Euripides. The culture developed by a small people became the heritage of a vast world.

The unity of this widespread civilization cannot be insisted upon too strongly. Political unity, it is true, was soon lost; but the oneness of culture endured for centuries, and kept its character even after Roman conquest. Over all that vast area there was for all cultivated men a

¹ Iskandar, or Kandahar, is an Oriental form of the Greek name Alexander.

² See Grote, ch. xciv, for a discussion of the number of such foundations.

common language, a common literature, a common mode of thought
The mingling of East and West produced a new civilization, — a Graeco-Oriental world.

225. Reaction upon Hellas. — Hellas itself lost importance. It was drained of its intellect and enterprise, because adventurous young Greeks wandered to the East, to win fortune and distinction. And, of course, the victorious Hellenic civilization was modified by its victory, even in its old home. Sympathies were broadened. The barrier between Greek and barbarian faded away. Greek ideals were affected by Oriental ideals.

In particular, we may note two forms of the reaction upon the older Greek life, — the economic and the scientific.

a. Economic. — The wealth of the world, and especially of Europe, was enormously augmented. The vast treasure of gold and silver which Oriental monarchs had hoarded in secret vaults was thrown again into circulation, and large sums were brought back to Europe by returning adventurers. Trade was stimulated; a higher standard of living arose; manifold new comforts and enjoyments adorned and enriched life. In its economic aspects, the conquest had results upon Greece not unlike those of the discovery of Mexico and Peru upon mediaeval Europe.

Somewhat later, perhaps as a result of this increase of wealth, there came other less fortunate changes. Extremes of wealth and poverty appeared side by side, as in our modern society: the great cities had their hungry, sullen, dangerous mobs; and socialistic agitation began on a large scale. These last phenomena, however, concerned only the closing days of the Hellenic world before its absorption by Rome.

b. Scientific. — A new era of scientific progress began. Alexander himself had the zeal of an explorer, and one of the most important scientific expeditions ever sent out by any government is due to him while he was in India. When he first touched the Indus, he thought it the upper course of the Nile; but he built a great fleet of two thousand vessels, sailed down the river to the Indian Ocean, and then sent his friend Nearchus to explore that sea and to trace the coast to the mouth of the Euphrates. After a voyage of many months, Nearchus reached Babylon. He had mapped the coast line, made frequent landings, and collected a mass of observations and a multitude of strange plants and animals.

Like collections were made by Alexander at other times, to be sent to his old instructor Aristotle, who embodied the results of his study upon

them in a *Natural History* of fifty volumes. The Greek intellect, attracted by the marvels in the new world opened before it, turned from verbal discussions about the origin of the universe (§§ 130, 186) to scientific observation and arrangement of facts. This impulse was intensified by the discovery of a long series of astronomical observations at Babylon (§ 39) and of the historical records and traditions of the Orientals, reaching back to an antiquity of which the Greeks had not dreamed. The active Greek mind, seizing upon this confused wealth of material, began to put in order a great system of knowledge about man and nature.

226. Summary. — Thus the new product was not simply either of the old factors. Alexander's victories are not merely events in military history. They make an epoch in the onward march of humanity. They enlarged the map of the world and made these vaster spaces the home of a higher culture. They grafted the new West upon the old East, a graft from which sprang the plant of our later civilization.

Alexander died at thirty-two, and his empire at once fell into fragments. Had he lived to seventy, it is hard to say what he might not have done in providing for lasting political union, and perhaps even in bringing India and China into the current of our civilization.

“No single personality, excepting the carpenter's son of Nazareth, has done so much to make the world we live in what it is as Alexander of Macedon. He leveled the terrace upon which European history built. Whatever lay within the range of his conquests contributed its part to form that Mediterranean civilization, which under Rome's administration became the basis of European life. What lay beyond was as if on another planet.” — WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING. — Sources: There is no contemporary historian of Alexander. Arrian (second century A.D.) and Plutarch are the earliest authorities of note, and they made use of histories, now lost, by Alexander's generals. (Some good extracts from Arrian and Plutarch are found in Fling's *Studies*, No. 5.) Modern scholars have availed themselves of great numbers of recently discovered inscriptions.

Modern writers: The best treatment is Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*, so freely quoted in these pages. Advanced students may consult also Holm, III, chs. xix-xxix; Curteis' *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*; Grote, chs. xci-xciv; Hogarth's *Philip and Alexander*; Dodge's *Alexander*; and Mahaffy's *Story of Alexander's Empire*, chs. i-iv.

EXERCISES.—For advanced work, Fling's *Studies* make some excellent suggestions: *i.e.* (1) Let a student compare the Alexander of Arrian with the Alexander of Plutarch, and both of these with some modern writer's Alexander. This exercise may be subdivided into periods or campaigns, and assigned to several students. (2) List the authorities mentioned by Plutarch in his *Alexander*, and ascertain the probable value of each.

CHAPTER II.

THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD—TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

I. THE POLITICAL STORY.

227. Wars of the Succession (323–280 B.C.).—Alexander left no heir old enough to succeed him. On his deathbed, it is said, he was asked to whom he would leave his throne, and he only replied grimly, "To the strongest." As he foresaw, at his death his leading generals instantly began to strive with each other for parts of his realms, and for nearly half a century the political history of the civilized world was a horrible welter of war and assassination. For a time it seemed possible that some able leader might prove strong enough to unite again all Alexander's empire. *Antigonus* came nearest such success, but four other great generals and satraps united against him; he was defeated at *Ipsus* in Phrygia (301 B.C.), and thereafter the contest became one merely over shifting lines of partition. These struggles are called the *Wars of the Succession*.

228. The Situation in the Third Century.—Finally, about 280 B.C., something like a fixed order emerged; and then followed a period of sixty years known as the *Glory of Hellenism*. The Greek world reached from the Adriatic to the Indus, and consisted of: (1) three great powers, the kingdoms of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedonia*; (2) a broken chain of smaller monarchies scattered from Media to Epirus,¹ some of them, like *Pontus* and *Armenia*, under dynasties descended from Persian princes; and (3) single free cities like *Cos* and *Byzantium*, or leagues of such cities. Of these leagues the most famous in this period was a federation under the leadership of *Rhodes*.

¹ See an enumeration in Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire*, 90–92.

Politically in many ways all the vast district bore a striking resemblance to modern Europe. There was a like division into great and small states, ruled by dynasties related by inter-marriages; there was a common civilization, and a recognition of common interests as against outside barbarism or as opposed to any non-Hellenic power, like Rome; and there were similar jealousies and conflicts.¹

“The Greek world of that day was made up of an assemblage of states, of every degree of power and of every form of political constitution. There was nothing like it in the earlier days of Greece; there was nothing like it in the after days when Rome practically became the world. But the Greek world of those days gives us a lively image of the political state of modern Europe for some ages past.” — FREEMAN, *Chief Periods*, 35.

229. The Invasion by the Gauls.—It follows that the history of the third century is a history of many separate countries (§§ 231 ff.), but there was one event of general interest. This was the great Gallic invasion of 278 B.C. It was the first formidable barbarian attack upon the Eastern world since the Scythians had been chastised by the early Persian kings (§ 62).

A century before, hordes of these same Gauls had devastated northern Italy and sacked Rome. Now (fortunately not until the ruinous Wars of the Succession were over) they poured into exhausted Macedonia, penetrated into Greece as far as Delphi, and, after horrible ravages there, carried

¹ The teacher and advanced student will note the resemblance in the shifting alliances and the wars to preserve “the balance of power” or to secure trade advantages, and in the gradual growth of a body of rules of warfare and of diplomacy, which make a beginning of International Law, and in ceasing to look upon conquest as the natural purpose of war. Ptolemy III of Egypt (§ 232) conquered almost as widely as Alexander, but he added only insignificant strips of territory to his possessions when he made peace. The likeness to modern society, too, is notable,—the refinement of the age in its excellences and its vices, the great learning, the increase in skill and in criticism. See Mahaffy, in particular, for these phases. Of course the resemblance must not be pushed too far. The age was vastly inferior to that of modern Europe.

havoc into Asia. For a long period every great sovereign of the Greek world turned his arms upon them, until they were finally settled as peaceful colonists in a region of Asia Minor, which took the name Galatia from these new inhabitants.

Perhaps we are most interested in noting that the Hellenic patriotism roused by the attack — like that in little Hellas



THE DYING GAUL, incorrectly called the dying gladiator.

two hundred years earlier by the Persian invasions (§ 152) — played a part in a national outburst of art and literature which followed. The *Dying Gaul* and the *Apollo Belvidere*,¹ among the noblest surviving works of the period, commemorate incidents in the struggle.

230. The Final Decline of the Hellenic World. — About 220, the widespread Hellenic world began a rapid decline. In that year the thrones of Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia fell to youthful heirs; and all

¹ The Gauls made a raid upon the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, but in some way were routed in disorder. The legend arose that Apollo himself drove them away with the thunderbolt. The statue, the *Apollo Belvidere*, is supposed to represent the god in the act of so defending his temple.

three of these new monarchs showed the degeneracy which is so common in Oriental ruling families after a few generations of greatness. Just before this year, as we shall see (§ 249), the last promise of independence in Greece itself had flickered out. Just after it, there began an attack from without, which was finally to conquer all this Hellenic East and absorb it into a still larger world.

Sixty years earlier the rising power of Rome had come into conflict with the cities of Magna Graecia. Difficulties between Rome and the eastern Greek kingdoms followed. Then came the Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage. The Second Punic War began in 218 B.C., and it involved all the great Greek powers, one by one, in its results.

Before turning to the growth of Rome, however, we will note in brief outline (1) the history of the leading Greek states from Alexander to the Roman sway; (2) the general character of Greek culture in this period; and (3), with more detail, an interesting attempt at federal government in Greece.

II. SOME SINGLE STATES IN OUTLINE.

231. Syria was the largest of the great monarchies. It comprised most of Alexander's empire in Asia, except the small states in Asia Minor. After the battle of Ipsus (§ 227), it fell to *Seleucus*, one of the Macedonian generals; and his descendants (*Seleucidae*) ruled it to the Roman conquest. They excelled all other successors of Alexander in building cities and extending Greek culture over distant regions. Seleucus alone founded seventy-five cities.

About 250 B.C. Indian princes reconquered the Punjab, and the Parthians arose on the northeast, to cut off the Bactrian provinces from the rest of the Greek world. Thus Syria shrank to the area of the ancient Assyrian Empire, — the Euphrates-Tigris basin and old Syria proper, — but it was still, in common opinion, the greatest world-power.

After the second Punic War, the Syrian king gave shelter to Hannibal, the defeated Carthaginian leader. This brought upon him the wrath of Rome, and in the year 190 B.C. his power was shattered at *Magnesia*. The country, however, did not become a part of the Roman dominions until 63 B.C.

232. Egypt included Cyprus, and possessed a vague control over many coast towns of Syria and Asia Minor. Immediately upon Alexander's death, one of his generals, *Ptolemy*, chose Egypt for his province. His descendants, all known as Ptolemies, ruled the land until Cleopatra yielded to Augustus Caesar (30 B.C.), though it had become a Roman protectorate somewhat before that time.

The early Ptolemies were wise, energetic sovereigns. They aimed to make Egypt the commercial emporium of the world and to make their capital, Alexandria, the world's intellectual center. Ptolemy I established a great naval power, improved harbors, and built the first lighthouse. Ptolemy II (better known as *Ptolemy Philadelphus*) restored the old canal of Neco from the Red Sea to the Nile, constructed roads, and fostered learning more than any great ruler before him (§ 239). Ptolemy III, in war with Syria, carried his arms to Bactria and on his return mapped the coast of Arabia. The late Ptolemies were weaklings or infamous monsters, guilty of every folly and crime; but even they continued to encourage learning.

233. Macedonia ceased to be of great interest after the death of Alexander, except from a military point of view. Naturally from its position, it was the first part of the Greek world to come into hostile contact with Rome. King Philip V joined Carthage in the second Punic War, a little before the year 200. A series of struggles resulted, and Macedonia, with part of Greece, became Roman in 146 B.C.

234. Rhodes and Pergamum. — Among the many small states two deserve special mention. *Rhodes* headed a confederacy of cities in the Aegean, and in the third century she became the leading commercial state of the Mediterranean. Her policy was one of peace and freedom of trade. *Pergamum* was a small Greek kingdom in Asia Minor, which the genius of its ruler (the Attalids) made prominent in politics and art. When the

¹ That is, Rome had come to control all the relations of Egypt with foreign countries, although its government continued in name to be independent.

struggles with Rome began, Pergamum allied itself with that power, and long remained a favored state.

III. SOCIETY.

235. General Culture.—From 280 to 150 B.C. was the period of chief splendor for the new, widespread Hellenism. It was a great and fruitful age. Society was refined; the position of woman improved; private fortunes abounded, and private houses possessed works of art which, in earlier times, would have been found only in palaces or temples. For the reverse side, there was corruption in high places, and hungry and threatening mobs at the base of society.

Among the countless cities, all homes of culture, five great intellectual centers appeared—Athens, Alexandria, Rhodes, Pergamòs, Antioch. The glory of Alexandria extended over the whole period, which is sometimes known as the Alexandrian age; the others held a special preëminence, one at one time, one at another. Athens, however, always excelled in philosophy, and Rhodes in oratory.¹

236. Literature.—Some new forms appeared in art and literature: especially, (1) the prose romance, a story of love and adventure, the forerunner of the modern novel; (2) the pastoral poetry of *Theocritus*, which was to influence Vergil and Tennyson; and (3) personal memoirs. These make a part of the debt we owe to this many-sided Alexandrian age. The old Attic comedy, too, became the "New Comedy" of *Menander* and his followers, devoted to satirizing gently the life and manners of the time.

In general, no doubt, the tendency in literature was toward critical scholarship rather than toward great and fresh creation. Floods of books appeared, more notable for style than matter. Treatises on literary criticism abounded; the science of grammar was developed; and poets prided themselves upon writing all kinds of verse equally well. Intellectually, in many

¹ Caesar and Cicero studied oratory at Rhodes.

of its faults, as in some of its virtues, the time strikingly resembles our own.

237. Painting and Sculpture. — Painting gained prominence. *Zeuxis*, *Parrhasius*, and *Apelles* are the three most famous names connected with this art, which was now carried to great



VENUS OF MELOS (MILO). — A statue now in the Louvre.

perfection. According to popular stories, *Zeuxis* painted a cluster of grapes so that birds pecked at them, while *Apelles* painted a horse so that real horses neighed at the sight.

Despite the attention given to painting, Greek sculpture produced some of its greatest work in this period. Multitudes of splendid statues were created — so abundantly, indeed, that even the names of the artists are not preserved. Among the famous pieces that survive, besides the *Dying Gaul* and the

pollo Belvidere (mentioned in § 229), are the *Venus of Milo* (Melos) and the *Laocoon* group.

238. Philosophy. — Since the time of Socrates (§ 186), philosophers had ceased to be secluded thinkers, and had become



LAOCOON. — Now in the Vatican.

en of the world. They left the closet for the street, and night converts actively. The period of the Wars of the accession saw two new philosophical systems born, — *Epicureanism* and *Stoicism*. These were both highly practical.

They asked not "what is true," but "what is right" or "what is expedient." They sought human happiness and virtue, not knowledge.

Epicurus was an Athenian citizen. He taught that every man *must* pursue happiness as an end, but he held that the highest pleasure was to be obtained by a wise choice of the refined pleasures of the intellect and of friendship, not by gratifying the lower appetites. He advised temperance and virtue as means to happiness; and he himself lived a frugal life, saying that with a crust of bread and a cup of cold water he could rival Zeus in happiness. Under cover of his theories, however, some of his followers taught and practiced a grossness which Epicurus himself would have earnestly condemned.

On the speculative side, the Epicureans denied the supernatural altogether, and held death the end of all things. Epicureanism produced some lovable characters, but no exalted ones.

Contemporary with Epicurus, *Zeno the Stoic* taught at Athens. His followers made virtue, not happiness, the end of life. If happiness were to come at all, it would come as a result, not as an end. They placed emphasis upon the dignity of human nature: the wise man should be superior to the accidents of fortune.

The Stoics believed in the gods as manifestations of one Divine Providence that ordered all things well. The noblest characters of the Greek and Roman world from this time belonged to this sect. Stoicism was inclined, however, to ignore the gentler and kindlier side of human life; and with bitter natures it merged into the philosophy of the Cynics, of whom *Diogenes*, with his tub and lantern, is the great example.¹

Both Stoics and Epicureans held to a wide brotherhood of man. Philosophy took the place of religion as a guide to life, and the great body of philosophers were the clergy of

¹ Special report: the stories of *Diogenes*.

the next few centuries much more truly than were the various priesthoods of the temples.

239. Libraries and Museums ("Universities"). — A new institution appeared, the forerunner of the modern university. The beginning was made at Athens. Plato (§ 186) had left his gardens and other property to his followers, organized in a club. Athenian law did not recognize the right of a "club," or of any group of people, to hold property, unless it were a religious body. Therefore this club claimed to be organized for the worship of the Muses, the patrons of literature and learning; and the name *Museum* was given to the institution. This was the first endowed academy, and the first union of teachers and learners into a corporation.¹

The idea has never since died out of the world. The model and name were used a little later by the first and second Ptolemies at Alexandria in their *Museum*. This was a richly endowed institution, with great numbers of students. It had a great library of over half a million volumes (manuscripts), with scribes to make careful copies of them and to edit them with critical notes. It had also observatories and botanical and zoological gardens, with collections of rare plants and animals from distant parts of the world. The librarians and other scholars who were gathered about the institution corresponded in some measure to the faculty of a university, and devoted their lives to a search for knowledge, and to teaching.

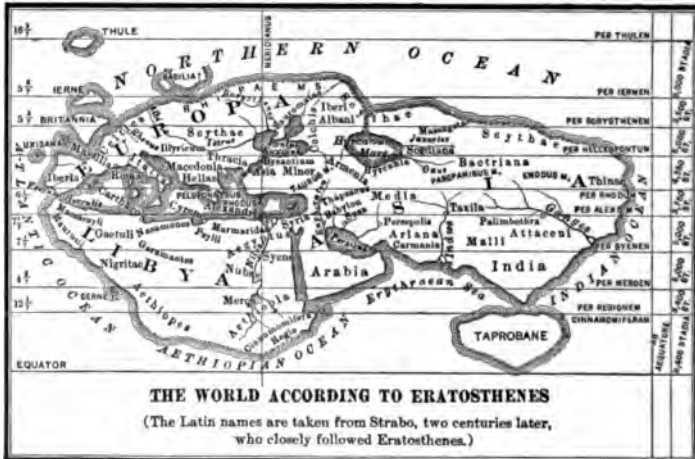
"The external appearance [of the Museum] was that of a group of buildings which served a common purpose—temple of the Muses, library, porticoes, dwellings, and a hall for meals, which were taken together. The inmates were a *community* of scholars and poets, on whom the king bestowed the honor and privilege of being allowed to work at his expense with all imaginable assistance ready to hand. . . . The managing board was composed of priests, but the most influential post was that of librarian." — HOLM, IV, 307.

One enterprise, of incalculable benefit to the later world, shows the zeal of the Ptolemies in collecting and translating texts. Alexandria had

¹ A corporation is a body of men recognized by the law as a "person" so far as property rights go.

many Jews in its population, but they were coming to use the Greek language. Philadelphus, for their benefit, had the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek. This is the famous *Septuagint* translation, so called from the tradition that it was the work of *seventy* scholars.

240. Science. — As compared with all previous time, science made great strides. Medicine, surgery, botany, and mechanics first appear as real sciences. *Archimedes* of Syracuse discovered the principle of the lever, and of specific gravity, and



constructed burning mirrors and new hurling engines which made effective siege artillery. *Euclid* at Alexandria produced the geometry which, with little modification, is still taught in our schools. *Eratosthenes* (born 276 B.C.), the librarian at Alexandria, wrote a systematic work on geography, invented delicate astronomical instruments, and devised the present way of measuring the circumference of the earth—with results nearly correct. A little later, *Aristarchus* taught that the earth moved round the sun; and *Hipparchus* calculated eclipses, catalogued the stars, and wrote scientific treatises on astronomy; indeed, he is regarded as the founder of

mathematical astronomy and of plane and spherical trigonometry. Aristotle (§§ 186, 225 *b*) had already given all the proofs of the sphericity of the earth that are common in our text-books now (except that of actual circumnavigation), and had asserted that men could probably reach Asia by sailing west from Europe.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING. — Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire and Greek Life and Thought*; Grote, XII, 274–331; Gardner's *New Chapters*, ch. xv; Holm, IV. Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe* (I, 187–204) has a glowing account of the Alexandrian Museum and of Alexandrian science.

Plutarch's *Lives* ("Eumenes," "Demetrius," "Pyrrhus") for this period give the young reader a confused picture, but they are of much greater historical value than the earlier *Lives*, and quite as full of charm.

EXERCISE. — Review by "catchwords."

CHAPTER III.

EUROPEAN GREECE—FROM ALEXANDER TO ROME.

I. AN AGE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

241. The Political Situation.—During the ruinous Wars of the Succession (§ 227), Greece had been a favorite battleground for the great powers, Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia. Many cities were laid waste, and at the close of the contest in 280, the country was left a vassal of Macedonia. To make her hold firmer, Macedonia set up tyrants in many cities (cf. § 135), and in some cases left garrisons in the land.

From this humiliation, almost at once, Greece was lifted for a time by a new power under a new form of government. This power was the *Achaean League*, which made the last important effort for the freedom of Hellas.

242. The Leading Confederations.—In early times, in the more backward parts of Greece, there had been many rude federations of tribes, as among the Phocians, Locrians, and Acarnanians; but in city Greece no such union had long survived.¹ Now two of these old and rude confederacies, in

¹ The failure of the *Confederacy of Delos* has been told. During the early part of the supremacy of Sparta (about 400 B.C.) another still more interesting federal union appeared for a brief time on the northern coast of the Aegean. *Olynthus*, a leading Greek city in the Chalcidic district, built up a confederacy of forty states, to check the Thracian and Macedonian barbarians, who had begun to stir themselves after the fall of the Athenian power. This league is called the *Olynthian Confederacy*, or the *Chalcidic Confederacy*. Its cities kept their local independence; but they were merged, upon equal terms, into a large state more perfect than any preceding federal union. The citizens of any one city could intermarry with those of any other, and they could dwell and acquire landed property anywhere within the league; while no one city had superior privileges over the others, as Athens had had in the Delian League. After only a short life, however, this

what had been obscure corners of Greece,—Achaëa and Aetolia,—began to play leading parts in history.

Of these two, the *Aetolian League* was the less important. Originally it seems to have been a loose union of mountain districts for defense. But the Wars of the Succession made the Aetolians famous as bold soldiers of fortune, and the wealth brought home by the thousands of such adventurers led to a more aggressive policy on the part of the league. The people remained, however, rude mountaineers, “brave, boastful, rapacious, and utterly reckless of the rights of others.” They played a part in saving southern Greece from the invading Gauls (§ 329), but their confederacy became more and more an organization for lawless plunder.

In Achaëa there was a nobler history. A league of small towns grew into a formidable power, freed most of Greece, brought much of it into a federal union, on equal terms, and for a glorious half century maintained Greek freedom successfully.

The story offers curious contrasts to the period of Athenian leadership two hundred years earlier. Greece could no longer hope to become one of the great military powers; we miss the intellectual brilliancy, too, of the fifth century; but the period affords even more instructive political lessons—especially to Americans, interested, as we are, in federal institutions. The most important matter in Greek history in the third century B.C. is this experiment in federal government.¹

II. THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

243. Origin.—The people of Achaëa were unwarlike, and not very enterprising or intellectual. In all Greek history they produced no great writer or great artist. They did not

promising union, which might have done much for Greece, was crushed ruthlessly by Spartan violence. Advanced students may consult Grote, X, 67-94, and Freeman's *Federal Government*, I, 190-197.

¹ Advanced students may read Freeman, *Federal Government*, I, 219-229, for the character and importance of Greek history in this period.

even furnish great statesmen,—for all the heroes of the league were to come from outside Achaea itself. Still, the Achaean League is one of the most remarkable federations in history before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States.

We know that there was some kind of a confederation in Achaea as early as the Persian War. Under the Macedonian rule the league was destroyed, and tyrants were set up in several of the ten Achaean cities. But, about 280 B.C., four small towns revived the ancient confederacy. The tyrants from the neighboring towns were driven out, and the union swiftly absorbed all Achaea. One generous incident belongs to this part of the story: *Iseas*, tyrant of Cerynea, voluntarily gave up his power and brought his city into the league.

So far Macedonia had not interfered. The Gallic invasion just at this time (§ 229) spread ruin over all the north of Hellas, and probably prevented hostile action in Achaea by the Macedonian king. Thus the federation became securely established.

244. The Constitution.—During this period the constitution was formed. The chief authority of the league was placed in a *federal congress*, or *Assembly*. This was not a representative body, but a mass meeting: it was made up of all citizens of the league who chose to attend. To prevent the city where the meeting was held from outweighing the others, each city was given only one vote.¹ The Assembly was held twice a year, for only three days at a time, and in some small city, so that a great capital should not overshadow the rest of the league. It chose yearly a *Council of Ten*, a *Senate*, and a *General* (or president), with various subordinate officers. The same General could not be chosen two years in succession.

This government raised federal taxes and armies, and represented Achaea in all foreign relations. Each city remained a

¹ That is, ten or twelve men—or even one man—from a distant town cast the vote of that city, and counted just as much as several hundred from a city nearer the place of meeting.

distinct state, with full control over all its internal matters — and with its own Assembly, Council, and Generals; but no city of itself could make peace or war, enter into alliances, or send ambassadors to another state. That is, the Achaean League was a true federation, and not a mere alliance.

In theory, the constitution was extremely democratic: in practice, it proved otherwise. Men attended the Assembly at their own expense; any Achaean *might* come, but only the wealthy could afford to do so, as a regular thing. Moreover, since the meetings of the Assembly were few and brief, great authority had to be left to the General and Council. Any Achaean was eligible to these offices; but poor men could hardly afford to take them, because they had no salaries. The Greek system of a *primary* assembly was suited only to single cities. A primary assembly made the city of Athens a perfect democracy: the same institution made the Achaean League intensely aristocratic.

The constitution, it is plain, avoided several evils common in early attempts at federation. It had two great faults. (1) It made little use of representation, which no doubt would have seemed to the Achaeans undemocratic, but which in practice would have enabled a larger part of the citizens to have a voice in the government; and (2) all cities, great or small, had the same vote.

This last did not matter so much perhaps at first, for the little Achaean towns did not differ greatly in size; but it became a plain injustice when the union came later to contain some of the most powerful cities in Greece. However, this feature was almost universal in early confederacies, and it was the principle of the American Union until 1789.¹

¹ The one exception of note was the Lycian Confederacy in Asia Minor. The Lycians were not Greeks, apparently; but they had taken on some Greek culture, and their federal union was an advance even upon the Achaean. It was absorbed by Rome, however, in 54 A.D., before it played an important part in history. In its Assembly, the vote was taken by cities, but the cities were divided into three classes: the largest had three votes each, the next class two each, and the smallest only one.

245. The First Expansion beyond Achaëa.—The power of the General was so great that the history of the league is the biography of a few great men. The most remarkable of these leaders was *Aratus* of Sicyon. Sicyon was a city on the Corinthian gulf, just outside Achaëa, to the east. In this period it was ruled by a vile and bloody tyrant, who drove many leading citizens into exile. Among these exiles was the family of Aratus. When a youth of twenty years (251 B.C.). Aratus planned, by a night attack, to overthrow the tyrant and free his native city. The daring venture was brilliantly successful; but it aroused the hatred of Macedon, and, to preserve the freedom so nobly won, Aratus brought Sicyon into the Achaean federation.

246. Aratus:¹ Character and Services.—Five years afterward Aratus was elected General of the league, and thereafter, he held that office each alternate year (as often as the constitution permitted) until his death, thirty-two years later.

Aratus hated tyrants, and longed for a free and united Greece. He extended the league far beyond the borders of Achaëa, and raised it into a champion of Hellenic freedom. He aimed at a noble end, but did not refuse base means. He was incorruptible himself, and he lavished his vast wealth for the union; but he was bitterly jealous of other leaders. With plenty of daring in a dashing project, as he many times proved, he lacked nerve to command in battle; he frequently showed cowardice, and he never won a real victory in the field. Still, despite his many defeats, his persuasive power and his merits kept him the confidence of the union to the end of a long public life.

247. Growth of the League; Lydiadas.—In his second generalship, Aratus freed Corinth from her Macedonian tyrant by a desperate night attack upon the garrison of the citadel. That

¹ Aratus is the first statesman known to us from his own memoirs. That work itself no longer exists, but Plutarch drew upon it for his *Life*, as did Polybius for his *History*.

powerful city then entered the union. So did Megara, which itself drove out its Macedonian garrison. The league now commanded the Isthmus, and was safe from attack by Macedonia. Then several cities in Arcadia joined, and, in 234, Megalopolis (§ 211) was added,—at that time one of the leading cities in Greece. Some years earlier its government had become a tyranny: *Lydiadas*, a gallant and enthusiastic youth, seized despotic power, meaning to use it for good ends.¹ The growth of the Achaean League opened a nobler way: *Lydiadas* resigned his tyranny, and as a private citizen brought the Great City into the union.

This act made *Lydiadas* a popular hero, and *Aratus* became his bitter foe. The new leader was the more lovable figure,—generous and ardent, a soldier as well as a statesman. He several times became General of the league, but even in office he was often thwarted by the disgraceful trickery of the older man.

248. The Freeing of Athens and Argos.—For many years *Aratus* had aimed to free Athens and Argos—sometimes by heroic endeavors, sometimes by assassination and poison. In 229, he succeeded. He bought the withdrawal of Macedonian troops from the Peiraeus, and Athens became an ally, though not a member, of the league.² The tyrant of Argos was persuaded or frightened into following the example of *Iseas* and *Lydiadas*,—as indeed had happened meanwhile in many smaller cities,—and Argos joined the confederacy.

The league now was the commanding power in Hellas. It included all Peloponnesus except Sparta and Elis. Moreover, all Greece south of Thermopylae had become free,—largely through the influence of the confederacy,—and most of the

¹ This was true of several tyrants in this age, and it was due no doubt in part to the new respect for monarchy since Alexander's time, and in part to new theories of government taught by the philosophers.

² The old historic cities, Athens and Sparta, could not be brought to look favorably upon such a union.

states not inside the union had at least entered into friendly alliance with it.

249. The Conflict with Sparta; Social Reforms in Sparta.— But now came a conflict with Sparta. The struggle was connected with a great reform within that ancient city. The forms of the Lycurgan constitution had survived through many centuries, but at this time Sparta had only seven hundred full citizens (cf. §§ 203, 210). This condition brought about a violent agitation for reform, the beginning of which indeed had become noticeable a hundred and fifty years before.

About the year 243, *Agis*, one of the Spartan kings, set himself to do again what Lycurgus had done in legend. *Agis* was a youthful hero, full of noble daring and pure enthusiasm. He gave his own property to the state and persuaded his relatives and friends to do the like. He planned to abolish all debts, and to divide the land among forty-five hundred Spartan "Inferiors" (§ 203) and fifteen thousand Perioeci, — refounding the state upon a broad and democratic basis.

Agis refused to use violence, and sought his ends by constitutional means only. Soon the conservative party rose in fierce opposition. By order of the Ephors, the young king was seized, with his noble mother and grandmother, and murdered in prison, — "the purest and noblest spirit that ever perished through deeming others as pure and noble as himself."

But the ideals of the martyr lived on. His wife was forced to marry *Cleomenes*, son of the other king; and from her this prince adopted the hopes of *Agis*. *Cleomenes* became king in 236. He had less of high sensitiveness and of stainless honor than *Agis*, but he is a grand and colossal figure. He bided his time; and then, when the Ephors were planning to use force against him, he struck first.

Aratus had led the Achaean League into war¹ with Sparta in order to unite all the Peloponnesus; but the military genius of *Cleomenes* made even enfeebled Sparta a match for the

¹ In a battle in this war *Aratus* held back the Achaean phalanx while *Lydiadas*, heading a gallant charge, was overpowered by numbers.

league. He won two great victories. Then, the league being helpless for the moment, he used his popularity to secure reform in Sparta. The oligarchs were plotting against him, but he was enthusiastically supported by the disfranchised multitudes. Leaving his Spartan troops at a distance, he hurried to the city by forced marches with some chosen followers. There he seized and slew the Ephors, and proclaimed a new constitution, which contained the economic designs of Agis, and which virtually placed all political power in the hands of the king.

250. Aratus calls in Macedonia.—Cleomenes designed to make this new Sparta the head of the Peloponnesus. He and Aratus each desired a free, united Greece, but under different leadership. Moreover, Sparta now stood forth the advocate of a kind of socialism, and so was particularly hateful to the aristocratic government of the league.

The struggle between the two powers was renewed with fresh bitterness. Cleomenes won more victories, and then, with the league at his feet, he offered generous terms. He demanded that Sparta be admitted

to the union as virtual leader. This would have altered the character of the confederacy, but it would have created the greatest power ever seen in Greece, and, for the time, it would have insured a free Hellas. The Achaeans were generally in



THE ACHAEAN AND AETOLIAN LEAGUES,
ABOUT 229 B.C.

favor of accepting the proposal; but Aratus—jealous of Cleomenes and fearful of social reform—broke off the negotiations by underhanded methods.

Then Aratus bought the aid of Macedon against Sparta by betraying Corinth, a free member of the league and the city connected with his own glorious exploit. As a result, the federation became a protectorate of Macedonia, holding no relations with foreign states except through that power; and the war became a struggle for Greek freedom, waged by Sparta under her hero king against the overwhelming power of Macedon assisted by the confederacy as a vassal state. Aratus had undone his own great work.

The date (222 B.C.) coincides with the general decline of the Hellenic world (§ 230). For a while, Sparta showed surprising vigor, and Cleomenes was marvelously successful. The league indeed dwindled to a handful of petty cities. But in the end Macedonia prevailed. Cleomenes fled to Egypt, to die in exile; and Sparta opened her gates for the first time to a conquering army. The league was restored to nearly its full extent, but its glory was gone. It still served a useful purpose in keeping peace and order over a large part of Peloponnesus, but it was no longer the champion of a free Hellas.

251. The Final Decline of the League.—Soon after, war followed between Achaea and Aetolia. This contest became a struggle between Macedonia and her vassals on the one side, and Aetolia aided by Rome on the other; for as Achaea had called in Macedonia against Sparta, so now Aetolia called in Rome against Achaea and Macedonia,—and Greek history closed.

Some gleams of glory shine out at the last in the career of *Philopoemen* of Megalopolis, the greatest general the Achaean League ever produced, and one of the noblest characters in history; but the doom of Achaea was already sealed. "Philopoemen," says Freeman, "was one of the heroes who struggle against fate, and who are allowed to do no more than to stave off a destruction which it is beyond their power to avert."

The sentence may stand not unfittingly for the epitaph of the great league itself.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY. — Sources: Plutarch's *Lives* ("Aratus," "Agis," "Cleomenes," "Philopoemen"); Polybius' *History* (index; extracts in *Fling's Studies*, No. 5). Modern authorities: Mahaffy's *Problems*, 176-186; Greenidge's *Greek Constitutional History*, ch. vii; Fowler's *City State*, chs. x and xi; Freeman's *Federal Government*; Holm's *History of Greece*, IV (see index).

SPECIAL REPORTS. — 1. Compare Plutarch and Polybius on the reforms at Sparta. 2. The life of Agis. 3. Cleomenes in exile. 4. Philopoemen.

EXERCISE. — Review, with attention to progressive development, the various confederacies, — Peloponnesian, Delian, Olynthian, Achaean.

REVIEW EXERCISES ON PARTS II AND III.

A. FACT DRILLS ON GREEK HISTORY.

1. The class should form a *Table of Dates* gradually as the critical points are reached, and should then *drill* upon it until it says itself as the alphabet does. The following dates are enough for this drill in Greek history. The table should be filled out as is done for the first two dates.

776 B.C.	First recorded Olympiad	338 B.C.
490 "	Marathon	222 "
405 "		146 "
371 "		

2. *Name in order fifteen battles*, between 776 and 146 B.C., stating for each the parties, leaders, result, and importance. (*Such tables also should be made by degrees as the events are reached.*)

3. *Explain concisely the following terms or names*: Olympiads, Ephors, Mycenaean Culture, Olympian Religion, Amphictyonies, Sappho. (*Let the class extend the list several fold.*)

B. TOPICAL REVIEWS.

This is a good point at which to review certain "culture topics," — *i. e.*, Greek philosophy, literature, art, religion, — tracing each separately from the dawn of history.

The chief divisions of Greek history should be fixed clearly in the mind: for this the Table of Contents is a sufficient guide.



JULIUS CAESAR. The Naples bust.

PART IV.

ROME.

The center of our studies, the goal of our thoughts, the point to which all paths lead and the point from which all paths start again, is to be found in Rome and her abiding power. — FREEMAN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

Divisions I and V of this chapter are suitable for reading and discussion in class. The other three divisions (Geography of Italy, Peoples of Italy, and Geography of Rome) should be studied more carefully.

I. THE PLACE OF ROME IN HISTORY.

252. Preceding History: Oriental Contributions Material; Greek Contributions Intellectual. — Our civilization began seven thousand years ago in the fertile valleys of Egypt and western Asia. Slowly war and trade spread it around the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. But the contributions of this Oriental civilization to the future were mainly *material*. About 600 B.C. the Greeks, in their Aegean home and in their many settlements scattered along all the Mediterranean coasts, became the leaders in civilization. They made marvelous advance in art, literature, philosophy, and in some sciences. Their chief contributions were *intellectual*. After about three hundred years, under Alexander the Great, they suddenly conquered the East and formed a Graeco-Oriental World; but politically the empire of Alexander broke at once into fragments.

253. Rome the Representative of Government and Law.— During the last part of Greek history there had been growing up a power in the peninsula to the west of Greece, which was soon to become the political master of the world and to make new advances in civilization. This power was Rome. As Greece stands for art and intellectual culture, so Rome stands for *organization* and *law*. The peculiar function of Rome was to make empire and to rule it. This the Romans themselves recognized; their poet Vergil wrote:—

“Others, I grant, indeed, shall with more delicacy mold the breathing brass; from marble draw the features to the life; plead causes better; describe with a rod the courses of the heavens, and explain the rising stars. To rule the nations with imperial sway be thy care, O Roman. These shall be thy arts: to impose terms of peace, to spare the humbled, and to crush the proud.”

Rome began as a village of rude shepherds and peasants by the bank of the Tiber. Her history is the history of the growth of a village into a city-state, the growth of that city-state into a united Italy, and the further growth of that Italy into a world-state. Rome did first for the villages of its surrounding hills what Athens did for the villages of Attica. It went on to do for all Italy what Athens tried in vain to do for all Greece. Then it did for all the Mediterranean world what Alexander failed to do—save for a moment—for the eastern half. By conquest Rome extended her civilization over the barbarians of the west of Europe, and then united under the same sway the Hellenic realms of the East. Shortly before the birth of Christ she had organized the fringes of the three continents bordering the Mediterranean into one Graeco-Roman society.

The Greeks, aside from their own contributions to civilization, had collected the arts and sciences of all the nations of antiquity. Rome preserved this common treasure of mankind and herself added laws and institutions which have influenced all later time. The Roman Empire, says Freeman, is the central “lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose

themselves and which all the streams of modern history flow out of."

254. The Roman and the Greek: Work and Character.—It was not Rome's genius in war, great as that was, which enabled her to make the world Roman. It was her political wisdom and her organizing power. The Romans were stern and harsh, but they were also just, obedient, reverent, and legal-minded. They were a disciplined people, and they loved order. The work of the Greeks and that of the Romans are happily related. Each is strong where the other is weak. The Greeks gave us philosophy and art; the Romans, political institutions and legal systems.

"The Greeks had more genius; the Romans more stability. . . . They [the Romans] had less delicacy of perception, . . . but they had more sobriety of character and more endurance. . . . Versatility belonged to the Greek, virility to the Roman."—FISHER, *Outlines of Universal History*, 125.

"Action, achievement, and, as means to these, order, system, law, not attention to ideas or ideals, mark the Roman nature."—ANDREWS, *Institutes of General History*, 73.

"If it be true, as is sometimes said, that there is no literature which rivals the Greek except the English, it is perhaps even more true that the Anglo-Saxon is the only race which can be placed beside the Roman in creative power in law and politics."—GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 21.

II. THE LAND.

255. Limits: Meaning of the Name "Italy."—Modern Italy, bounded by the Alps and the sea, is made up of two distinct halves,—the level valley of the Po extending from east to west, and the slender mountainous peninsula reaching from it south into the Mediterranean. Until about 27 B.C., however, the Po valley was always considered part of Gaul (*Cisalpine Gaul*, or *Gaul this side the Alps*). During all early Roman history the name *Italy* belonged not to this valley, but only to the true peninsula with the Apennine range for its backbone.

Like Greece, Italy was specially fitted by nature for the work it was to do. We must observe three ways in which its geography affected its history (§§ 256-258).

256. Geographical and Political Unity.—Italy was more fit than Greece for that internal union which is the only safe basis for external empire. The geographical divisions are larger and less distinct than the divisions in Greece, and so the inhabitants were more easily united by conquest under one government. Moreover, the fertile plains were better suited to agriculture and grazing than were the lands of Greece, while the coast lacked the many harbors and the island-studded sea that invited the earliest Hellenes to commerce. Civilization came later, but energy and effort were kept at home longer, until the foundations of empire were more securely laid.

257. Geography and the Direction of the First Outside Effort.—The geography of Italy determined also the direction of Italy's first conquests. The Apennines are nearer the eastern coast than the western, and on the eastern side the short rocky spurs and swift torrents lose themselves quickly in the Adriatic. The western slope is nearly twice as broad; here are the large fertile plains and the few rivers, and, as a result, most of the few harbors and the important states.

Thus Italy and Greece stood back to back (§ 71 *d*). Greece faced the old Oriental civilizations. Italy faced west toward Spain, and, through Sicily, toward Africa. When she was ready for outside work, she gave herself to conquering and civilizing these western lands with their fresh, vigorous peoples. It was only after this had been accomplished that she came in contact with the Graeco-Oriental world.¹

258. Geographical Position and External Dominion.²—European culture began in the peninsula which was at once "the most European of European lands" and the European land

¹ Except for the Greek states in southern Italy.

² Fuller discussions in Mommsen, I, 15-17; How and Leigh, 2-11.





nearest to the older civilizations of the East (§§ 70, 71 *d*). Just as fittingly, the state which was to unite and rule all the coasts of the Mediterranean had its home in the central peninsula which divides that inland sea. When her struggle for empire began, her central position enabled Italy to cut off the Carthaginian power in Africa and Spain from its Hellenic allies in the East and to conquer her enemies one by one.

EXERCISE.— Map study: note that *Liguria*, *Gallia Cisalpina*, and *Venetia* are outside the true Italy (§ 255); fix the position of *Etruria*, *Latium*, *Campania*, *Samnium*, and the *Sabines*; observe that the *Arno* (Arno), in Etruria, the *Tiber*, between Etruria and Latium, and the *Liris*, between Latium and Campania, are the most important river systems, and that their basins were the early homes of culture in Italy.

III. THE PEOPLES OF ITALY.¹

259. A Mingling of Races.— For some centuries in the period we are to study, Italy was the mistress of the world. Before that time, as since, she had been the victim of conquering peoples. Even in prehistoric times, the fame of her fertility and beauty had tempted swarm after swarm of invaders across the Alps and the Adriatic, and already at the opening of history the land held a curious mixture of races.

260. Chief Divisions.— The center of the peninsula was the home of the *Italians* who were finally to give their language and law to the whole land. They fell into two branches. The western Italians were lowlanders, and were called Latins. Their home was in Latium. The eastern and larger section of the Italians were highlanders, and were again subdivided into Sabines, Samnites, Volscians, Aequians, Lucanians, and so on.

The more important of the other races were the *Greeks* in the south and the *Gauls* and *Etruscans* in the north. The Greeks of Magna Graecia have been referred to in earlier

¹ Read How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, 11-19. Advanced students may consult Mommsen, *History of Rome*, I, 9-17. Sergi's *Mediterranean Races* gives recent theories.

pages. The Gauls held the Po valley. They were merely a portion of the Gauls from beyond the Alps, and were still rude barbarians.



REMAINS OF ETRUSCAN ARCH AT VOLATERRAE.

The Etruscans were a mysterious people—"the standing riddle of history." At an early time they had held the Po

y and all the western coast from the Alps to the Greek
s of the south. But before exact history begins, the Latins
the Samnites of Campania had thrown off their yoke and
en them from all lands south of the Tiber, while the Gauls
expelled them from the Po valley. Thus they had become



dicted to the central district, Etruria, just across the Tiber
the Latins.

re Etruscans were still, however, the most civilized people
taly. They were mighty and skillful builders, and have
many interesting ruins, with multitudes of inscriptions in
iguage to which scholars can find no key. They became
rated early for their work in bronze and iron, and they

were the first people in Italy to engage in commerce. Probably they introduced many arts from the Phoenicians and Greeks.

In later times their power declined rapidly before the rising Roman state, the heir of their civilization. Etruscan builders reared the walls of early Rome, drained her marshes, and fringed the Tiber-side with great quays. The Roman's dress (the toga), his house, his favorite amusements (the cruel sports of the amphitheater), and much of his religion (especially the divination and soothsaying), were Etruscan in origin; while from the same source he learned his unrivaled power to build for all time.¹ The Etruscans were Rome's first teachers. Later, the Greeks of south Italy were to take up that office.

261. "Fragments of Forgotten Peoples." — Besides these four great races, — Italians, Greeks, Etruscans, and Gauls, — whom Rome was finally to fuse into one strong and noble nation, there were also fragments of earlier peoples in ancient Italy. In the southern mountains were the Iapygians; in the marshes of the northeast, the Veneti; and, in the extreme northwest, between the Alps and the sea, the wild *Ligurians*. These last were rude hill-men, who had fought savagely for their crags and caves with Etruscans and Gauls, and were long to harass the Roman legions with guerilla warfare. Later, they furnished Rome an admirable light infantry.

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES OF ROME.

262. Roman Geography Important. — At first Rome was simply one of many Italian towns; and, so far as we can tell, her development was like that of the others. It is impossible to say why just this city, rather than some other of the same land, should finally have become the ruling power in Italy. Still we can see that the greatness of Rome rested, in part, at least, upon geographical conditions. Four factors may be noted (§§ 263–266).

¹ A brief discussion of the question of an Etruscan conquest of early Rome is given in Pelham's *Outlines*, 32–36. See also Mommsen's theory (*History*, I, 414). Charles Godfrey Leland's *Etrusco-Roman Remains* (especially in the Introduction) gives a most interesting account of the survival to-day among the Tuscan peasantry of the ancient Etruscan paganism and divination.

263. Central Position in Italy. — Rome is the central city of the peninsula, and so had advantages for consolidating Italy like those enjoyed by Italy for unifying the Mediterranean coasts. It was not by accident that Mediterranean dominion fell to the *central city of the central peninsula*.

264. A Commercial Site. — The Tiber was the one navigable river of Italy. In old times ships sailed up the river to Rome, while barges brought down to her wharves the wheat and wine of the uplands. The site had the advantages of a port, but was far enough from the coast to be safe from sudden raids by pirates. There is no doubt that Rome's greatness in Latium was largely due to her importance as a mart of commerce.¹

265. Rome a "Mark State." — Early Rome was a "mark state" of the Latins; that is, it bordered upon hostile peoples. Just across the Tiber lay the Etruscans, and in the eastern mountains dwelt the Sabines. The Romans were the champions of the Latins against these foes. Thus they came to excel the other Latins in war. Their position was favorable, also, to some mingling of tribes, and Roman traditions assert that such a mingling did take place (§ 271).

266. "The Seven Hills": Federation. — Most important of all these geographical factors, Rome was "the city of the *seven hills*." Italian towns, like the Greek (§ 80), had their origin each in some acropolis, or hill fortress; and even in Latium there were many settlements, like Alba Longa or Praeneste, that frowned from more formidable heights than those held by Rome. But nowhere else was there so placed in the midst of a fertile plain a *group of hills*.

Three or more of these close-lying hills became each the home of a distinct tribe. These settlements could not well avoid close intercourse of some kind. They could not very well always fight one another; and so, by conquest or by treaty, a strong union was almost sure to result. Tradition and

¹ Read Mommsen, I, 59-62, on the Tiber traffic, or Tighe, 51-53; and, if accessible, Goldwin Smith's "Greatness of the Romans," in *Lectures and Essays*.

geography agree that Rome arose from such a group of separate towns.¹

V. LEGENDARY HISTORY.

267. Old Writers and Sources.²—The Romans did not begin to write the history of their city until about 200 B.C.³ Even then the first histories were meager annals. For the early centuries the composers found two kinds of material, — scant official records and unreliable family chronicles.

a. The records comprised only lists of magistrates, with brief notices of striking events and of peculiar phenomena, like an eclipse. Moreover, even these barren records had been destroyed up to the year 390 B.C. (when the Gauls sacked the city), and had been restored, imperfectly, from memory.

b. The great clans (*gentes*) fed their pride by family histories, and especially by historical funeral orations; but these were all based upon oral tradition, which was readily distorted by inventions and wild exaggerations, to suit family glory.

From such sources, early in the second century B.C., *Fabius Pictor* (§ 523) wrote the first connected history of Rome. He and his successors (mostly Greek slaves or adventurers) trimmed

¹ Freeman's *Historical Essays*, Second Series, 252, 253; Ihne's *Early Rome*, 6-8; Mommsen, I, 62-71 and 100-109. Advanced students will observe that the gain was not merely in physical power. That was the least of it. Early societies are fettered rigidly by custom, so that the beginnings of change are inconceivably slow. In Rome the union of distinct societies broke these bonds at a period far earlier than common. Necessity compelled the tribes to adopt broad views of their relations toward each other, and compromise took the place of inflexible custom. Thus began the process of association that was later to unite Italy, and Rome was started upon the development of her marvelous system of law.

² The class should read Ihne's *Early Rome*, 9-31; or Ihne's *History*, I, 277-284; or Tighe, 7-17. Study also the extracts from the later Roman writers themselves in Munro's *Source Book of Roman History*, 4-5. The Romans had no Homer to leave a picture of their early life. Some modern scholars, however, believe that there must have been a copious ballad literature among the people, from which early historians could draw. Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* was an attempt to reproduce such ballads as Macaulay thought must once have existed. For criticism of this idea, see Ihne's *Early Rome*, 18, 19.

³ Compare this date with that of historical writing at Athens (§ 185).

and patched their narratives ingeniously to get rid of gross inconsistencies; borrowed freely from incidents in Greek history, to fill gaps; and so produced an attractive story that hung together pretty well in the absence of criticism. These early works are now lost; but, two hundred years later, they furnished material for *Livy* and *Dionysius*, whose accounts of the legendary age were accepted as real history¹ until after 1800 A.D.

268. Abstract of the Legends of Regal Rome. — According to the legendary story, Rome was ruled from 753 to 510 B.C. by seven successive kings. The founder, *Romulus*, was the son of Mars (God of War) and of a Latin princess. As a babe he had been exposed to die, but was preserved and suckled by a wolf. He grew up among rude shepherds; with their aid he built a city on the Palatine Mount above the old wolf's den; here he gathered about him outlaws from all quarters, and these men seized the daughters of a Sabine tribe for wives. This led to war, and finally to the union of the Romans and the Sabines, who then settled upon one of the neighboring hills. Romulus organized the people into tribes, *curias*, and *gentes*; appointed a Senate; conquered widely; and was finally taken up to heaven by the gods in a thunderstorm, or, as some thought, was killed by jealous senators.² *Numa*, the next king, elected after a year's interregnum, established religious rites, and gave laws and arts of peace, which were taught him by the nymph *Egeria* in a sacred grove by night. *Tullus Hostilius*, a warlike conqueror, is a shadowy Romulus, and *Ancus Marcius* is a faint copy of Numa. The fifth king was *Tarquin the First*, an Etruscan adventurer, who was succeeded by *Servius Tullius*, son of a slave girl. *Servius* reorganized the government, and was followed by a second *Tarquin*, *Tarquin the Proud*, whose oppression led to his expulsion and to the establishment of a Republic. The last three sovereigns were "tyrants" in the Greek sense. They favored the common people (the *plebs*) against the aristocratic *patricians*, extended the sway of Rome, and constructed great and useful works.

269. The Attitude of Modern Scholars toward these Legends. — To scholars of the time of the American Revolution, Romulus

¹ *Livy* himself spoke modestly of the unreliability of much of his material for the early period (see the reference, on page 262, to *Munro's Source Book*); but later writers repeated his story without his cautions regarding it.

² Read this story in *Livy* (bk. i, ch. xvi) or in *Munro's Source Book*, 66, 67.

and Tarquin were real persons as truly as Queen Elizabeth or William the Conqueror. Early in the nineteenth century, however, critical scholars began to inquire into the inconsistencies in the narrative. Such investigation soon forced the world to give up the old history. No one now regards the stories of the kings as history. Indeed, no one pretends to know more than a general outline of Roman history before 390 B.C.; and for a century after that date the details are very uncertain.¹

The positive opinions of modern scholars regarding this early period will be stated briefly in the next chapter.

¹ The stories themselves do have two kinds of historical value. (1) They afford a basis for guesses at historical truth, some of which can then be proven good in other ways. (2) In any case they show what the later Romans thought noble and admirable.

CHAPTER II.

PROBABLE CONCLUSIONS AS TO REGAL ROME.

I. THE GROWTH OF THE CITY.

270. Latium and Rome.—The Latins were divided into thirty tribes or cantons, each settled around some hill-fort in Latium. At first Rome was by no means the most important of these centers. In the early day the leading settlement was Alba Longa (the Long White City), which was the head of a rude Latin union, somewhat like a Greek amphictyony but more political in character.

271. Growth of Rome: Unification of the Seven Hills.—The oldest part of Rome seems to have been a settlement on the crest of the *Palatine*, the central one of the group of low hills on the south side of the Tiber. The solidly built walls of this "square town" can still be traced. The inhabitants called themselves *Ramnes*. Probably they were a military outpost of the Latins, to hold the Tiber frontier against the Etruscans.

At some later time a band of Sabines, called *Tities*, established themselves on the *Quirinal*, another of the same group of hills. No doubt a long period of war followed, with occasional truces and meetings for trade in the marshy ground between the two hills; but finally the *Ramnes* of the *Palatine* and the *Tities* of the *Quirinal* united on equal terms in one state and inclosed the two hills within one wall. Then the low ground between the *Palatine* and *Quirinal* became the place of assembly (*Comitium*) and the market place (*Forum*),¹ and the steep

¹ The opening of the huge arched drain, *Cloaca Maxima*, which a little later (in the time of the Tarquins, according to the common tradition) turned this marshy district into firm ground, can still be seen; see illustration, page 268.

Capitoline hill, a little on one side, became the common citadel of the enlarged state.

From time to time new settlements on the neighboring hills

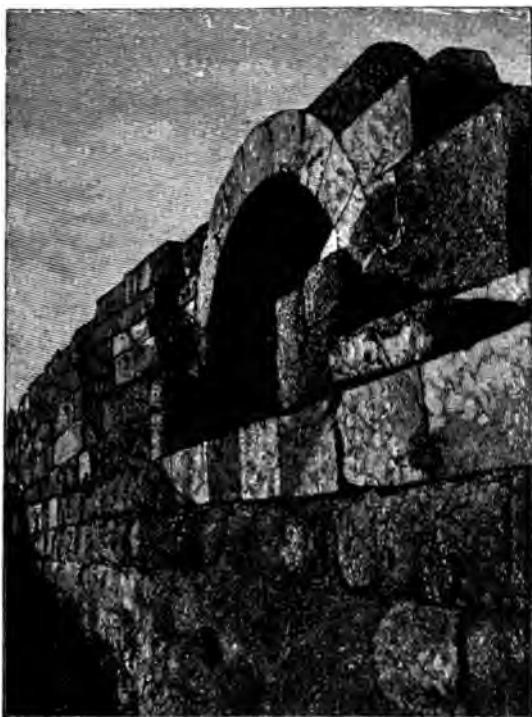


- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Citadel (Arx). | 4. Citadel at Janiculum. | 7. Senate House (Curia). |
| 2. Temple of Jupiter (Capitolinus). | 5. Old Wall of Romulus. | 8. Comitium. |
| 3. Quays of the Tarquins. | 6. Temple of Vesta. | |

were incorporated with this city. The most important of these newcomers were the *Luceres*, who settled on the *Caelian* hill. Probably they were Latins, but it is possible that they were Etruscan invaders, as some traditions say. At all events, they

were finally joined to the Ramnes and Tities on an equal footing.¹

Each of these additions called for another wider wall. The latest of the early walls, known as the "Wall of Servius," inclosed all the seven



REMAINS OF THE "WALL OF SERVIUS" ON THE AVENTINE.

¹ Apart from tradition, the proofs of original separate settlements are manifold. Later Latin writers mention rude ramparts of distinct ancient settlements still existing in their day on the Esquiline, the Capitol, and the Quirinal; while in recent times such remains have been discovered on the Caelian. Various festivals and religious rites of later Rome point also to a union of separate settlements, and a number of double priesthoods indicate a like fact. See Pelham, 15-17, and, more fully, Mommsen, I, 77-87.

hills, together with space enough for the growth of the city to a late period. This wall was thirteen feet thick and fifty feet high. It consisted of a huge rampart of earth, faced on each side by a wall of immense stones fitted together without mortar. A part of this colossal structure has recently been uncovered on the Aventine.

272. Growth of Territory beyond the Walls. — Even after the union of the seven hills, the territory of the city must have



THE CLOACA MAXIMA.

been for a while only a narrow strip along the river, limited on every side by the stream or by the lands of other towns. But before the year 500, war with the neighboring Sabines, Etruscans, and Latins had produced great expansion. Rome had come to hold a third of Latium and to control the whole south bank of the Tiber from the sea to the highlands (about eighteen miles either way from the city). At the Tiber mouth, *Ostia*, the first Roman colony, had been founded for a port; and on the north side of the river, Rome had seized *Mount*

Janiculum and fortified it as an outpost against the Etruscans. Several of the conquered Latin towns had been razed and their inhabitants brought to Rome. Even Alba Longa had been destroyed, and Rome had succeeded to the *headship of the Latin confederacy*.

FOR FURTHER READING.— Mommsen, bk. i, chs. iv, vii, or Ihne, I, 8–107. The latter gives a good criticism of the legends. Particular legends of the regal period may be assigned to individual students for criticism through these authors. See also How and Leigh, 20–42.



II. CLASSES—PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS.

273. Patricians and their Clients.— The three tribes, *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres* (§ 271), formed “the Roman people” in a strict sense. Their tribesmen were known as *patricians* (men “with fathers,” or men having citizenship because of their fathers). For a long time they were the only full citizens, except as they now and then adopted clans or individuals from conquered cantons. They alone could vote or hold office or sue in the law courts.

The great patrician families, however, soon came to contain many dependents known as *clients*. The client was above the slave, but below the son. He could hold property and engage in trade; but his rights were secured only through his patrician patron, who was his representative at law. Against his patron he had no protection, except custom and public opinion. His children remained dependents in the same family.¹

¹ The class of clients was recruited from the freed slaves (who remained attached in this way to the family of their old master) and from strangers who, on coming to Rome, placed themselves voluntarily in this relation to a powerful patrician.

274. Plebeians.—In the early time, occasionally the whole population of a conquered district was removed to Rome. Such people became “clients of the king.” That is, they were dependents, without rights, except as the king might think it well to protect them, and they were subject to his direction. This class became known as *plebeians*.

The rights of the plebeians were less secure at first than those of the clients of individual patricians, but they were freer from the interference of a master. They were reënforced by the refugees and adventurers who flocked to a commercial city like Rome (cf. § 120); and their importance grew with their numbers, until the clients sought escape into their ranks.

Thus the inhabitants of Rome were left in two classes,—the patricians (with their dependents) and the plebeians.

FOR FURTHER READING, especially with reference to the origin and standing of the plebs: Mommsen, I, 109–114; Tighe, 54–58; Ihne, *Early Rome*, 114, 115, or *History*, I, 109, 110; How and Leigh, 41–43.

III. THE PATRICIAN ORGANIZATION.

275. The Family counted for more in Rome than in Greece. This was because of the peculiar power of the Roman father over all his descendants in male lines. When his son took a wife, she, too, leaving her own family, came under his control. His own daughters passed by marriage from his hand under that of some other house-father. Roman law recognized no relationship through females.¹ The father ruled his household and the households of his male descendants, as priest, judge, and king. He could sell or slay wife, unmarried daughter, grown-up son, or son’s wife; and all that was theirs was his. No appeal lay from him to any higher judge.²

¹ See especially Coulanges, *Ancient City*, 71–75; and cf. § 88 of this book.

² It is a curious fact that, despite the legal slavery of every wife, the Roman matrons possessed a dignity and public influence unknown in Greece. Special report: stories illustrating the influence of women in early Rome. (Can you parallel them in Greek history?)

So much for law. In practice, however, the father was influenced somewhat by near relatives and by his wife's relatives, and even more by public opinion and religious feeling. Thus, a man was declared accursed if he sold a married son into slavery (though no law could prevent or punish him).

276. Gentes and Curias.—In Rome, as in Greece, we find above the family larger blood units,—the *clans*, or *gentes*. Originally, each clan must have been ruled by its chief. The three hundred clans were grouped in thirty *curias*, which, in the earliest historical times, had come to be the most important divisions of the people, both for worship and for government. Each curia possessed its own religious festivals, its own priest, its temple and sacred hearth. In the political Assembly of the people, the curia was the unit for voting. Probably in origin the curia corresponded to the Greek phratry (§ 79); but it had become more vital.

277. The Plebs outside the Patrician Organization.—The client had a place in the family worship (as indeed the slave had). Possibly the client had a place also in the political gatherings of his patron's curia, though he certainly had no vote. *The plebeians, however, were wholly outside the patrician organization.*¹ *They were not citizens at all.* They had no part in the religion or law or politics of the city. They could not intermarry with citizens. Policy and custom required the city to protect their property; but they had no positive assurance even for this against an unscrupulous patrician.²

Still the plebs were not a mere mixed multitude. Many of them must have been brought to Rome in whole clans; and no doubt they kept up their organization, even though patrician law knew nothing of it.³

¹ This seems by far the preferable view. See Ihne, *History*, I, 109-114, and *Early Rome*, 112 and 114-116. See also Coulanges, 299-313, 341-349, 354-359, and elsewhere. The opposite opinion is held by some recent scholars.

² Except in cases where the stranger came voluntarily from a Latin city whose people enjoyed by treaty mutual residence and trading rights with Rome.

³ Read Ihne's *Early Rome*, 114.

IV. RELIGION.

278. Ancestor and Nature Worship; Greek Influence. — Like the Greeks, the Romans worshiped *ancestors* and the *powers of nature*. The ancestor worship belonged especially to the family and curia; the nature worship, to the state. The Romans lacked imagination to give a human character to the powers of nature, and they never created a rich and beautiful mythology, even though they did finally borrow some of the Greek myths.¹

279. Character: a Worship of Abstractions, by Formal Rites. — The Roman deities were less like men than the Greek gods were. They were more vague and colorless. In consequence, Roman religion seems to us “insipid and dull,” only “a dreary round of ceremonies,”² with little of adoration, no poetry, and no love. As a matter of prudence, the will of the gods was sought out by a study of omens, and they were worshiped with strict observance of ceremonies. Divine favor could be lost by failure to observe precise gestures in a service, or by the omission or addition of a single word.³ On the other hand, the intricacies of the worship had somewhat the value of a conjurer’s charm, and, if carried through in the proper manner, almost compelled the aid of the gods (§ 281).

280. Priesthoods; Pontiffs and Augurs. — Under these conditions there grew up in Rome (as in other Italian towns) two important “colleges” of city priests,⁴ — *pontiffs* and *augurs*.

a. The six pontiffs had a general oversight of the whole system of divine law, and they were also the guardians of human science. Their care of the exact dates of festivals made them the keepers of the calendar and of the rude

¹ For the correspondence of Greek and Roman gods, see § 88.

² These phrases are Mommsen’s.

³ See Munro’s *Source Book*, page 9, No. 9, a, b.

⁴ A “college” is simply a “collection” of persons. The members of each college held office for life, and themselves filled all vacancies in their number.

annals (§ 267 *a*); they had oversight of weights and measures; and they themselves described their knowledge as "the science of all things human and divine."

b. The gods at Rome manifested their will not by oracles, but by omens, or *auspices*. These auspices were sought especially in the conduct of birds, and in the nature of the entrails of animals. The interpretation of such signs became a kind of science, in the possession of a college of six augurs.

Besides these priesthoods for the religion of the whole city, each temple had its special priests. Of these, perhaps the most important were the six *Vestal Virgins*, who for centuries kept the sacred fire alive and pure on the city hearth.

281. Political Value (Religious Fiction). — The Roman religion became a mighty political instrument. No public act, vote, election, or battle could be begun without divine approval. That approval once given, the gods were to be held to strict account. They were the guardians of contracts, and they themselves were bound by implied bargains with the state. If they were properly consulted concerning a proposed measure and had manifested their approval, then they were under obligation to see it carried through.¹

The thrifty Roman mind drove hard bargains, too, with the gods. Many "legal fictions" were introduced into the worship, so that finally the state might do pretty nearly as it pleased and still hold the gods to its support.² The soothsayers called for fresh animals until the entrails gave the signs desired by the ruling magistrate, and then the gods were just as much bound as if they had shown favor at the first trial. The sky was watched until the desired birds did appear, and, in the later periods, tame birds were kept to give the required indications.

¹ See Munro's *Source Book*, page 16.

² Such "fiction" is common in early religion, but nowhere else has it played so large a part as at Rome.

Even if all signs failed, the augur could still declare that he found them. He might thereby draw down divine wrath upon himself; but, since all forms had been complied with, the gods were bound to treat the state as if the announcement had been true. In the early ages this element of craft was probably absent, but even then the religion had the same bargain-and-sale character.

The priests and augurs, too, were the servants of the state, not its masters. They did not make a distinct hereditary class, but were themselves warriors and statesmen, and, as priests, they acted only at the command of the civil magistrate. The augurs sought no omen, and made no announcement, except when directed to do so.¹

FOR FURTHER READING. — On ancestor worship: Tighe, 35-43, and Coulanges, *Ancient City*, 1-48. For the state religion in general: Ihne, *Early Rome*, 92-104; How and Leigh, 288-292; or a longer discussion in Mommsen, bk. i, ch. xii. For Greek influence: Tighe, 105-108. On "legal fiction" in the Roman religion: How and Leigh, 290; or better, Ihne, *Early Rome*, 99, 100, 103, 125.

V. EARLY POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

282. The King (Rex). — The three political elements — king, council of chiefs, and assembly of tribesmen — which we saw in Homeric Greece (§§ 82-84), appear also in early Rome. The king, however, held a more prominent place. He stood to the Roman state as the father to the Roman family. He was judge, without appeal, in all cases outside a family. He was absolute over the lives of the citizens. He alone could call together Senate or Assembly, or make proposals to them. He alone had the right to nominate his successor, — though the consent of the Assembly was required for the accession of a new king.

¹ For the power of the augurs, see Munro, *Source Book*, page 12.

But the king did not hold this authority against the popular will. He was absolute, because the Romans thought such power right in the head of the family and of the state. Like the house-father, moreover, his authority was limited in practice by custom and by public opinion. He was expected to consider the advice of the Senate, as the father was to consider that of relatives; and he could not change a law without the consent of both the Assembly and the Senate. If he ceased to respect these checks, he was very likely to cease to rule.

283. The Comitia Curiata.—The earliest popular Assembly (*comitia*) was an *Assembly by Curias*. This was a patrician body (§ 277 and note). The curias met at the call of the king, and, as a rule, only to hear his commands; but their approval was required for all *change*,—for offensive war, new laws, the adoption of new clans into a curia or of strangers into a family. The Assembly also approved or rejected the king's nominees for offices.

284. The Senate seems originally to have been a council of the chiefs (cf. § 83) of the three hundred clans. It kept this number, three hundred; but the kings won the power of appointing to vacancies,—probably at first when there were conflicting claims within a clan, and finally at will. The Senate became merely an advisory body, with a right to veto any change.

When a king died, before a successor had been appointed, the Senate resumed more of its original power: its members ruled by turns, for five days each, as *inter-reges* ("kings for an interval"). The first inter-rex was chosen by lot. Each one then named his successor, and any one after the first could nominate a permanent king. No election could take place except upon such nomination. Each inter-rex for his brief rule kept the regal power in full.¹

¹ On these institutions, see Mommsen, bk. i, ch. vi. In particular, read pages 80-85, on the king, and 96-102, on the Senate.

VI. TWO PREHISTORIC REVOLUTIONS.

A. THE PLEBEIANS SECURE SOME POLITICAL RIGHTS.

285. The Plebeians begin to make their Way into the Assembly.—The first great change in the patrician state (§§ 282–284) was the partial admission of the plebeians into it. Legend asserts that so far as this took place in the regal period it was the work of Tarquin the First and of Servius. Tarquin is said to have secured the admission of certain wealthy plebeian families into the Roman tribes as new *gentes*. Such a reform, if it took place, did not affect the condition of the great body of the plebs. The change ascribed to Servius is more important, and was connected with a reform of the Roman army (§ 286).

286. The Census of Servius: the Army of Centuries.—Originally, the army was made up of “the Roman people”—the patricians and their immediate clients. The plebeians paid a tax; but as they grew in numbers, the state needed their personal service.

Toward the close of the regal period Rome was a city of eighty thousand or one hundred thousand people (about the size of Athens in the Persian Wars). This gave a fighting body of some twenty thousand. According to the legend, Servius called upon eighteen hundred of the wealthiest citizens to serve as cavalry (*equites*, or *knights*), and then, for infantry service divided all other landowners, *plebeian and patrician*, into five classes, according to their means.

Eight thousand had property enough so that they could be required to provide themselves with complete armor. They made the front ranks of the phalanx. Behind them stood the second and third classes, less completely equipped, but still ranking as “heavy-armed.” The poorer fourth and fifth classes served as light-armed troops. Each of the five classes was subdivided into *centuries*, or companies of a hundred men

each,¹ and all the non-landowners were enrolled in a mass, to follow the army, if necessary, as workmen or reserves.

When the arrangement was made, there were 193 centuries, as follows:—

Knights	18
First Class	80
Second Class	20
Third Class	20
Fourth Class	20
Fifth Class	30
Engineers and Trumpeters	4
Workmen (the non-landholders)	1

287. The “Army” of Centuries becomes an “Assembly” of Centuries.—In early society the *obligation to fight* and the *right to vote* go together (cf. § 106). Questions of peace and war and the election of military officers would naturally be referred to the war host. Thus, gradually the army of centuries became in peace an Assembly of Centuries (*Comitia Centuriata*), which took to itself the powers of the old Curiate Assembly. The Curiate Assembly remained only for religious exercises and for unimportant political matters.²

288. Aristocratic Character of the *Comitia Centuriata*.—The army gradually changed its form, but the political gathering—the *Comitia Centuriata*—crystallized in the original shape. This gave a great advantage to the patricians. As the population increased, the poorer classes grew in numbers faster than the rich; but they did not gain political weight, because the *number* of centuries was not changed. The centuries of the

¹ Half of the centuries of each class were made up of the younger men (seventeen to forty-six years of age), who were expected to take the field at any time. The other half, made up of older men, formed the garrison of the city, or were called out only on special occasions.

² If the Assembly of Centuries originated with a tyrant, it may have been part of a plan to lessen the power of the aristocratic patricians. Mommsen and Ihne give opposing views upon this matter. Compare the five classes with the classes in early Athens, § 106.

lower classes came to contain many more than a hundred men each, while those of the knights and first class contained far less; but each century, full or skeleton, still counted one vote.

Thus the knights and the first class (98 of the 193 centuries), even after they had come to be a small minority of the people, could outvote all the rest. They still voted first, too, just as when they stood in the front ranks for battle; and so oftentimes they settled a question without any vote at all by the other classes. And, since the knights and the first class must have remained largely patrician, it is clear that in disputes between the patricians and plebeians the aristocratic party could control all legal action.

289. The Plebeian Gain.—None the less it was a great gain that the position of a man was fixed not by birth and religion, but by his wealth. The arrangement of the centuries still prevented political equality; but the first great barrier against the rise of democracy was broken down.

B. THE LIFE KING REPLACED BY TWO ANNUAL CONSULS.

290. The Early Kingship followed by a "Tyranny."—Besides the change in the old political Assembly, a second great revolution took place about the year 500. This was the disappearance of kingship.¹ Probably many more than seven kings ruled at Rome. The last three (as the legends suggest) were probably "tyrants," supported by the plebeians against the patricians. Thus the overthrow of kingship, as in Greece (§§ 92, 103), seems to have been an aristocratic victory.²

291. The Roman Legend of the Expulsion of the "Tyrants."—The later Romans believed that the last Tarquin oppressed all classes in the state, and that the cruel deeds of his son finally

¹ Compare these early revolutions with those at Athens (§§ 103-114).

² The last kings may also have been Etruscan conquerors (§ 284, note), and their expulsion may have been partly a Latin patriotic movement.

roused the people to fury, so that they drove the family from Rome, abolished kingship, and, in place of a king for life, chose two consuls for a year. This revolution is ascribed to the year 510, — the same year in which the Peisistratids were finally driven from Athens. But while the Greek story is strictly historical, the Roman is mere legend.¹

292. The Real "Expulsion" a Gradual Patrician Movement. — In after centuries the Romans hated the name king, and the feeling was created largely by the stories of Tarquin's cruelty. Probably, however, these stories were the inventions of the aristocrats long after the "expulsion."² Certainly "king" did not at once become a detested name. At Rome, as at Athens (§§ 93, 103), there remained a king-priest (*rex sacrorum*), whose wife also kept the title of queen (*regina*). The legends themselves represent another Tarquin (Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus) as one of the first two consuls; nor is there any evidence that at first the consuls ruled only for one year. All that we really know is that in prehistoric times the aristocratic patricians in some way reduced and finally abolished kingship.

"The struggle was doubtless longer and sharper, and the new constitution more gradually shaped, than tradition would have us believe. Possibly, too, this revolution at Rome was but part of a wide-spreading wave of change in Latium and central Italy, similar to that which in Greece swept away the old heroic monarchies." — PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, 41.

"The establishment of the consulate is but a vague tradition. . . . The later Romans, when they read of consuls, could scarcely avoid thinking of *annual* consuls, such as they themselves were accustomed to. . . . [But] when we look closely at the story we find that there is absolutely no reason to suppose that the first magistrates after the flight of Tarquin held office for only one year. . . . Collatinus seems to have succeeded by

¹ See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 79-81.

² Students should tell some of these stories as they are given in Livy (*i.e.* Lake Regillus, Brutus and his sons, Horatius at the Bridge, and the Porsena anecdotes). Read also Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

hereditary right; whether or not he was called *consul*, it is probable that his term of office was not yet limited. [There are suggestions in the legends of another revolution to get rid of him.] Then perhaps by a series of changes, the monarchy shrank up into the annual consulate of later times, which indeed in form and ceremonial always continued to resemble monarchy."—SEELEY, *Introduction to Political Science*, 233-234.

VII. CHARACTER OF THE CONSULSHIP.

293. The Consuls "Joint Kings for One Year."—The kingship was not altogether abolished. Rather it was modified into a one-year dual kingship. The executive office became elective, and was divided between two men. The term, too, was finally limited to one year. But for that year the new consuls¹ were "kings," nearly in full. They called and dissolved Assemblies at will. In the Assembly they alone could propose measures or nominate magistrates. They regulated the debate. They filled vacancies in the Senate. They ruled the city in peace, and commanded the army in war.

294. Practical Limitations upon the Consuls.—In practice, however, three important limitations appeared upon the power of the consuls. (1) Either consul might find any of his acts absolutely forbidden by his colleague. (2) When they laid down their office, they became responsible to the centuries and the courts for their past acts. (3) Their short term made them dependent upon the advice of the permanent Senate,—against whose will it became almost impossible for them to act.

295. Independence of the Quaestors and the Right of Appeal.—Two other checks upon the consular power quickly grew up.

a. The kings had had assistant judges and treasurers, called *quaestors*. For a time now these officers were appointed by the consuls; but, after 447, they were elected by the centuries,

¹ At first they were called joint *praetors* ("leaders in war"). Cf. the Athenian polemarch (§ 103).

and so became independent of consular control. In later times other officers were created, to take over other parts of the consuls' duties.

b. The kings had held power of life and death, without appeal, unless they themselves chose to consult the people. The consuls kept this power in the field, but, in strict law, not in the city. One of the early consuls, *Valerius Publicola*, carried a law that in cases of condemnation to death an appeal must be allowed to the centuries. This *Valerian Law*, when observed, was a great safeguard against consular tyranny; but it frequently became a dead letter, and it had to be many times reënacted.

296. The Final Check: the Political Temperance of the People and Leaders. — After all, the final check was the force of public opinion and the self-control of the consuls. While in office the consuls were legally responsible to no one; and neither of them could be lawfully checked, save by the other, even if he broke all customs and laws.

This held good even as to the term of office. At first, the theory was, that, when the consuls laid down their power at the end of the year, it was a voluntary abdication. If they refused to lay down office, their acts continued to be valid. Like the old kings, too, they themselves nominated their successors; and, by proposing only two names to the centuries, they could compel the election of their nominees. Later the centuries secured greater freedom of election; and commonly the consuls submitted to the popular will. At crises, however, they sometimes forbade the centuries to vote for certain candidates, or declined to record the votes given.

Such action was rare; and, in the few cases when the consuls did resort to extreme measures of this kind, the deliberate judgment of the people seems to have indorsed them. The fact is a striking evidence of political moderation.

297. The Dictatorship: a Revival of the Kingship to meet a Crisis. — In time of peril, the division of power between two consuls, with the possibility of a deadlock, might easily be

fatal to the city. The remedy was found in temporary revivals of the old kingship under a new name. Either consul, after consulting the Senate, might appoint a *dictator*. This officer was absolute master of Rome, save that his term of office could not exceed *six months*. He had power of life and death in the city as in the army; and he could not be questioned for his acts even when he had laid down his powers. He could not, however, nominate a successor.

298. The Senate, so far as we know, was not *directly* affected by the expulsion of the kings; but of course it held a very different relation to a one-year consul, whose highest ambition would be finally to get into its ranks, from that it had held to a life-king jealous of its power. Its advice grew more constant and imperative, until in fact it became the directing body in the state.

VIII. THE DEBT TO REGAL ROME.

299. The chief contributions of regal Rome to the Republic may be summed up under six heads:—

- a. The Roman city, with its principle of federation and with extensive territory.
- b. The Roman character—dignified, legal-minded, heroically devoted to the state.
- c. A religion shaped into an admirable political instrument.
- d. The family, with its peculiar paternal authority.
- e. The corresponding authority of the two annual consuls in the state.
- f. The basing of political privilege upon wealth in the *Comitia Centuriata*.

FOR FURTHER READING.—References for the more important or difficult points have been given in foot-notes or by Divisions.

For Divisions I–V (Oldest Roman Society), students should read also Tighe's *Roman Constitution*, chs. ii and iii, and Fowler's *City State*, chs. ii and iii. Granrud's *Roman Constitutional History* is an excellent

handbook, and should be accessible. Advanced students will wish to compare in full the treatments in Mommsen, bk. i, chs. v, xi, xii, and in Ihne's *Early Rome*, chs. v-ix, and *History*, I, ch. xiii.

For Division VI (the Early Revolutions): on the centuriate organization, Ihne, *Early Rome*, 132-140. Advanced students will consult Ihne's and Mommsen's histories, and note the difference between their views. As usual, there is a brilliant treatment in Coulanges' *City State*, 360-371 and 379-387. Coulanges (324-330) has also an interesting chapter showing how the legends of the expulsion of the kings may be rationalized.

For Division VII, advanced students may compare Mommsen, bk. ii, ch. i, and Ihne's *History*, bk. ii, ch. i, or *Early Rome*, ch. x-xii.

REVIEW EXERCISES on Divisions II, III, IV of chapter i and on chapter ii. — (1) Suggestive questions prepared by students (see page 72). (2) List terms for rapid explanation (see page 251). *It is desirable that the important points in these two chapters be fixed thoroughly by frequent reference and review before the class advance much farther.*

CHAPTER III.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN THE REPUBLIC, 510-367 B.C.

300. The Expulsion of the Kings followed by Class Conflicts.— The first century and a half of the Republic was a period of stern conflict between patricians and plebeians. Torn and distracted by the internal struggle, Rome made little gain externally, and indeed for a time she lost territory.

The peculiar mark of the long internal struggle was the absence of extreme violence. The vehement class conflicts in Greek cities were marked by bloody revolutions and counter-revolutions; the contest in Rome was carried on "with a calmness, deliberation, and steadiness that corresponded to the firm, persevering, sober, practical Roman character." When the victory of the plebs was once won, the result was correspondingly permanent.

I. THE POSITION OF THE CLASSES AFTER 510 B.C.

301. Rome just after 510 B.C. a Patrician Oligarchy.— *The overthrow of the kings was in no sense a democratic movement. It left Rome an oligarchy, and injured the plebs.* The last kings had leaned upon the lower orders. In consequence, they had sought to strengthen the plebeians by grants of public land, by securing them justice, and possibly by aiding them in gaining political power. The aristocratic revolutionists may have bought popular support at first by some superficial concessions,¹ but the plebeians soon found themselves the losers by the change, politically and economically.

¹ Livy says that plebeians were admitted to the Senate to fill the vacancies created by the tyrants. Mommsen adopts this view, and speaks as if they continued to have seats there; but Ihne shows that such a supposition will not hold. See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 127-130, or *History*, 136-138.

302. Political Loss to the Plebs.—No direct attack was made upon their political rights, it is true; but none was needed. The plebeians could control only a small minority of votes in the Assembly of the Centuries, they could hold no office, and they had no way even to get a measure considered. At best, they could vote only upon laws proposed by patrician magistrates, and they could help elect only patrician officers, who had been nominated by other patricians. The patrician Senate, too, had a final veto upon any vote of the mixed centuries, and, in the last resort, the patrician consuls could always fall back upon the patrician augurs to prevent a possible plebeian victory.¹

Thus the political loss to the plebs was very real, though it was wholly indirect. So far as the multitude was concerned, the despotism of a jealous class had taken the place of the despotism of a paternal king.

303. Loss of Standing at Law.—In cases at law there was a like loss to the plebeians. The kings had found it to their interest to see justice done the plebs; but now law became again a patrician possession. It was unwritten, and to the plebs almost unknown; and it was easy, therefore, in any dispute with a plebeian, for a patrician, before patrician judges, to take shameful advantage of its intricacies.

304. Economic Loss and Danger to the Plebs.—The proof as to economic results of the revolution is not so clear. But it appears probable that the victorious patricians sought to bring back the mass of poor plebeians to a kind of slavery—to reduce them to the position of *clients* dependent upon patrician patrons.²

The laws regarding debt were cruelly severe,³ and here the patricians found their opportunity for oppression. The

¹ The augurs could prevent a vote or an election by declaring the auspices unfavorable.

² Coulanges, *Ancient City*, 387-389.

³ See the extract from the laws of the Twelve Tables (§ 315) in Munro's *Source Book*, 54, 55.

plebeians were more liable than formerly to fall into debt for two reasons.

a. The patricians now robbed the plebeians of their share in the public land. When Rome conquered a hostile city, even if she did not destroy it, she took away a half or a third of its territory. The kings sometimes settled colonies of landless plebeians upon this land; sometimes part of the plow land was divided between the soldiers who had won it; but the greater portion of the new territory became a common pasture ground. It belonged to the state, and a small tax was paid for the right to graze cattle upon it.

Strictly, even under the kings, only the patricians had the right to use this grazing land, but the kings had extended the privilege to the plebs also. The patricians now resumed their sole right, and thus reduced to painful straits the poorer plebeians who had eked out a scanty income from their small farms by such aid.¹ At the same time, the sending out of colonies of landless plebeians was stopped, partly because little land was won now for a long time, and partly because the patricians insisted upon keeping for themselves any that was secured.²

b. The conditions of warfare, also, bore more heavily upon the small farmer than upon the great landlord. He was called away frequently to battle; he had no servants to till his fields in his absence; and his possessions were more exposed to hostile forays than were the strongly fortified holdings of his greater neighbor. Thus he might return to find his crops ruined by delay or his homestead in ashes, and he could no longer apply to the king — the patron of the plebs — for assistance.

Thus, more and more the poorer plebeians were forced to borrow tax money from patrician money lenders or to get advances of seed corn and cattle from a neighboring patrician landlord. The debtor's land and person were both mortgaged for payment; and, on failure to pay, the patrician courts gave the creditor possession. The plebeian debtor became a client; or, if he refused to accept this result, he was cast into a dungeon, loaded with chains, and torn with stripes.

¹ To make matters worse, the patrician officers ceased to collect the grazing tax. Thus the public land was enjoyed by the patricians as private property, without purchase or tax, while, as a result, the tax on plebeian farms had to be increased, to supply the deficiency in the treasury.

² An excellent brief treatment of the public land is given in Tighe, 82-88. See, too, Mommsen, I, 343-346.

305. Dissatisfaction of the Rich Plebeians.—There were many plebeians, moreover, who were bitterly dissatisfied, although they were rich in goods and lands. This was true especially of the descendants of the old ruling families in the conquered Latin towns whose population had been removed to Rome. These men were aggrieved because they were not allowed to hold office or to intermarry with the old Roman families. Thus they became the natural leaders and organizers of the mass of poorer plebeians.

306. Objects of the Struggle.—Against all these unfavorable conditions (§§ 302-305) the plebeians rose in a struggle that filled a century and a half (510-367 B.C.). At first their demands seem chiefly to have concerned relief from the unjust debtor laws and their right to share in the public lands. Probably the leaders cared more for equality with the patricians in the law courts, for rights of intermarriage, and for political power. Gradually the whole plebeian body, also, began to demand these things, because they found that whatever economic rights they won were of no value, so long as the laws were carried out only by patrician officers.

II. STEPS IN THE STRUGGLE.

A. TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS.

307. The First Secession of the Plebs.¹—In ten chapters Livy gives a graphic story of the first clash between the orders. The account may be summarized briefly.

The plebs, driven to despair by the cruelty of patrician creditors, refuse to serve in a war against the Volscians, until the consul wins them over by freeing all debtors from prison. But when the army returns victorious, the other consul refuses to recognize his colleague's acts; he arrests the debtors again, and enforces the law with merciless cruelty. On a

¹ Two views exist as to the original uprising. The older and more common one holds that the plebeians revolted to escape being enslaved, almost as a class, for debt. The later holds that in so simple a society so much debt was impossible, and that the plebeians rose to secure protection against the arbitrary despotism of patrician magistrates in individual cases. See Mommsen (I, 345-346) for the first view; Ihne presents the second idea (*Early Rome*, 129, 141, 142, and *History*, I, 147-149).

renewal of the war, the betrayed plebs again decline to fight ; but finally Manius Valerius (of the great Valerian house "that loves the people well") is made dictator, and him they trust. Victory again follows ; but Valerius is unable to get the consent of the Senate to his proposed changes in the law. So the plebeian army, still in array outside the gates, rises in revolt and marches away to a hill across the Anio, some three miles from Rome, where, they declare, they will build a Rome of their own. This would have meant the conquest of both the old and new cities by neighboring foes ; so a compromise is patched up, and the plebs return from the "Sacred Mount."

308. The Tribunes and their Veto, 493 B.C. — Whether the details of the story of the secession are true, we do not know ; but the result is certain. The letter of the law was not changed, but the plebeians secured means to prevent its execution in any given case. Two plebeian *tribunes*, it was agreed, should be chosen each year. The person of these officers was declared inviolable, and a curse was invoked upon the man who should interfere with their acts. In order that they might protect the plebeians, they were given a portion of the consular veto. That is, they could stop any magistrate in any act of government, and so, whenever they saw fit, they could prevent the arrest or punishment of a plebeian. But this veto could be exercised *only within the city, and by the tribunes in person*.¹ Hence a tribune's door was left always unlocked, so that a plebeian in trouble might have instant admission.

309. Subsequent Growth of the Tribuneship. — In consequence of later disturbances, the number of tribunes was increased to five, and finally to ten, so as to afford more efficient protection. Their power, also, grew, until they came even to forbid acts like the putting of a vote in the centuries or in the Senate. Thus they could bring the whole government to a standstill.

"Absolute prohibition was in the most stern and abrupt fashion opposed to absolute command ; and the quarrel was settled (?) by recognizing and regulating the discord." — MOMMSEN, I, 354, 355.

¹ It is notable that this arrangement was not established by *law* but by a *treaty* between the two orders, as if they had been separate states. (See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 142, 143.)

Besides this power of impeding action in the government, the tribunes came to have a terrible judicial power. It seems probable that even before the treaty of the Sacred Mount the plebs had had their own chosen rulers to act in plebeian gatherings, as the consuls did in the Comitia of the Centuries, — proposing rules and impeaching offenders against them.¹ Now the plebeian tribunes came to accuse in this way the patricians also, — even consuls, — and to arrest and fine them, with appeal only to the Assembly of the plebeians, where patricians could expect little favor.

B. RISE OF THE PLEBEIAN ASSEMBLY.

310. Ancient Organization of the Plebeians. — It is plain that the plebeians must have possessed some such organization as has just been referred to, with regular meetings and officers, or they could never have waged the long constitutional struggle in so orderly a manner; but the matter is very obscure. Probably the organization was based upon certain local divisions called "tribes."

At some early date, the city and territory of Rome had been divided into twenty-one wards, or tribes,² for taxation, and for the military levy. In the absence of a complete organization in gentes, the plebs seem to have availed themselves of these local units. In some way, a plebeian "Assembly of Tribes" grew up and became a real governing body for the plebeians, though the patricians tried to refuse any recognition to its acts.³

¹ See Ihne, *History*, I, 183-187, or *Early Rome*, 143, 144.

² These local tribes had no connection with the three blood tribes. (Cf. the "tribes" of Cleisthenes, § 135.) This institution is attributed to Servius. Four of the tribes were within the city, and are shown on the map, page 266.

³ For conflicting views as to the original nature of the Assembly, see Ihne, *Early Rome*, 144-147, or *History*, I, 183-185, 206, 207, and Mommsen, I, 359, 360. It is probable that the patricians had the right to attend the Assembly of the Tribes, but that they did not care to do so at this time, when they could accomplish so much less in it than they could in the Assembly of Centuries.

311. This Plebeian Assembly wins Recognition in the State. — The plebeian tribunes of the “tribes” had now been put alongside the patrician consuls of the centuries. The next step was to set the plebeian Assembly alongside the mixed Centuriate Assembly.

The patricians seem to have provoked the struggle, by trying to control the election of tribunes, by bringing it into the Assembly of the Centuries and by endeavoring to prevent the plebeians from holding their separate meetings.

A bitter contest of twenty years was closed in 471, by the victory of the plebs. The tribune Publilius Volero secured the consent of the Senate to a decree known as the *Publilian Law*. This legalized the old plebeian organization. It guaranteed to the Assembly of Tribes the right to elect the tribunes and to pass decrees (*plebiscita*) which should have the force of law upon the plebeians.¹

312. The Result a Double State; Violence over Agrarian Questions.² — Thus the first struggle of the plebs for admission into the state had set up instead a double state — a plebeian state over against the patrician state, each with its own Assembly and leaders, with no arbiter between the two and no check upon civil war except mutual moderation.

The device was clumsy, and could not have been worked at all by a people of low political capacity. Even with the Romans, it led during the next few years to much violence. Street fights between the orders took place; consuls and leading patricians were driven into banishment; and the tribune *Genucius* was assassinated by patrician daggers.

During this period *Spurius Cassius*, the first patrician to dare take up the cause of the people, fell a victim to his order. He had served Rome gloriously in war and in diplomacy (§ 326, note). Now, as consul, he proposed a reform in the

¹ This power was soon to be extended so that the decrees of the plebeian Assembly should become equal to those of the *Comitia Centuriata* in all matters (see the *Horatian Law*, § 317, note).

² Mommsen, I, 354-361.

selfish patrician management of the public lands. The patricians raised the cry that he was trying to win popular favor so as to make himself tyrant.¹ The foolish plebeians allowed themselves to be frightened by the charge; they deserted their champion, and he was put to death.²

None the less, the plebeians made some small gains. Some colonies of poor citizens were established on the public lands, and, in 466, the Aventine district within the city was parceled out into building lots for landless plebeians.

C. THE DECEMVIRS.

313. The Plebs demand Written Laws. — In 462 the plebeians asked that the laws be written down, so that they might be known by all.³ This demand was furiously opposed by the patricians, but after a ten years' struggle the plebeians won. Both consuls and tribunes were set aside for a year; and the Assembly chose a Board of ten men to revise and write down the laws.

314. The Two Boards of Decemvirs. — From their number, ten, these men were known as *decemvirs*. During their year they were to govern the city as a *Board of dictators*. Both plebeians and patricians were eligible to the office, but in the first election (451 B.C.) the patricians secured all the places. The story now becomes obscure. It seems probable, however, that this patrician Board neglected to reduce the laws to writing. But the next year *Appius Claudius*, one of the first decemvirs, joined the plebeians and secured his own reëlection, along with several plebeian colleagues.

¹ Under like conditions, two other citizens, *Spurius Maelius* and, later, *Manlius* (384 B.C.), who had saved the capitol from the Gauls, fell before like charges. Special reports should be assigned upon these men.

² According to one story, the father of Spurius, a proud patrician, put his son to death himself, in the right of his paternal authority. The father's power, however, did not permit this: it did not give the father control over the action of a son when the son was an officer of the state.

³ Compare with the Athenian demands in the time of Draco (§ 108).

315. The Twelve Tables. — At all events the laws did finally get published. They were written in short, crisp sentences, engraved on twelve stone tables, and were set up where all might read them. These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were the basis of all later Roman law. Like the first written laws at Athens, they were very severe, and were for the most part simply old customs reduced to writing. The new thing about them was that they were now known to all, and that they applied to plebeian and patrician alike.¹

316. The Patrician Attempt at a Counter-revolution. — Meantime the patricians seem to have tried to prevent this work by violence. They put Claudius to death, as a traitor to their order. They then restored the consulship, but refused to restore the tribunes, — perhaps on the excuse that writing down the laws had made such officers unnecessary.

Later patrician inventions obscure all this, and represent the overthrow of Claudius as the work of a popular rising. Claudius, they said, seized the free maid *Virginia* as his slave girl; her father, *Virginius*, a popular officer, to save her from such shame, slew her with his own hand, and then called upon the army to avenge his wrongs; his comrades marched upon the tyrants and overthrew them.

The story of *Virginia* has become so famous that the student ought to know it. We cannot tell whether or not there is any truth in it. Possibly *Claudius* did put the cause of the people in danger by selfish tyranny, and gave the patricians a handle against him; but in any case we may be sure this was not the real cause of his overthrow. See *Ihne*, *Early Rome*, 175, or, more fully, *History*, I, 192–199.

317. Another Plebeian Secession and New Gains. — A popular revolt did take place, but it was directed, not at *Claudius*, but at the usurping patricians who had overthrown him and were trying to cheat the people out of their previous victory. Once more (449 B.C.), to secure their rights, the plebeians rose in

¹ On the Twelve Tables, read *Mommsen*, I, 364, or *Tighe*, 96–98. Study the extracts in *Munro's Source Book*, 54, 55.

arms and withdrew to the Sacred Hill across the Anio. The patricians were forced to yield. The tribunes were restored with enlarged powers,¹ and two new gains² were made by the people. (1) The old Valerian right of appeal (§ 295) was extended to plebeians; and (2) the Assembly of Tribes was reorganized (§ 318) and made a ruling Assembly of the Roman people. Thereafter its *plebiscites* bound patricians as well as plebeians; though of course, like the Centuriate Assembly, it was legally subject to the veto of the Senate.

318. The reorganized *Comitia Tributa* was soon to become the most important of the popular assemblies. At this time it was made to consist of all landowners, — patricians and plebeians. Each tribe voted as a unit, and, in determining its vote, each man within it had an equal voice, so that the plebeians held an overwhelming control.³

The plebeian state had now won an equal standing with the patrician state. The next work was to fuse the two into one state (§§ 319–324).

D. SOCIAL FUSION.

319. Mixed Marriages. — The plebeians used their new powers to win further victories. Four years after the recognition of the Assembly of Tribes, that Assembly decreed that plebeians should have the right to marry with patricians. At first the Senate refused to approve this plebiscite, but, by the threat of another secession, the point was carried.

From this time the two orders began to mix in social matters, and of course this prepared the way for political fusion.

¹ It was at this time that the tribunes were increased to ten, and were given seats just outside the Senate door, so that they could shout their veto upon any action by that body.

² These new gains were embodied in the *Valerio-Horatian Law* of 449, so called from the consuls of that year.

³ The old Tribal Assembly, of plebeians only, is known after this as the "Council of the Plebs": it contained all plebeians, landowners or not, but it ceased now to have any political importance.

Those patricians who had plebeian relatives were not likely to oppose bitterly the demands of that class for political honors. Still the final contest was a long one. In this same year (445 B.C.) the plebeians began an eighty-eight-year struggle for admission to the office of consul (§ 320 ff.).

E. ADMISSION TO THE CONSULATE.

320. Consular Tribunes and Censors. — In 445 the tribes voted that the people should be allowed to choose a plebeian for one of the consuls. The Senate refused to allow the "religious" office of consul to be "polluted," but they offered a compromise. Accordingly it was decided to have no consuls in some years, but instead to elect *military tribunes with consular power*; and this office was to be open to both patricians and plebeians.

At the same time, with their old stronghold threatened, the patricians prepared an inner fortress for defense of their privileges. A new office, the *ensorship*, was created, to take over the religious part of the consul's duty and his most important powers. To this office, *only patricians* could be elected. Every fifth year two censors were chosen, with power to revise the lists of the citizens and of the Senate. By their simple order they could deprive any man of citizenship, or degrade a senator. They also exercised a general moral oversight over the state.¹

321. Patrician Maneuvers. — The patricians had not intended to surrender even the military powers of the consulship; and they now tried to snatch back with one hand what they had pretended to grant with the other. It had been left to the Senate to decide each year whether consuls or consular tribunes should be elected. The Senate used this authority to secure the

¹ On the censors, read Ihne, *Early Rome*, 184-189. Either censor, quite in accord with Roman genius, could veto action by the other. Their tremendous power was used with moderation and not to any considerable degree for party ends.

election of consuls (who of course had to be patricians) twenty times out of the next thirty-five years. And even when consular tribunes were chosen, the patrician influence in the Assembly of Centuries, together with their advantages in controlling the auspices,¹ kept that office for their own order every time for almost half a century.

322. The Licinian Rogations, 367 B.C. — In 400, 399, and 396, however, the plebeians won in the election of the consular tribunes, and thereafter they never lost ground. An invasion by the Gauls in 390 (§ 325) almost ruined Rome and thrust aside party conflict for a time; but in 377 the final campaign began. Under the wise leadership of the tribune *Licinius Stolo*, the whole body of plebeians united firmly on a group of measures. These were proposed to the Assembly by Licinius, and are known as the *Licinian Rogations*.

The three most important of these demands were:—

(1) that the office of consul should be restored, and that at least one consul each year should be a *plebeian*;

(2) that no citizen should hold more than 500 *jugera* of the public lands (an acre is nearly two *jugera*);

(3) that payment of debts might be postponed for three years, and that the interest already paid should be deducted from the amount of the debt.

The first measure was what the leaders, like Licinius, cared most for. The second and third secured the support of the masses. These measures, also, seem to have been wise and helpful. The one regarding debts had been made necessary by the distress that followed the invasion by the Gauls. The land acts were not acts of confiscation, from any point of view. Like the early attempt of Spurius Cassius (§ 312), they were a righteous effort to recover from wealthy patrician squatters what was legally and morally the property of all.

323. The Struggle and the Final Victory of the Plebs. — The proposal of these reforms was followed by ten years of bitter wrangling. Each year the plebeians reelected Licinius and

¹ Read Mommsen, I, 377.

passed the Rogations anew in the Assembly of the Tribes. Each time the Senate vetoed the measures. The tribunes, by their veto power, prevented the election of magistrates, and so left the state without any regular government.¹

At last the patricians tried to buy off the masses, by offering to yield on the matters of debts and lands if they would drop the demand regarding the consulship. But Licinius succeeded in holding his party together for the full program of reform; and, in 367, the Senate gave way and the Rogations became law.

324. Political Fusion completed, 367-300 B.C.—The long struggle was practically over, and the body of the patricians soon accepted the result with good grace. Just at first, to be sure, they tried again to save something from the wreck by creating a third, and patrician, consul—called *the praetor*—for supreme judicial control in the city.² But all such devices were in vain. Plebeian consuls could nominate other plebeian officers. Plebeians had already won admission to the quaestorship (§ 295). Now they secured the office of dictator in 356, of censor in 351, and of praetor in 337. In 300 even the sacred colleges of pontiffs and augurs were thrown open to them.

Appointments to the Senate were now commonly made from those who had held office, and so *that body, also, gradually became plebeian*. By the year 300, the old distinction between patricians and plebeians had practically died out, and, in political matters at least, it is no more heard of, except that tribunes could not be chosen from families of patrician descent.

¹ During the peril of a foreign attack, however, they withdrew from this extreme ground and permitted consuls to be chosen. Read Livy's account of the long contest (Munro's *Source Book*, 57-59).

² The consul had had three functions, religious, civil, and military. As the plebs gained ground, the patricians first gave the religious duties to the censor, and now the chief civil powers to the praetor, intending to share with the plebs only the military office.

325. A Catchword Review of the Struggle of Classes. — Tribunes of the Plebs (after secession to the Sacred Mount), 493: veto power and judicial attacks upon patrician leaders.

Plebeian Assembly of Tribes: plebiscites binding in law upon the plebs, 471.

Violence between the patrician and the plebeian states: Genucius, Spurius Cassius; agrarian gains for plebeians.

Struggle for written laws, 462-449: decemvirs, 451; Appius Claudius; the Twelve Tables; patrician counter-revolution; secession of the plebs; tribunes restored; right of appeal for plebeians; Assembly of Tribes re-organized (all landowners) and given equality with Centuriate Assembly.

Mixed marriages, 445, secured by threat of another secession: social fusion.

Political fusion (struggle for the consulate, 445-367): consular tribunes and censors; patrician maneuvers; gradual plebeian gains; Licinian Rogations (consulship, public lands, debts); a ten-years' struggle; tribunes paralyze the state; plebeian victory, 367, followed by rapid fusion of the two orders.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Mommsen, I, 341-394; Ihne, *Early Rome*, 135-151, 165-190, and *History*, 127-152, 175-226, 255-262, 302-334; How and Leigh, 52-58, 65-77, 91-94. Pelham (*Outlines of Roman History*, 54-67) presents in compact form a somewhat different view of the struggle of classes from that given in this volume.

CHAPTER IV.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY, 367-366 B.C.

I. PROGRESS BEFORE 367 B.C.

326. Gains under the Kings, and the Reaction to 449 B.C.— The story of Rome's early wars is full of patriotic legends,¹ but the general trend of her growth is fairly clear. Under the kings she had conquered widely; but, after 510, the Latin towns became independent again and much territory also was seized by the Etruscans. For the next sixty years Rome fought for life. Etruscan, Volscian, and Sabine armies often appeared under her very walls, and many times the peril was made more deadly by the fierce conflict of classes within the city.

In 493, it is true, the Latin League was united to Rome, by treaty,² as an equal ally, and so a bulwark was provided against the Volscians (map, page 269). But the main danger was in the Etruscans, and from this enemy Rome was saved, mainly, by outside events. Just at this time the Gauls of the north broke the power of Etruria on land, and the tyrants of Syracuse (§ 218) shattered her superiority on the sea.

327. The Period 449-367: Slow Gains; the Brief Interruption by the Gauls.—After the reforms of the period of the decemvirs, when the bitterest internal dissensions were past, Rome began to make steady gains. By slow degrees she became again the mistress of the Latin League; and, in 396, after

¹ Special reports: (1) the legend of Coriolanus and the modern criticism; (2) Cincinnatus; (3) Camillus; (4) A Roman "triumph" (see especially Munro's *Source Book*, 38-40).

² This important treaty is said to have been the work of Spurius Cassius (§ 312).

fourteen long wars, she finally destroyed *Vei*,¹ a dangerous rival, only a few hours' walk distant, in Etruria.

Six years later the city was again for a time in danger of utter destruction. In 390, a horde of Gauls, who had overrun Etruria, defeated the Roman army in the battle of the *Allia*, twelve miles from the walls, and cut it off from the city. Fortunately, the barbarians squandered three days in pillage, and so gave time to save Rome. The sacred fire was hastily removed; the helpless inhabitants fled; and a small garrison, under the soldier *Marcus Manlius*, garrisoned the Capitoline citadel.

The Gauls sacked the rest of the city and held it seven months. But their host was ravaged by the deadly malaria of the Roman plain (which has more than once been Rome's best protection); they had little skill or patience for a regular siege; and finally they withdrew on the payment of a ransom.² Rome was left free to complete her work.

II. THE REAL ADVANCE, 367-266 B.C.

328. United Rome and her Rapid Growth. — Rome recovered rapidly from the Gallic conquest; and the slow growth of territory up to this time contrasts strikingly with the swift advance that was to come in the next hundred years. The difference was due mainly to the difference in internal conditions. *The long strife of classes closed in 367 B.C. (§ 323). The process of amalgamation that had originally fused the three separate hill towns into the patrician state had at length fused this patrician and the newer plebeian state into one Roman people. Now this united Rome turned to her proper work of uniting Italy.*

¹ Rome began at Vei the merciless policy which she was to show toward many rival capitals in time to come, by exterminating the population and laying waste the site of the city.

² Special reports: the sack of the city; the geese of the capitol; Brennus, the Gallic chief, and his sword at the scales; the later fiction of the Roman victory. This sack by the Gauls is the event referred to in § 322.

329. Latium and Southern Etruria.—The Latin towns had seized the opportunity of the Gallic invasion to throw off Roman leadership. War followed between Rome and the Latins. Several cities were captured, and some of them were incorporated bodily in the Roman state. For all the rest, the old league was restored in a new form. Rome came out of the struggle the acknowledged mistress of Latium. The southern half of Etruria, too, was soon annexed to the territory of Rome; and on both north and south the new acquisitions were garrisoned by Roman colonies.

330. The Winning of Campania, 343 B.C.—Rome was now recognized as the natural champion of the other lowland civilized states against the ruder tribes of the mountains. From this fact came her next expansion. Some time before, the *hill-Samnites* had reconquered the fertile plains of Campania from Etruscans and Greeks. They had themselves, however, taken on the lowland civilization, and they were now attacked by the other Samnites of the mountains. In these straits the men of Campania appealed to Rome for aid. Rome repulsed the mountain tribes; and, in return, the cities of the Campanian plain became her tributaries.

331. The Last Latin Revolt, 338 B.C.—Now that the Samnites were no longer dangerous, the Latins, ill content with the recent settlement of their affairs (§ 329), once more broke into revolt. This led to the great *Latin War of 338 B.C.* In the end the rising was crushed and the Latin League dissolved. Its public land became Roman. Some of its cities were brought into the Roman state,—their inhabitants being listed as citizens in the Roman “tribes.” All the remaining cities were bound to Rome as subjects, each by its separate treaty, and they were allowed no intercourse with each other (except through Rome) either in politics or in trade.

332. The Last Struggle for Supremacy in Central Italy: the Samnite Wars.—The leadership of central Italy now lay between Rome, the great city-state of the lowlands, and the rude Samnite tribes, which were spread widely over the

southern Apennines. The decisive struggle between the two began in 326, and lasted, with brief truces, to 290. The combatants were both warlike, and they were not unequally matched. The Samnites trusted partly for defense to their mountain fastnesses; and Rome found safety in the chains of fortress colonies she had been building (§ 336 *a*).

Early in the war (321 B.C.) the Samnites won an overwhelming victory. The whole Roman army was entrapped at the *Caudine Forks* in a narrow pass between two precipices and was forced to surrender. The Samnite leader, *Pontius*, made a treaty with the consuls by which the Romans were to withdraw all their posts from Samnium and to stop the war. He then let the captives go, after sending them "under the yoke."¹ The fruits of the victory, however, were lost, because the Romans refused to abide by the treaty.

According to the Roman story, the Senate declared that only the Roman Assembly, not the consuls alone, had power to make such a treaty. In place of their rescued army, they delivered to the Samnites the two consuls, naked and in chains, saying, through the herald: "These men have wronged you by promising, without authority, to make a treaty with you. Therefore we hand them over to you." Then one of the consuls (who is said to have suggested the whole plan) pushed against the Roman herald, and said, "I am now a Samnite, and, by striking the Roman herald, I have given the Romans the right to make war upon the Samnites." The Romans pretended that these forms released them from all obligation, and resumed the war.

Then the Samnites built up a great alliance, which soon came to count nearly all the peoples of Italy, together with the Cisalpine Gauls. But, using to the full the advantage of her central position (§ 263), Rome beat these foes in detail; and at the close of the long conflict (290 B.C.) she had become mistress of all the true peninsula, except the Greek cities of the south.

¹ This humiliation consisted in obliging the captives to come forth one by one, clad only in shirts, and pass, with bowed head, between two upright spears upon which rested a third.

333. Magna Graecia: the War with Pyrrhus.—Ten years later began the last great war for territory in Italy. The Greek cities at this moment were harassed by neighboring mountaineers, and they called in Roman aid, as Campania had done sixty years before. Thus Roman lordship became established throughout the south, except in Tarentum. That great city wished to keep her independence, and sought help from *Pyrrhus*, the chivalrous king of Epirus.

Pyrrhus was one of the most remarkable of the Greek military adventurers who arose after the death of Alexander. He had come to Italy with a great armament and with great designs. He hoped to unite the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, and then to subdue Carthage, the ancient enemy of Hellenes in the West. That is, he planned to play in western Hellas and in Africa the part already played by Alexander in eastern Hellas and in Asia.

Pyrrhus knew little of Rome; but at the call of Tarentum he found himself engaged as a Hellenic champion with this new power. He won some victories, chiefly through his elephants, which the Romans had never before encountered. Then most of southern Italy deserted Rome to join him; but,



COIN OF PYRRHUS, struck in Sicily.

anxious to carry out his wider plans, he offered a favorable peace. Under the leadership of an aged and blind senator, *Appius Claudius*, defeated Rome answered haughtily

that she would treat with no invader *while he stood upon Italian soil*. Pyrrhus chafed at the delay, and finally hurried off to Sicily, leaving his victory incomplete. The steady Roman advance called him back, and a great Roman victory at *Beneventum* (275 B.C.) ruined his dream of empire and

made Rome mistress of the Italy whose sovereignty she had just claimed so resolutely. By 269, the last resistance from the Greek cities had ceased; and then, in 266, Rome rounded off her work by the conquest of that part of Cisalpine Gaul which lay south of the Po.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The best compact treatment of the conquest of Italy is by Pelham, 68-97. Detailed accounts are given in Mommsen, and especially in Ihne. Students should read an excellent summary of Rome's method in Smith's *Rome and Carthage*, 27.

EXERCISE. — (1) Review the growth of Rome, 510-266 B.C. by catch-words, with the important dates. (2) Extend the list of terms for rapid explanation from chapters i-iv, especially from chapter iii.

CHAPTER V.

UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE.

This chapter breaks into the story of Roman expansion. That story will be continued in chapter vi. At this point it is necessary to understand the character of the united Italy into which Rome had grown. All Italians now were either members of the *Roman state proper* or *subjects* of that state. Each of these classes, with its subdivisions, will be described. Divisions I and II in particular, treat of matters hard for young readers to grasp, and should be read over in class before students are required to prepare them for recitation.

I. CLASSES OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES.

A. THE ROMAN STATE.

334. Extent. — The territory of Rome comprised one third of Italy, and her citizens counted about two hundred and ninety thousand of the million adult males.¹ This meant a total Roman population of nearly one and a half million.

335. Rights and Obligations of Citizens. — The important rights of citizens were:—

a. Private: (1) the right to acquire property, under the protection of the Roman law, in any of Rome's possessions (*commercium*); and (2) the right of intermarriage in any Roman or subject community (*connubium*).

b. Public: (1) the right to vote in the Assembly of Tribes; (2) eligibility to any office; and (3) appeal to the Assembly if condemned to death or to bodily punishment.

¹ This does not include the slaves, of whom, however, there were not yet a large number in Italy.

By way of burdens, the citizens furnished half the army of Italy, and paid all the *direct* taxes.

336. Classes of Citizens.—It had come to pass that the majority of Roman citizens did not live at Rome. Large parts of Latium and of Etruria and Campania had become “suburbs” of Rome (although in the midst even of these settlements there were many subject communities); and other towns of Roman citizens were found in distant parts of Italy. Indeed, mainly because of *difference in place of residence*, the citizens fall into three classes, (1) the inhabitants of *Rome itself*, (2) members of *Roman colonies*, and (3) members of *Roman municipia*. The colonies and municipia need further explanation.

a. From an early date (§ 272) Rome had planted colonies of her citizens about the central city as military posts. The colonists kept *all the rights of citizens*. Each colony had control over its *local* affairs in an Assembly of its own; but in order to vote upon matters that concerned the state the colonists had to come to Rome at the meeting of the Assembly there. This of course was usually impossible. *Representative government had not been worked out; and hence it was not possible for the people of a large state to remain really equal in political opportunity.*

b. While Rome ruled parts of her conquests as subject communities, there were also many conquered towns which she *incorporated into the state in full equality*. This had become the case with most of the Latin cities, with the Sabine towns, and with some other communities.

A town so annexed to the Roman state was called a *municipium*. Like a Roman colony, the inhabitants of a municipium managed their own local affairs, and, by coming to Rome, they could vote in the Assembly of the Tribes upon all Roman and imperial questions. They had also all the other rights of citizens. The municipia and the colonies differed chiefly in the matter of origin.¹

¹ Besides the colonies and municipia, there were also many small hamlets of Roman citizens settled upon the public lands in distant parts of Italy.

There was also a class of inferior municipia, with the private, but not the public, rights of Romans. This class, however, gradually disappeared. They either rose into full municipia or, in punishment for offences, were degraded into praefectures (§ 340).

The *municipia* represent a political advance,—a new contribution to empire-making. Athens had had cleruchies corresponding to the Roman colonies (§§ 118, 170), but she had never learned how to give citizenship to conquered states. At a later date Rome extended the principle to distant parts of Italy, and finally even more widely.

337. Organization in "Tribes."—To suit this expansion of the state, the twenty-one Roman "tribes" (§ 310) were increased gradually to thirty-five,—four in the city, the rest in adjoining districts. At first these were really divisions of territory, and a man changed his "tribe" if he changed his residence. At the point we have reached, however, this was no longer true. The tribes had become conventional units. A man, once enrolled in a given tribe, remained a member, no matter where he lived, and his son after him.

Thus a tribe came to contain great numbers of citizens who had never lived within its territorial limits. As new communities were given citizenship, they were enrolled in the old thirty-five tribes,—sometimes whole new municipia, far apart, in the same tribe. Each tribe kept its equal vote in the Assembly.¹

B. THE SUBJECTS.

338. Three Classes of Subjects.—Rome was not yet ready to give up the idea of a city-state; and so, beyond a certain limit, all new acquisitions of territory were necessarily reduced to some form of subjection. Outside the Roman state was subject-Italy, in three main classes, *Latin Colonies*, *Praefectures*, and "*Allies*."

339. The Latin Colonies.—Highest in privilege among the subjects stood the Latins. This name did not apply now to

¹ On the vexed questions as to the tribes, advanced students may consult Mommsen, I, 395-400; Ihne, I, 448, 449; or *Early Rome*, 145-148 and 177-178.

the old Latin towns (nearly all of which had become municipia), but to a new kind of colonies sent out by Rome after 338, far beyond Latium.

Because of the distance, the colonists were not granted citizenship, as were the older *Roman colonies*, but only the *Latin right*, based on the rights enjoyed by the towns of the Latin Confederacy under the ancient alliance with Rome (§ 274, close, note). That is, their citizens had the *private rights* of Romans; and they might acquire full *public rights* also, and become Roman citizens in all respects, by removing to Rome and enrolling in one of the tribes. At first this removal was permitted to any member of a Latin colony who left a son in his own city to represent him; but in the later colonies the privilege was restricted to those who had held some magistracy in the colony. *In local affairs*, like the Roman Colonies and the Municipia, *the Latin Colonies had full self-government*.¹

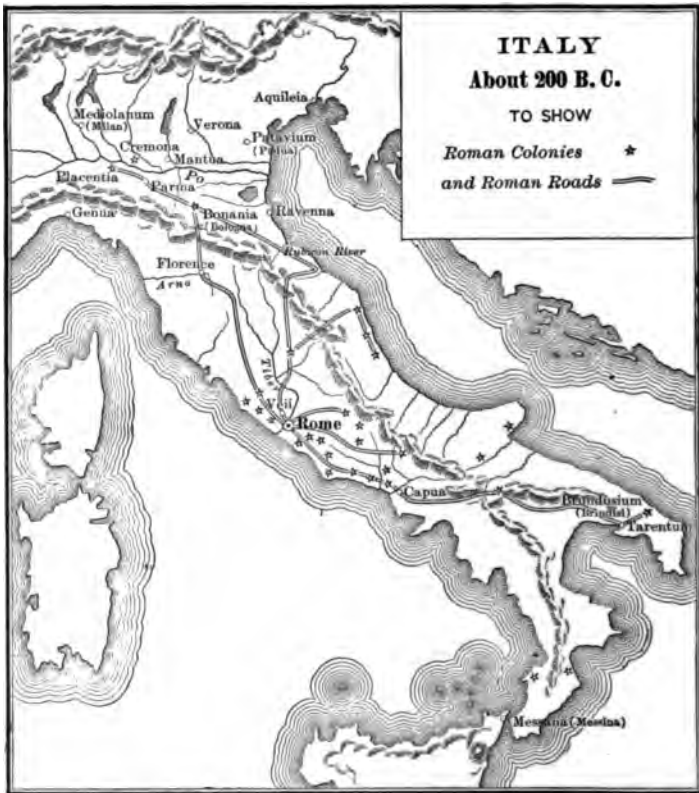
There were thirty-five Latin colonies before the Carthaginian invasion of Italy. They numbered originally from three hundred to six thousand male colonists each, and they grew from the populations about them. They are notable in three respects.

a. They were a chief instrument in *Romanizing Italy*, in language and institutions. Inscriptions show that they copied the Roman city constitution, even to such names as consuls and tribunes.

b. From a military point of view, like the Roman colonies, they were *garrisons*, protecting the distant parts of the peninsula against revolt or invasion. An enemy could rarely assail their walls successfully; and he was rash indeed to pass on, leaving them to fall upon his rear.

¹ The poorer landless citizens of Rome had little political power (§§ 286, 318, note, and 346 a). Thus they could well afford the slight sacrifice of citizenship that came from joining a Latin colony, in return for the gain they secured as the aristocracy of a new settlement.

c. Politically, they added a new element of *elasticity* to the rigid system of citizenship common in ancient states. They formed a link *between full citizens and permanent subjects.*



340. The class of *praefectures* was small and the least enviable. It consisted of a few conquered towns too distant to permit incorporation in the city and too deep offenders to warrant them in asking either the "Latin right" or "alliance." They bore all the burdens of Roman citizenship, and some of them

had part of the *private rights*, and so are easily confused with "inferior municipia" (336 b); but they alone of all cities in Italy had their government administered for them by *prefects* sent out from Rome.

341. The Italian "Allies." — Most numerous of all the inhabitants of Italy, and next to the Latins in privilege, stood the mass of subject Greeks, Italians, and Etruscans, under the general name of *Italian Allies*. These cities, it is true, differed greatly in condition, according to their respective treaties with Rome. None of them, however, had either the private or public rights of Romans, and they were *isolated jealously one from another*. In general, however, they bore few burdens and enjoyed local freedom and Roman protection.

C. ROME AND HER SUBJECTS: A SUMMARY.

(*A Confederacy under a Queen-city.*)

342. Advantages and Restrictions of the Subjects. — No one of the subject cities had any one of the three great rights of making war, concluding treaties, or coining money. With the exception of one small class they did retain nearly complete self-government in other matters. Each kept its own Assembly, Senate, and magistrates; and, in general, each retained its own law and custom. They paid no tribute, except to provide their small share of troops for war.

Thus, where Rome refused to confer citizenship, she did, with rare insight and magnanimity, lessen burdens and leave local freedom. At the same time she bestowed order, tranquillity, and prosperity. The calamities of great wars strike our imagination; but they cause infinitely less suffering than the everlasting petty wars of neighbors, with pillage and slaughter diffused everywhere. Roman supremacy put a stop to these endless and wasting feuds. Moreover, so far as Italy was concerned, the theater of conflict, even in Rome's great wars, was thenceforth to be mostly beyond her borders.

343. Power and Policy of Rome. — The citizens enrolled in the thirty-five Roman tribes were the rulers of Italy. None others possessed any of the imperial power. They, or their officers, decided upon war and peace, made treaties, issued the only coinage permitted, and fixed the number of soldiers which the subject cities must furnish for war.



VIEW OF THE APPIAN WAY TO-DAY, WITH RUINS OF THE AQUEDUCT OF CLAUDIUS IN THE DISTANCE. (The Aqueduct was carried for long distances on arches. It was built nearly four centuries later than the Appian Way.)

It should be noted that there are two phases of the Roman genius for rule,—one admirable and the other at least effective.

a. Incorporation and Tolerance. Rome grew strong first by a wise and generous *incorporation* of her conquests. With this strength, she won wider physical victories. And over her subjects she won also spiritual dominion by her intelligence, justice, and firmness, and especially by a marvelous *toleration* for local customs and rights.

b. Jealousy and Isolation. At the same time, she strictly *isolated* the subject communities from one another. She dissolved all tribal confederacies; she took skillful advantage of the grades of inferiority that she had created among her dependents *to foment jealousies* and to play off one class of communities against another. Likewise, within each city, she set class against class, on the whole favoring an aristocratic organization. In politics as in war, the policy of her statesmen was "*Divide and conquer.*"

Thus the rule of Rome in Italy was not an absolutism, as it was to be later over more distant conquests. The whole Italian stock had become consolidated under a leading city. In form, and to a great degree in fact, Italy was a confederacy; but it was a confederacy *with all the connecting lines radiating from Rome.* The allies had no connection with each other except through the head city. Even the physical ties—the famous roads that marked her dominion and strengthened it—"all led to Rome."

344. Roman Roads: Bonds of Union.—Rome began her system of magnificent roads in 312 B.C. by the *Via Appia* to the new possessions in Campania. This was the work of the censor Appius Claudius (§ 346 a). Afterward all Italy, and then the growing empire outside Italy, was traversed by a network of such roads. Nothing was permitted to obstruct their course. Mountains were tunneled; rivers were bridged; marshes were spanned for miles by viaducts of masonry. The roads were smoothly paved with huge slabs, over some two feet of gravel; and they made the best means of communication the world was to see until the time of railroads. They were so carefully constructed, too, that their remains, in good condition to-day, still "mark the lands where Rome has ruled." They were designed for military purposes; but they helped other intercourse and bound Italy together socially. (Cf. § 64, for Persian Roads.)

FOR FURTHER READING.—Ihne, I, 537-552; Mommsen, II, 46-62; Pelham, 97-107.

II. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN STATE: THE PERFECTED REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION.

A. GROWTH OF A NEW ARISTOCRACY.¹

345. The "Nobles." — No sooner had the old distinction between plebeian and patrician faded away, than there began to grow up a new aristocracy of mixed plebeian and patrician families. These new aristocrats were known as the nobles, or the *senatorial class*. They were the descendants of office holders. It came to pass that a man was considered "noble" if any ancestor had been a *curule officer*, — censor, consul, praetor, dictator, aedile (§ 347).

The distinction was at first merely social, and it always remained without recognition in law. Before 300, however, the nobles began to be jealous of the admission of "new men" to their ranks; and by their influence they soon controlled nearly all elections in favor of members of their own order. Thus they became a *hereditary oligarchy of a few hundred families*.

B. THE POLITICAL MACHINERY AND ITS WORKING.

346. The Assemblies: Apparent Growth toward Democracy. — The Assemblies by curias, by centuries, and by tribes *continued to exist side by side*; but the center of gravity shifted again, — as once before from the curias to the centuries, so now from the centuries to the tribes. The political function of the Curiate Assembly had become purely formal in very early times (§ 287). The Centuriate Assembly continued to elect consuls, censors, and praetors; but its law-making power and the choice of all other officers passed to the *Comitia Tributa* (§ 318).

Moreover, during the century between the Licinian Rogations and the war with Pyrrhus, three or four legal reforms were adopted, to make the political Assemblies more powerful and more democratic.

¹ Pelham, 170-172, and Mommsen, III, 3-13.

a. In 312, a reforming censor, Appius Claudius, enrolled the landless citizens in the tribes. Up to this time, only landholders had a voice there (§ 318). Appius carried this extension of the franchise unconstitutionally, in defiance of the veto of his colleague. The aristocratic party did not venture to undo the act, but they did modify it: a few years later another censor put all the landless class into the four city tribes alone, so that the city poor might not outvote the rural landowners. This still left, however, a marked democratic gain.

b. About the same time a complicated change took place in the Centuriate Assembly, by which each of the *five classes* secured an equal voice, and wealth was deprived of most of its older supremacy.

c. In 287, after some dissension and a threatened secession, the *Hortensian Law* took from the Senate its veto upon the *plebiscites of the tribes*. Somewhat earlier the Senate had lost all veto over the elections in the centuries.

These changes made Rome a democracy in law; but in practice they were more than counterbalanced by the aristocratic control of the Senate and of the curule offices (§§ 347, 348).

347. The Administrative Officers.¹—The officers of chief dignity in Rome were as follows, from least to greatest:—

- Aediles* (four), with oversight over police and public works;
- Praetors* (two), with the chief judicial power;
- Consuls* (two), commanders in war and leaders in foreign policy;
- Censors* (two), § 320;
- Dictator* (one), in critical times only (§ 292).

These five were called *curule offices*, because the holders, dividing among them the old royal power, kept the right to use the curule chair—the ivory throne of the old kings. There were also the *inferior aediles*, the *quaestors* (in charge of the

¹ Mommsen, I, 400-407; Felham, 103-107.

treasury and with some judicial power), and the *tribunes*. This last office, though less in dignity than the curule offices, was perhaps most important of all. The tribune's old duties were gone, but he had become the political leader of the *Comitia Tributa*,—as the consul was of the less important *Comitia Centuriata*.

Except the censor and dictator, these officers held authority for only one year, but they exercised tremendous power. The magistrate still called and adjourned Assemblies as he liked; he alone could put proposals before them; and he controlled debate and amendment.

348. The Senate¹ the Guiding Force in the Roman Government.—Indirectly, the Senate had been made elective. The censors were required to fill vacancies in that body first from those who had held curule offices, and ordinarily this left them little discretion. The senatorial veto upon the Assemblies, too, had been taken away. Thus, so far as written law was concerned, the Senate was only an advisory body.

None the less it was really the ruling body in the state. It contained the wisdom and experience of Rome. The pressure of constant and dangerous wars, and the growing complexity of foreign relations even in peace, made it inevitable that this far-seeing, compact, experienced body should assume authority which in theory belonged to the clumsy, inexperienced Assembly. "Rome," says Ihne, "became a complete aristocracy with democratic forms;" or, as Mommsen puts it, "While the burgesses [citizens] acquired the semblance, the Senate acquired the substance, of power."

As the magistrate controlled the Assemblies, so the Senate controlled the magistrate. No consul would think of bringing a law before the people without the approval of the Senate (so that indirectly that body, rather than the Assembly, had become the real legislature). No officer would draw money from the treasury without its consent. It declared and man-

¹ Read Mommsen, I, 406-412, or Pelham, 159-167.

aged wars. It received ambassadors and made alliances. And certainly for over a hundred years, by its sagacity and energy, this "assembly of kings" justified its usurpation, earning Mommsen's epithet, — "the foremost political corporation of all time."

C. SUMMARY.

349. Democratic Theory and Aristocratic Practice. — In theory the Democracy was supreme through its popular Assemblies. In practice the Aristocrats controlled the government through their monopoly of the curule offices and of the all-directing Senate.

This condition began before the Pyrrhic War, or about 300 B.C., and it lasted nearly three hundred years. During the first part of this time (until about 200 B.C.) the rule of the nobles, though marked sometimes by a narrow class spirit, was patriotic, vigorous, and beneficent. After the year 200, it became both weak and selfish. Then power slipped from the incapable Aristocracy into the hands of military chiefs, — the fore-runners of the Empire (§ 432 ff.).

FOR FURTHER READING ON DIVISIONS I AND II. — Polybius describes the Roman constitution as he saw it about 160 B.C. Extracts from Polybius are given in Monro's *Source Book*, 47-52. Modern authorities have been referred to in the footnotes.

III. SOCIETY IN ROME AND ITALY.

350. Economic. — From 367 to about 200 is the period of greatest Roman vigor. The old distinction between patrician and plebeian had died out. A new aristocracy, it is true, was growing up, and there was soon to come a struggle between rich and poor, but this had not yet begun. The rapid gains of territory made it possible to relieve the poor by grants of land and by sending out colonies. The Roman people, in the main, were still yeoman-farmers, who worked hard and lived plainly.

There were few citizens of great wealth or in extreme poverty. Copper was the only coinage until the Pyrrhic War; and even later a senator was struck from the list because he

owned ten pounds of silver plate. The legend of the patrician *Cincinnatus*¹ of the fifth century (called from the plow on his four-acre farm to become dictator and save Rome from the Aequians, and returning to the plow again in sixteen days) is more than matched by the sober history of *Manius Curio*, the conqueror of the Samnites and of Pyrrhus.

This great Roman was a Sabine peasant and a proud aristocrat. Plutarch tells us that, though he had "triumphed" thrice, he continued to live in a cottage on a little four-acre plot which he tilled with his own hands. Here the Samnite ambassadors found him dressing turnips in the chimney corner when they came to offer him a large present of gold. Curio refused the gift: "A man," said he, "who can be content with this supper hath no need of gold; and I count it glory, not to possess wealth, but to rule those who do."

351. Moral Character and Ideals. — Still, it is cheap moralizing to point out the barbaric virtues of a rude society in comparison with the luxury of refined times, and omit more important contrasts. Early Rome has come in for much such doubtful praise, but the real picture is by no means without shadows. The Roman was abstemious, haughty, obedient to law, self-controlled. His ideal was a man of iron will and stern discipline, devoted to the state, contemptuous of luxury, of suffering, and even of human sympathy if it conflicted with his duty to Rome. His model was still the first consul, Brutus, who in legend sent his guilty sons to the block unmoved;² and the great Latin war (338 B.C.) furnished a historical consul, *Manlius*, who, as Livy tells us, gloomily executed his gallant son for a glorious act of insubordination.³

With such men for her heroes, it is not strange that Rome made some peculiar boasts. For instance, the noble Samnite, Pontius, the victor of Caudine Forks, had magnanimously spared the Roman army; but when he became prisoner in turn, Rome saw only cause for pride in basely dragging him through

¹ § 326, note.

² Special report.

³ Special report.

the city in a triumph,¹ and then starving him to death in a dungeon. The Romans were coarse, cruel, and rapacious, as well as lofty-minded, brave, and obedient.

352. The Reaction of Magna Graecia upon Rome. — In manners and in morals Rome was a fair type of the Italians proper. The Etruscans and Greeks were softer and more luxurious, with more abject poverty among the masses.

After the war with Pyrrhus, the connection with Magna Graecia introduced Greek culture into Roman society, and wealth and luxury began to appear. At first the Romans as a whole did not show to advantage under the change. Too often it seemed only to veneer their native coarseness and brutality. At the same time, with the better minds, it did soften and refine character into a more lovable type than Italy had so far seen; and, from this time, Greek art and thought more and more worked upon Roman society.

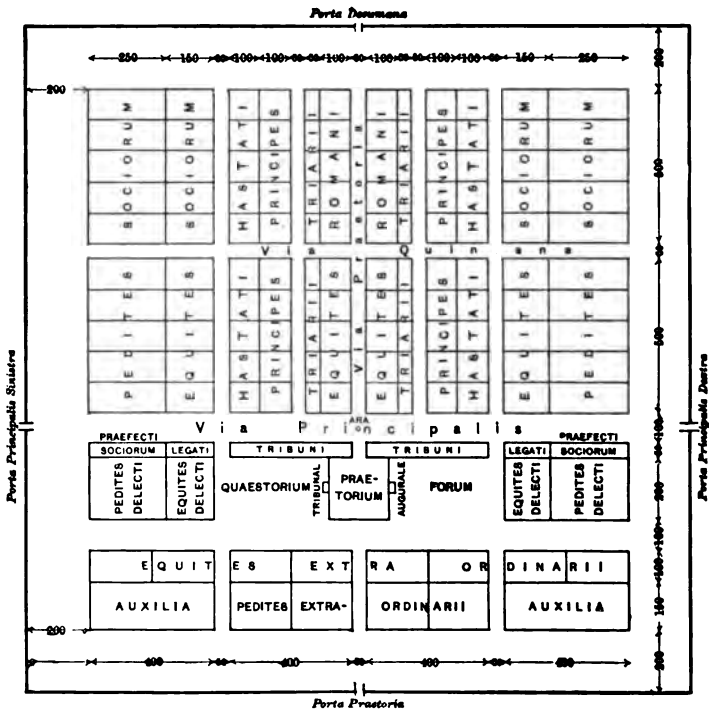
IV. THE ARMY.

353. The Flexible Legion. — The instrument with which the Roman state conquered the world can best be surveyed at this point, although the changes to be noted in § 356 took place somewhat later.

The Roman army under the kings was similar to the old Dorian organization. In Italy, as in Greece, the "knights" of earlier times had given way to a dense hoplite array, usually eight deep. In Greece the next step was to deepen and close the ranks still further into the massive Theban and Macedonian phalanx. In Italy, instead, they were broken up into three successive lines, and each line was divided further into small companies. The companies were usually six men deep with twenty in the front rank; and between each two companies there was a space equal to the front of a company.

¹ Applan describes a Roman "triumph" in a passage quoted in Munro's *Source Book*, 38-40.

Thus, if one line fell back, the companies of the line behind could advance through the intervals. Within a company, too, each soldier had about twice the space permitted in the phalanx.



THE ROMAN CAMP.

The arms of legion and phalanx differed also. The phalanx depended upon long spears. While it remained unbroken and could present its front, it was invulnerable; but if disordered by uneven ground, or if taken in flank, it was doomed. The legion used the hurling javelin to disorder the enemy's ranks before immediate contact (the modern musketry fire), and the famous Roman short sword for close combat (the modern

bayonet). Flexibility, individuality, and constancy took the place of the collective lance thrust of the unwieldy phalanx.¹

The legion numbered about five thousand, and was made up of Roman citizens. Each legion was accompanied by about five thousand men from the Allies. These *auxiliaries* served on the wings of the legion as light-armed troops, and they furnished also whatever cavalry the army had. The strength of the Roman army, however, lay in the infantry and especially in the legions.

354. The Roman camp was characteristic of a people whose colonies were garrisons. Where the army encamped — even if for only a single night — there grew up in an hour a fortified city, with earth walls and regular streets.² This system allowed the Romans often “to conquer by sitting still,” declining or giving battle at their own option; while, too, when they did fight, they did so “under the walls of their city,” with a fortified and guarded refuge in their rear.

355. Discipline.³ — The terrible discipline of early times remained. Without trial, the general could scourge or behead any man serving in his camp. Still more fearful was the practice of *decimating* a faulty corps (putting to death every tenth man).

356. Changes with Extension of Service: a Professional Army; Proconsuls. — Rome was now to begin a long series of great wars, waged, for the most part, outside Italy. Great changes resulted in the army. Service with the legions was still the highest duty of the citizen, and each man between the ages of seventeen and forty-six was liable to active duty. But, along-

¹ The two great fighting instruments, legion and phalanx, were not to come into final conflict until after 200 B.C. Meantime they remained supreme in the East and West respectively.

² Special report: the importance of these camps as the sites and foundation plans of cities over Europe, as at Chester (*Castra*), in England.

³ An interesting extract from Polybius is given in Munro's *Source Book*, 28, 29. Polybius was a Greek writer who lived long in Italy in the second century, B.C. For an outline of his life, see Munro's *Source Book*, 245, 246.

side this citizen-army, there was to grow up a *professional army*. New citizen legions were raised each year for the summer campaigns, as before, though more and more, even in these legions, the officers were veterans and were becoming a professional class; but the legions sent to Sicily, Spain, or Africa were kept under arms sometimes for many years.¹

Such facts led to another change, with important political consequences. To call home a consul each year from an unfinished campaign in these distant wars had become intolerably wasteful. The remedy was found in prolonging the commander's term, under the title of *proconsul*. This office was destined to become the strongest force in the Republic and a chief step toward the coming Empire.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Mommsen, I, 394-412, and II, 47-95 (also, though less important, *ib.* 96-128); Ihne, I, 428-451 and 537-575; Tighe, ch. vii; Pelham, 96-106; Granrud, *Roman Constitutional History*, 86-121.

EXERCISE. — The list of terms for drill and explanations should be much enlarged from this chapter.

¹ In particular, the long struggle in Spain after the close of the War with Hannibal (§ 385) operated in this way. Some twenty thousand soldiers were required for that province each year for half a century. There soon grew up a practice of settling such veterans, upon the expiration of their service, in military colonies in the provinces where they had served—the lands thus given them being regarded as a kind of service pension. In this way, communities of Roman citizens were to be spread over the provinces, to *Italianize the world*, as a like system of colonization had already Romanized Italy.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WINNING OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN, 264-146 B.C.

I. THE RIVALS—ITALY AND CARTHAGE.

357. Italy in 264 B.C. one of Five Great Mediterranean States.

—When Rome completed the union of Italy, in 266 (§ 333), Alexander the Great had been dead nearly fifty years. The long Wars of the Succession had closed, and the dominion of the eastern Mediterranean world was divided between the three great Greek kingdoms, Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia, with their numerous satellites (§§ 231-234). In the western Mediterranean, Carthage held undisputed sway. Now, between the three powers of the East and the single mistress of the West stood forth a new state, Roman Italy, destined to absorb them all.

The struggle for supremacy between these five Mediterranean powers filled the next hundred and twenty years. The first half of the period went to Roman conquests in the West (cf. § 257), at the expense of Carthage.

358. Carthage the Natural Rival of Rome in the West. — Carthage and Rome had been allied, just before, against Pyrrhus, their common enemy. But that gallant adventurer had seen that they were natural rivals; and, as he abandoned the West, he exclaimed longingly, "How fair a battle-field we are leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians!" In less than ten years the hundred-year conflict began.

Carthage¹ was an ancient Phoenician colony on the finest

¹ An excellent treatment of Carthage is given in Mommsen, bk. iii, ch. i. A more favorable view is found in Ihne, II, 3-21. See also Polybius, bk. i, chs. ii-lvi.

harbor in North Africa. Her government, in form, was a republic, somewhat like Rome, but in reality it was a narrow oligarchy controlled by a few wealthy families. Carthage was now at the height of her power. Polybius called her the richest city in the world. To her old naval supremacy she



CARTHAGINIAN COIN STRUCK IN SICILY. — Head of Persephone.



COIN OF HIERO II OF SYRACUSE.

(Note the greater delicacy of the Greek engraving.)

had added a vast land empire, including North Africa,¹ Sardinia, Corsica, half of Sicily, and the coasts of Spain. The western Mediterranean she regarded as a Punic² Lake; foreign sailors caught trespassing there were cast into the sea.

¹ In Africa alone Carthage ruled three hundred cities, and her territory merged into the desert where tributary nomads roamed.

² "Punic" is another form for "Phoenician," and is used as a shorter adjective for "Carthaginian."

Her Roman foes represented Carthage as wanting in honesty; and with biting irony they invented the term, "Punic faith," as a synonym for treachery. The slander became embalmed in speech, but it seems baseless. Carthage herself is "a dumb actor on the stage of history." She once had poetry, oratory, and philosophy, but none of it escaped Roman hate, to tell us how Carthaginians thought and felt. Rome wrote the history; but even from the Roman story, the charge of faithlessness and greed is most apparent against Rome.

However, the civilization of Carthage was of an Oriental type (§ 68). Her religion was the cruel and licentious worship of the Phoenician Baal and Astarte. Her armies were a motley mass of mercenaries. And though, like the mother Phoenician states (§ 50), she scattered wide the seeds of a material culture, like them also, she showed no power of assimilating inferior nations. The conquests of Rome were to be Romanized, but six centuries of Punic rule left the Berber tribes of Africa (§ 11, note 2) wholly outside Carthaginian society.

The contrast between the political systems of the two rivals is equally striking. Even her nearest and best subjects Carthage kept in virtual slavery. Says Mommsen (II, 155):—

"Carthage dispatched her overseers everywhere, and loaded even the old Phoenician cities with a heavy tribute, while her subject tribes were practically treated as state slaves. In this way there was not in the compass of the Carthagino-African state a single community, with the exception of Utica, that would not have been politically and materially benefited by the fall of Carthage; in the Romano-Italic there was not one that had not much more to lose than to gain in rebelling against a government which was careful to avoid injuring material interests, and which never, at least by extreme measures, challenged political opposition."

359. The Issue at Stake.—Thus, whatever our sympathy for Carthage and her hero leaders, we must see that the victory of Rome was a necessary condition for the welfare of the human race. The struggle was the conflict of Greece and Persia repeated by more stalwart actors on a western stage.

II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (THE WAR FOR SICILY).

360. Occasion. — When Rome conquered South Italy, she came necessarily into relations with the Greeks in Sicily, and so with Carthage. The great island of Sicily is really a continuation of the Italian peninsula. It reaches to within ninety miles of the African coast. A sunken ridge on the bed of the sea shows that it once joined the two continents, and it still forms a stepping-stone between them. For this middle land, European and African struggled for centuries. For two hundred years now it had been divided (§ 218), Syracuse holding the eastern half, Carthage the western.

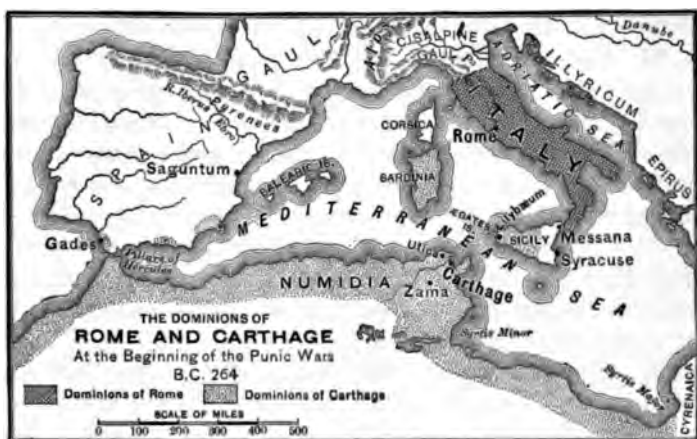
While Rome was still busy with the Pyrrhic war, an event happened which renewed the conflict for Sicily and drew Rome in as a chief actor. A band of Campanian mercenaries, on their way home from service under the tyrant of Syracuse, seized the city of Messana. The robbers called themselves *Mameritines* ("Sons of Mars"), and for several years they ravaged and plundered the northeast corner of Sicily. Now, in 265, they were hard pressed by Hiero II, the ruler of Syracuse, and one faction called in Carthage while another party appealed to Rome.

Both Syracuse and Carthage were allies of Rome, and it was not easy for that state to find excuse for defending the robbers. The desire to check Carthage and to extend Roman power, however, outweighed all caution, as well as all moral considerations. The Senate, indeed, could come to no decision; but the people, to whom it referred the question, voted promptly to send troops to Sicily, and, in 264, Roman legions for the first time crossed the seas. The war with Carthage that followed is known as the *First Punic War*.

361. Strength of the Parties. — Carthage was mistress of an empire huge but scattered and heterogeneous. Rome was the head of a small but compact nationality. The strength of Carthage lay in her wealth and navy. Her weak points were: the jealousy felt by the ruling families at home toward their

own successful generals; the difficulty of dealing with her mercenaries; the danger of revolt among her Libyan subjects; and the fact that an invading army, after one victory, would find no resistance outside her walls, since her jealousy had leveled the defenses of her tributary towns in Africa.

Rome was strong in the patriotism and vigor of her people, in the discipline of her legions, and in the fidelity of her allies. Her weakness lay in the want of a better military system than



the one of annually-changing officers and short-term soldiers,¹ and in the total lack of a navy.

362. General Progress ; Value of the Control of the Sea.—The war lasted twenty-three years, and is ranked by Polybius above all previous wars for severity. Few conflicts illustrate better the value of naval superiority. At first the Carthaginians were undisputed masters of the sea. They therefore reënforced their troops in Sicily at pleasure, and ravaged the coasts of Italy to the utter ruin of seaboard prosperity. Indeed, for a time they made good their warning to the Roman Senate

¹ The military changes referred to in § 356 had not yet taken place.

before the war began,—that against their will no Roman could dip his hands in the sea.

363. Rome becomes a Sea Power. — But the Romans, with sagacity and boldness, built their first war fleet and soon met the ancient Queen of the Seas on her own element. Winning command there temporarily,¹ in 256, they invaded Africa itself. The consul Regulus won brilliant successes there, and even laid siege to Carthage. But, as winter came on, the short-term Roman levies were mostly recalled, according to custom, and the weak remnant was soon crushed.²

364. Rome's Patriotism and Enterprise. — Rome's first attempts upon the sea had been surprisingly successful, but soon terrible reverses befell her there also. In quick succession she lost four great fleets with large armies on board. One sixth of her citizens had perished; the treasury was empty; and, in despair, the Senate was about to abandon the effort to secure the sea. In this crisis Rome was saved by the public spirit of private citizens. Lavish gifts built and fitted out two hundred vessels, and this fleet won an overwhelming victory, which closed the war.

365. Peace; Sicily becomes Roman. — Carthage had lost command of the sea and could no longer reënforce her armies in Sicily. Moreover, she was weary of the war and of the

¹ Special report: the new naval tactics of the Romans (Mommsen, II, 173-176; Ihne, II, 50-55). Despite real genius in the device by which Rome changed a naval into a land battle to so great a degree, her immediate victory at sea over the veteran navy of Carthage is explicable chiefly on the supposition that the "Roman" navy was furnished by the "allies" in Magna Graecia. The story of Polybius that Rome built her fleet in two months on the model of a stranded Carthaginian vessel, and meantime trained her sailors to row sitting on the sand (see Munro, 79-80), must be in the main a quaint invention. See Ihne, II, 52-55, or, more briefly, How and Leigh, 152. Mommsen (II, 43-46) outlines the history of the Roman navy for sixty years before the war, and (II, 172-176) gives a possible meaning to the old account by Polybius.

² Special report: the story of Regulus, and modern criticism of it (Mommsen, II, 184, note; Ihne, II, 78-81). The lesson of the need of a more permanent army for distant warfare was not forgotten. Cf. § 356.

losses it brought to her commerce; and, in 241, she sued for peace. To obtain it she withdrew from Sicily and paid a heavy war indemnity. Hiero, who after the first years of the war had become a faithful ally of Rome, remained master of Syracuse. *The rest of Sicily passed under the rule of Rome.*

III. FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, 241-218 B.C.

(The Expansion of Italy to its Natural Borders, and the Organization of the New Conquests.)

366. The Addition of Sardinia and Corsica. — Sagacious Romans looked forward to another struggle with Carthage. That conflict, however, did not come for twenty-three years. Meantime Rome pushed wider the borders of Italy. When the mercenaries of Carthage were withdrawn from Sicily to Africa, they were left unpaid and they soon broke into revolt. The Libyan tribes joined the rising, and a ferocious struggle followed between Carthage and the rebels. The war is known as the War of the Mercenaries, and sometimes as the Inexpiable War. At last the great Carthaginian leader, *Hamilcar Barca*, stamped out the revolt in Africa; but meantime the movement had spread to Sardinia and Corsica, and, in 238, the rebels offered these islands to Rome.

The temptation was too much for Roman honor. The offer was shamelessly accepted, and a protest from distracted Carthage was met sternly by a threat of war. The islands became Roman possessions, and the Tyrrhenian Sea was turned into a Roman lake.

367. The Adriatic a Roman Sea. — This period marks also the first Roman enterprise on the east of Italy. Illyria had risen into a considerable state, in friendly relations with Macedonia. The Illyrian coasts were the homes of countless pirates, who swarmed forth in great fleets to harry the commerce of the adjoining waters. Finally these pirates even captured Coreyra. Other Greek towns complained loudly to

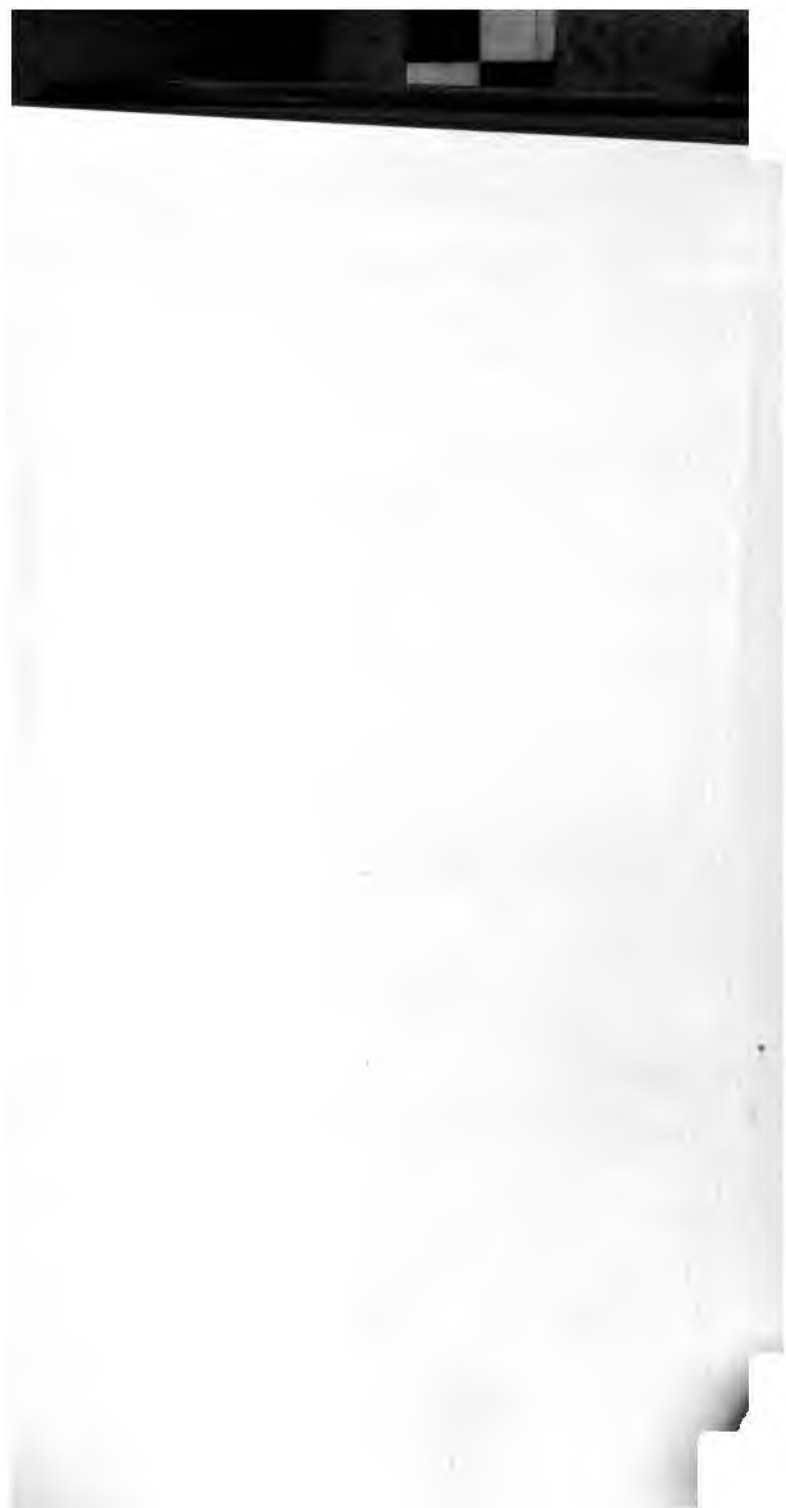
Rome. Rome sent a haughty embassy to demand order from the Illyrian queen. The embassy was assaulted murderously, and Rome declared war. In a brief campaign (229 B.C.) she swept the pirates from the Adriatic and forced Illyria to sue for peace. The Adriatic had become a Roman water-way. At this time Rome kept no territory on the eastern coast; but the Greek cities had learned to look to her for protection, and accordingly Macedonia began to regard her with a jealous eye.

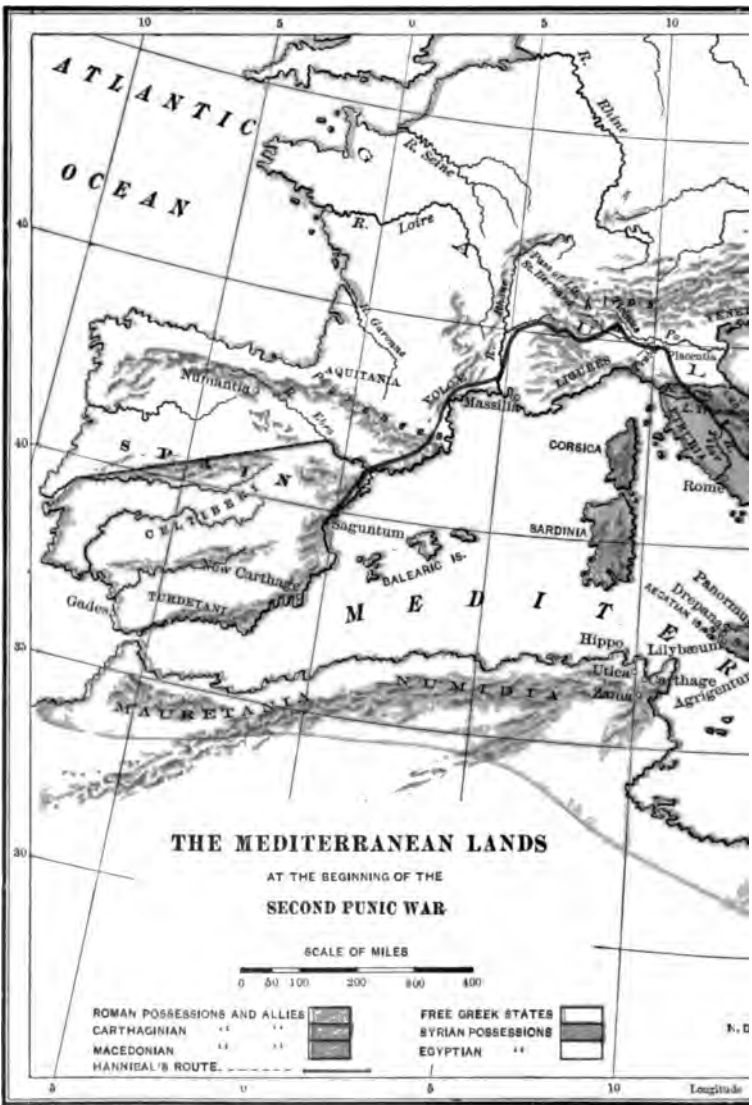
368. The Addition of Cisalpine Gaul. — A few years later came a great addition of territory on the north. Rome had begun to plant colonies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. Naturally the Gauls were alarmed and angered, and, in 225, for the last time they threatened Italy. They penetrated to within three days' march of Rome; but Italian patriotism rallied around the endangered capital, and the barbarians were crushed.

Then Rome resolutely took the offensive, and, by 222, Cisalpine Gaul had become a Roman possession, garrisoned by numerous colonies and traversed by a great military road. *At last Rome had pushed her northern boundary from the low Apennines to the great crescent wall of the Alps.*¹

369. Organization of the Conquests outside of Italy: the Provincial System. — On the whole, Rome had been generous and wise in her treatment of united Italy; but all her conquests since the war with Pyrrhus (Cisalpine Gaul as truly as the islands) were looked upon as outside of Italy (§ 255). The distance of the new possessions from Rome and the character of the countries seemed to make impossible in them the kind

¹ EXERCISE. — Observe carefully the steps of Roman expansion from 367 to 222. The period 367-266 consolidated Apennine Italy (§ 255). In the next fifty years this narrow "Italy" had been rounded out to its true borders by three great steps. (1) The First Punic War, filling half the period, added Sicily. (2) The other great islands bounding Italian waters on the west were seized soon after, treacherously, from Carthage in the hour of her death-struggle with her revolted troops. (3) Then, having provoked the Gauls to war, Rome became mistress of the valley of the Po. Meantime Roman authority had been successfully asserted, also, in the sea bordering Italy on the east.









of government given to the "allies" and municipia in Italy proper. Unfortunately, Rome proved unable to devise a new form of government, and she fell back upon the idea of præfectures (§ 340). The new acquisitions became strictly subject possessions of Rome, and they were ruled much as the præfectures were in Italy.

Sicily, the first possession outside of Italy (241 B.C.), was managed temporarily by a Roman prætor; but in 227, when some semblance of order had been introduced into Sardinia and Corsica, the Senate adopted a permanent plan of government for all these islands. Two additional prætors, it was decided, should be elected each year,— one to rule Sicily, the other for the two other islands. The two governments received the name of *provinces*.

This was the beginning of the provincial system that was to spread finally far beyond these "suburbs of Italy."¹ Soon afterward Cisalpine Gaul was organized in a like manner, though it was not given the title of a province until much later.

IV. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (SOMETIMES STYLED "THE WAR FOR SPAIN"²), 218-202 B.C.

370. Occasion. — Carthage was not ready to resign the sovereignty of the Western Mediterranean without another struggle. Rome's policy of "blunder and plunder" in seizing Sardinia gave her excuse enough to renew the contest if she could find leaders and resources. These were both furnished by the great *Barca* family.

Hamilcar Barca had been the greatest general and the only hero of the First Punic War. From Rome's high-handed treachery in Sardinia he imbibed a deathless hatred for that state; and immediately after putting down the War of the Mercenaries he began to prepare for another conflict. To

¹ The features of the system are treated in §§ 414-417.

² Spain was the important territory that passed to Rome as a result of the war, but the struggle did not begin as a war for Spain.

offset the loss of the great Mediterranean islands, he sought to extend Carthaginian dominion over Spain. The mines of that country, he saw, would furnish the needful wealth, and its hardy tribes, when disciplined, would make an infantry which might meet even the legions of Rome.

371. Hannibal. — When Hamilcar was about to cross to Spain, in 236, he swore his son *Hannibal* at the altar to eternal hostility to Rome. Hannibal was then a boy of nine years. He followed Hamilcar to the wars, and, as a youth, became a dashing cavalry officer and the idol of the soldiery. He used his camp leisure to store his mind with all the culture of Greece. At twenty-six he succeeded to the command in Spain. In rare degree he possessed the ability to secure the devotion of fickle, mercenary troops. He was a statesman of a high order, and possibly the greatest captain in history. The Second Punic War takes its keenest interest from his dazzling career, and even the Roman historians called that struggle the "War with Hannibal."

No friendly pen has left us a record of Hannibal. Roman annalists, indeed, have sought to stain his fame with envious slander. But, through it all, his character shines out chivalrous, noble, heroic.¹ Says Colonel Dodge: "Putting aside Roman hate, there is not in history a figure more noble in purity, more radiant in patriotism, more heroic in genius, more pathetic in its misfortunes."

372. Hannibal at Saguntum; Rome declares War, 218 B.C. — Hannibal continued the work of his great father in Spain. He made the southern half of that rich land a Carthaginian province and organized it thoroughly. Then he rapidly carried the Carthaginian frontier to the Ebro, collected a magnificent army of over a hundred thousand men, and besieged Saguntum, an ancient Greek colony near the east coast.

¹ On Hannibal, read Mommsen, II, 243-245; Ihne, II, 147-152, 170, 190, 191, 251; Smith's *Rome and Carthage*; and, if accessible, Dodge's *Hannibal*, 614-653.

Fearing Carthaginian advance, Saguntum had sought Roman alliance; and now, when Carthage refused to recall Hannibal, Rome, in alarm and anger, declared war (218 B.C.).

373. Hannibal's Invasion of Italy to Cannae.—The Second Punic War (218–202 B.C.) was somewhat shorter than the First, but it was an even more strenuous struggle. Rome had intended to take the offensive: indeed, she dispatched one consul in a leisurely way to Spain, and started the other for Africa by way of Sicily. But Hannibal's audacious rapidity threw into confusion all his enemy's plans. In five months he had crossed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, fighting his way through the Gallic tribes; forced the unknown passes of the Alps, under conditions that made it a feat paralleled only by Alexander's passage of the Hindukush; and, leaving the bones of three fourths his army between the Ebro and the Po, startled Italy by appearing in Cisalpine Gaul, with twenty-six thousand "heroic shadows."

With these "emaciated scarecrows" the same fall he swiftly destroyed two hastily gathered Roman armies—at the *Ticinus* and at the *Trebia*. Then the recently pacified Gallic tribes rallied turbulently to swell his ranks. The following spring he crossed the Apennines, caught a Roman army of forty thousand men, blinded with morning mist, near *Lake Trasimene*, and annihilated it, and then carried fire and sword through Italy.

374. Cannae.—The wary Roman dictator, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, adopted the wise tactics of delay,¹ to wear out Hannibal and to gain breathing time for Rome. But popular demagogues murmured that the Senate protracted the war to gain glory for the aristocratic generals, and the following summer the new consuls were given ninety thousand men—far the largest army Rome had ever put in the field—with orders to crush the daring invader. The result was the battle

¹ From which we get the term "Fabian Policy." Fabius was given the nickname "Cunctator" (Laggard) by the Roman populace.

of *Cannae*—“a carnival of cold steel, a butchery, not a battle.” Hannibal lost six thousand men. Rome lost sixty thousand dead and twenty thousand prisoners. A consul, a fourth of the senators, nearly all the officers, and over a fifth of the fighting population of the city, perished. The camps of her two armies fell into Carthaginian hands, and Hannibal sent home a bushel of gold rings from the hands of fallen Roman nobles.¹

375. Fidelity of the Latins and Italians to Rome.—The victory, however, yielded little fruit. Hannibal’s only real chance within Italy had been that brilliant victories might break up the Italian confederacy and bring over to his side the subjects of Rome. Accordingly, he freed his Italian prisoners without ransom, proclaiming that he warred only on Rome and that he came to liberate Italy.

The mountain tribes of the south, eager for plunder, did join him, as did one great city, *Capua*. Three years later, too, a cruel Roman blunder drove some of the Greek towns into his arms. But the other cities—colonies, Latins, or Allies—closed their gates as resolutely as Rome herself,—and so gave marvelous testimony to the excellence of Roman rule and to the national spirit it had fostered.

376. Rome’s Grandeur in Disaster.—Rome’s own greatness showed grandly in the hour of terror after *Cannae*, when any other people would have given up the conflict in despair. A plot among some faint-hearted nobles to abandon Italy was stifled in the camp; and the surviving consul, Varro, courageously set himself to reorganize the pitiful wreckage of his army.² Before the end of the year, another army under a new

¹ Special reports: (1) The heroic story of the marvelous passage of the Alps; (2) *Trasimene*; (3) *Cannae*. (Good accounts of these battles, with excellent maps, are given in How and Leigh.) (4) Why did Hannibal not attack Rome itself after *Cannae*? (5) Hannibal in South Italy after *Cannae*.

² Varro had been elected in a bitter partisan struggle, as the champion of the democratic party, against the unanimous opposition of the Aristocracy. With undoubted merits in personal character, he had proved utterly lack-

consul was cut to pieces, and by losses elsewhere the Senate had fallen to less than half its numbers;¹ but with stern temper and splendid tenacity Rome refused even to receive Hannibal's envoys or to consider his moderate proposals for peace.²

A third of the adult males of Italy had fallen in battle in three years or were in camp, so that all industry was demoralized. Still taxes were doubled, and the rich gave cheerfully even beyond these crushing demands. The days of mourning for the dead were shortened by a decree of the government. Rome refused to recall a man from Sicily or Spain. Indeed, she sent out new armies to those places, and by enrolling slaves, old men, boys, and the criminals from the prisons (arming them with the sacred trophies in the temples), she managed to put two hundred and fifty thousand troops into the field.

377. Neglect of the Sea by Carthage, and Lack of Concerted Action by her Allies.—Hannibal's other possible chance (that outside Italy) lay in arousing a general Mediterranean war and in receiving strong reinforcements from Carthage. Philip V of Macedon did ally himself with Hannibal, but acted timidly and too late. Syracuse, too, joined Carthage; but its new tyrant was incapable, and, in 212, the city was taken by the Romans, after a memorable three years' siege.³ Strangely,

ing in military talent. Indeed, he had forced his wiser colleague to give battle, and his poor generalship was largely responsible for the disaster. He now returned to Rome, expecting to face stern judges. At Carthage a general so placed would probably have been nailed to a cross. At Rome, faction and criticism were silenced, and the Senate showed its own nobility by publicly giving its thanks to the general "because he had not despaired of the republic."

¹ One hundred and seventy-seven new members were enrolled the next year.

² According to a somewhat doubtful story, Rome refused in this crisis to ransom prisoners. Much as she needed her soldiers back, she preferred, so the story goes, to teach her citizens that they ought at such a time to die for the republic rather than surrender.

³ A siege notable for the scientific inventions of Archimedes (§ 259) used in the defense. The philosopher was killed in the indiscriminate massacre that followed the capture.

Carthage made no serious attempt to secure command of the sea, and so failed to send troops to Hannibal.¹ On the other hand, Rome guarded her coasts with efficient fleets, and transported her armies at will.

378. The Scipios and Hasdrubal in Spain.—Rome now strained every nerve for success abroad, where Hannibal could not act in person. Step by step the Roman generals, the Scipio brothers, forced back the Carthaginian frontier in Spain, and for many years ruined all Hannibal's hopes of reënforcement by land. At last, in 211, Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, won a great victory, and the two Scipios perished; but Rome promptly hurried in fresh forces under the young *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who in masterly fashion, for three years more, continued the work of his father and uncle.

379. Changed Character of the War in Italy after Cannae.—In Italy itself, the policy of Fabius was again adopted, varied by the telling blows of the vigorous soldier, Marcellus, who was called the "Sword" of Rome, as Fabius was called her "Shield." Hannibal's hopes had been blasted in the moment of victory. Rome fell back upon an iron constancy and steadfast caution. Her Italian subjects showed a steady fidelity even more ominous to the invader. Carthage proved neglectful, and her allies lukewarm.

Against such conditions all the great African's genius in war and in diplomacy wore itself out in vain. For thirteen years after Cannae he maintained himself in Italy without reënforcement in men or money,—always winning a battle when he could engage the enemy in the field,—and directing operations as best he might in Spain, Sicily, Macedonia, and Africa. But it was a war waged by one supreme genius against the most powerful and resolute nation in the world.

380. "Hannibal at the Gates."—One more dramatic scene marked Hannibal's career in Italy. The Romans had besieged

¹ Read Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power in History*, 14-21, and also Introduction, iv-vii.

Capua. In a daring attempt to relieve his ally, Hannibal marched to the very walls of Rome, ravaging the fields about the city. The Romans, however, were not to be enticed out to a rash engagement, nor could the army around Capua be drawn from its prey. The only result of Hannibal's desperate stroke was the fruitless fright he gave Rome, — such that for generations Roman mothers stilled their children by the terror-bearing phrase, "Hannibal at the Gates!" Roman stories relate, however, that citizens were found, even in that hour of fear, to show a defiant confidence by buying eagerly at a public sale the land where the invader lay encamped.

381. Hannibal's Forces Worn Out.—And so the struggle entered upon its last, long, wasting stage. It became a record of sieges and marches and countermarches, in which Hannibal's genius was as marvelous as ever, earning him from modern military critics the title, "Father of Strategy," but in which there are no more of the dazzling results that mark the first campaigns. Hannibal's Spanish veterans died off, and had to be replaced as best they might by local recruits in Italy; and gradually the Romans learned the art of war from their great enemy.

"With the battle of Cannae the breathless interest in the war ceases; its surging mass, broken on the walls of the Roman fortresses, . . . foams away in ruin and devastation through south Italy, — ever victorious, ever receding. Rome, assailed on all sides by open foe and forsworn friend, driven to her last man and last coin, 'ever great and greater grows' in the strength of her strong will and loyal people, widening the circle round her with rapid blows in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Macedon, while she slowly loosens the grip fastened on her throat at home, till in the end . . . the final fight on African sands at the same moment closes the struggle for life and seats her mistress of the world." — HOW AND LEIGH, 199.

382. The Second Carthaginian Invasion. — Meantime, in Spain, Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, had been contending against the crushing force of the Scipios, with the skill and devotion of his house. Finally, in 208, by able maneuvers, he eluded the Roman generals, and started with a veteran army to reën-

force Hannibal. Rome's peril was never greater than when this second son of Barca crossed the Alps successfully with fifty-six thousand men and fifteen elephants.

The Republic put forth its supreme effort. One hundred and fifty thousand men were thrown between the two Carthaginian armies, which together numbered some eighty thousand. By a fortunate chance the Romans captured a messenger from Hasdrubal and so learned his plans, while Hannibal was still ignorant of his approach. This gave a decisive advantage, and the opportunity was well used. The consul, *Claudius Nero*, with audacity learned of Hannibal himself, left part of his force to deceive that leader, and, hurrying northward with the speed of life and death, joined the other consul and fell upon Hasdrubal with crushing numbers at the *Metaurus*. The ghastly head of his long-expected brother, flung with brutal contempt into his camp,¹ was the first notice to Hannibal of the ruin of his family and his cause.

383. Scipio carries the War into Africa.—Still Hannibal remained invincible in the mountains of southern Italy. But Rome now carried the war into Africa. After Hasdrubal left Spain, Scipio rapidly subdued the whole peninsula, and, in 204, he persuaded the Senate to send him with a great army against Carthage itself. Two years later, to meet this peril, Carthage recalled Hannibal. That great leader obeyed sadly, "leaving the country of his enemy," says Livy, "with more regret than many an exile has left his own."

This event marks the end of all hope of Carthaginian success. The same year (202 B.C.) the struggle closed with Hannibal's first and only defeat, at the battle of *Zama*.² Carthage lay at the mercy of the victor, and sued for peace. She gave up Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean; surren-

¹ This deed was in strange contrast to the chivalrous treatment that Hannibal gave to the bodies of Marcellus and of the Roman generals at Cannae and elsewhere.

² Zama was a village a little to the south of Carthage. Special reports: the story of the battle; the career of Hannibal after the war.

dered her war elephants and all her ships of war save ten; paid a huge war indemnity, which was intended to keep her poor for many years; and became a dependent ally of Rome, promising to wage no war without Roman consent. Scipio received the proud surname *Africanus*.¹

384. Result of the Second Punic War: Rome Mistress of the West. — Rome had been fighting for existence, but she had won world-dominion.² *In the West no rival remained*, and her subsequent warfare there was to be only with unorganized barbarians. In the East the result was to show more slowly; but there, too, Roman victory was now only a *matter of time*. No civilized power was again to threaten Rome by invading Italy, and the mighty kingdoms of Alexander's realms were to be absorbed, one by one, into her empire.

This imperial destiny was more than Rome had planned. Italy she had designed to rule. The West had fallen to her as

¹ A Roman had at least three names. The gentile name was the *nomen*, the most important of the three; it came in the middle. The third (the *cognomen*) marked the family. The first (*praenomen*) was the individual name (like our baptismal names). Then a Roman often received also a surname for some achievement or characteristic. Thus *Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus* was the individual Publius of the Scipio family of the great Cornelian gens, surnamed Africanus for his conquest of Africa. The first name was often abbreviated in writing. The most common of these abbreviations were: C. for Caius (Gaius); Cn. for Gnaeus; L. for Lucius; M. for Marcus; P. for Publius; Q. for Quintus; T. for Titus. In this volume these names are always given in full, but the student will find this table convenient in reading larger works.

² One result of the war should be noted beside the acquisition of new territory abroad. This is the terrible vengeance Rome visited upon her few unfaithful allies at home. Syracuse had been sacked mercilessly while the war was in progress. Its works of art, the accumulations of centuries, were destroyed or removed to Rome; and it never recovered its former eminence in culture, commerce, or power. Still more harsh was the fate of Capua, which had ranked as the second city of Italy. As a city it ceased to exist. Its leading men were massacred; most of the rest of the population were sold as slaves; the few remaining settlers were governed by a prefect from Rome; and colonies of Roman veterans were planted on its lands. The Greek cities of the south and the mountain tribes that had joined Hannibal lost lands and privileges. And Cisalpine Gaul was thoroughly Romanized by many a cruel campaign.

the heir of Carthage. In the East she hesitated honestly, until events thrust dominion upon her there also.¹ (Cf. §§ 393, 394, 400.)

The Roman policy in the West for the next fifty years is the topic of Division V. Logically it is part of the story we have been telling, and therefore the account is put in this chapter. The trend of events in the East is so different that a separate chapter (chapter vii) is given to expansion in that direction, although the story covers the same half century.

V. THE WEST FROM 201 TO 146 B.C.

A. SPAIN.

385. Spain's Heroic War of Independence.—Rome had still much work to do in the West. A land route to Spain had to be secured; and the mountain tribes in that peninsula and in the islands had to be thoroughly subdued. This involved tedious wars, not always waged with credit to Roman honor.

In Spain two new provinces were created, for which two governors were elected annually by the Roman Senate. Some of these governors proved rapacious; others were incompetent; and the proud and warlike tribes of Spain were driven into a long war for independence.

The struggle was marked by the heroic leadership of the Spanish patriot, *Viriathus*, and by much Roman baseness. A Roman general massacred a tribe which had submitted. Another general procured the assassination of *Viriathus* by hired murderers. Rome itself rejected treaties after they had saved Roman armies. Spanish towns, which had been captured after gallant resistance, were wiped from the face of the earth, so that other towns chose wholesale suicide rather than surrender to Roman cruelty.²

¹ This hesitancy in the East was due, in part at least, to respect for Greek civilization, to which Rome was beginning to owe more and more.

² Read Mommsen, III, 215-234, for a study of this miserable period.

386. Final Romanization. — Still, despite these miserable means, Roman conquest in the end was to be a blessing to Spain. The struggle in the most inaccessible districts went on until 133, but long before that year the greater part of the land had been Romanized. Traders and speculators flocked to the seaports; the Roman legionaries, quartered in Spain for many years at a time, married Spanish wives, and, when relieved from military service, settled there. No sooner were the restless interior tribes fully subdued than there appeared the promise — to be well kept later — that Spain would become “more Roman than Rome itself.”

Meantime (about 188) Rome had secured a land road, through southern Gaul, from Italy to Spain. This was obtained in the main by friendly alliance with the ancient Greek city Massilia; but there was also some warfare with the Gaulish tribes, which laid the foundations for a new Roman province in South Gaul in the near future (§ 454, note).

B. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR (THE WAR FOR AFRICA).

387. Rome seeks Perfidious Pretext against Carthage. — Even before Spain was pacified, hatred and greed had led Rome to seize the remaining realms of Carthage. That state was now powerless for harm. But Roman fear was cruel, and a long series of persecutions forced a needless conflict relentlessly upon the unhappy Carthaginians. The Third Punic War was marked by the blackest perfidy on the part of Rome and by the final desperate heroism of Carthage.

First, that city was called upon to surrender Hannibal to Roman vengeance.¹ Then it was vexed by constant annoyances in Africa on the part of Massinissa, Prince of Numidia. Massinissa had been Rome's ally in the latter part of the Second

¹ When the hero escaped to the East, Roman petty hatred followed him from country to country, until, to avoid falling into Roman hands, he took his own life, “proving in a lifelong struggle with fate, that success is in no way necessary to greatness.”

Punic War, and had been rewarded by new dominions carved out of Carthaginian territory. Now, encouraged by Rome, he encroached more and more, seizing piece after piece of the district that had been left to the vanquished city.

Repeatedly Carthage appealed to Rome, but her just complaints brought no redress. The Roman commissioners that were sent to act as arbiters — with secret orders beforehand to favor Massinissa — carried back to Rome only a greater fear of the reviving wealth of Carthage, and told the astonished Roman Senate of a city with crowded streets, with treasury and arsenals full, and with its harbors thronged with shipping. From this time (157 B.C.) the narrow-minded but zealous *Cato* closed every speech in the Senate, no matter what the subject, with the phrase "*Delenda est Carthago*" (Carthage must be blotted out).

388. Rome declares War ; Carthage is treacherously disarmed. — Still the caution of Carthage gave no handle to Roman hate; until at last, when Massinissa had pushed his seizures almost up to the gates, Carthage took up arms. By her treaty with Rome she had promised to engage in no war without Roman permission; and Rome at once snatched at the excuse to declare war.

In vain, terrified Carthage punished her leaders and offered abject submission. The Roman Senate would only promise that the city should be left independent if it complied with the further demands of Rome, to be announced on African soil. The Roman fleet and army proceeded to Carthage, and an act of masterful treachery was played out by successive steps.

First, at the demand of the Roman general, Carthage sent to the Roman camp three hundred boys from the noblest families, as hostages, amid the tears and outcries of the mothers. Then, on further command, the city dismantled its walls and stripped its arsenals, sending in long lines of wagons to the Roman army 3000 catapults and 200,000 stand of arms, with vast military supplies. Next the shipping was all surrendered.

Finally, now that the city was supposed to be utterly defenseless, came the announcement that it must be destroyed and the people removed to some spot ten miles inland from the sea on which from dim antiquity they had founded their wealth and power.

389. The Heroic Resistance of Carthage. — Despair blazed into passionate wrath, and the Carthaginians fitly chose death rather than ruin and exile. Carelessly enough, the Roman army remained at a distance for some days. Meanwhile the dismantled and disarmed town became one great workshop for war. Women gave their hair to make cords for catapults; the temples were ransacked for arms, and torn down for timber and metal; and to the angry dismay of Rome, Carthage stood a four-years' siege, holding out heroically against famine, pestilence, and war.

At last, in 146, the legions forced their way over the walls. For seven days more, the fighting continued from house to house, until at last a miserable remnant surrendered, — fifty thousand of a population of seven hundred thousand. The commander Hasdrubal¹ at the last moment made his peace with the Roman general; but his disdainful wife, taunting him from the burning temple roof as he knelt at Scipio's feet, slew their two boys and cast herself with them into the ruins. Numbers more chose likewise to die in the flames rather than pass into Roman slavery.

390. Carthage is "blotted out"; the Province of Africa. — For many days the city was given up to pillage. Then, by express orders from Rome, it was burned to the ground, and its site was plowed up, sown to salt, and cursed.

To carry out this crime fell to the lot of one of the purest and noblest characters Rome ever produced, — *Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus*, the nephew and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus, known himself as *Africanus the Younger*. As he watched the smoldering ruins (they burned for seventeen days)

¹ Not the Barcide Hasdrubal, of course.

with his friend Polybius the historian, Scipio spoke his fear that some day Rome might suffer a like fate, and he was heard to repeat Homer's lines: —

“Yet come it will, the day decreed by fate,
The day when thou, Imperial Troy, must bend,
And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end.”

What was left of the ancient territory of Carthage became the *Province of Africa*, with the capital at Utica. Two centuries later, under the Roman Empire, North Africa became a chief seat of Roman civilization.¹

FOR FURTHER READING. — Ancient writers: With the beginning of the Second Punic War, Livy becomes an important authority (his account of the First War unfortunately is among the lost books of his *History*). Polybius wrote nearer the times (at the close of the Third War), and is the greater historian; some valuable extracts are given in Munro's *Source Book*, 79-91. Plutarch's *Lives* (“Fabius,” “Marcellus”) make fascinating reading.

Mommsen (bk. iii, chs. i-ii, iv-vii) and Ihne (II, 3-115, 143-484, and III, 320-407) continue to be the two great modern guides. Pelham's excellence for certain parts of the story is noted in the text; his arrangement is admirable. How and Leigh gives a clear and full narrative. For the struggle with Carthage, Smith's *Rome and Carthage* (Epochs) is convenient; and students will enjoy Church's *Carthage* (Story of the Nations). For the First Punic War, Freeman's *Story of Sicily* (ch. xiv) is good. For the Second Punic War, Arnold's *History* is perhaps the best narrative. See, also, Dodge's *Hannibal* (Captains) and Morris' *Hannibal* (Heroes).

REVIEW EXERCISE. — Catchword review of Roman expansion in the West from 264 to 146.

¹ Special reports: the final siege of Carthage; Massinissa and the kingdom he created; Africanus the Younger, character and work.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WINNING OF THE EAST, 201-146 B.C.

I. AN ATTEMPT AT PROTECTORATES.

391. Earlier Beginnings: the Illyrian Pirates; the First Macedonian War. — Ever since the repulse of Pyrrhus, Rome had been drifting into contact with the Greek kingdoms of the East. With Egypt she had a friendly alliance and close commercial intercourse. Between the First and the Second Punic War, too, she had chastised the formidable pirates of the Illyrian coasts, and so, as the guardian of order, had come into friendly relations with some of the cities in Greece (§ 367).

Further than this, Rome showed no desire to go. But Macedonia, the nearest of the great Greek kingdoms, was growing fearful of Roman encroachment; and, in 214, Philip V of Macedonia joined himself to Hannibal against Rome (§ 377). The war with Macedonia which followed is known as the *First Macedonian War*. Rome entered upon it only to prevent a Macedonian invasion of Italy, and she waged it by means of her Ætolian allies.¹ It closed in 205, without any especial change in Eastern affairs, but it made later struggles natural.

392. Second Macedonian War. — In 205, Philip V of Macedon and Antiochus of Syria tried to seize Egypt, left just then to a boy king. Egypt was an ally of Rome. Moreover, it was already becoming the granary of the Mediterranean, and Rome could not wisely see it pass into hostile hands. Philip also attacked Athens, another of Rome's allies, and as soon as Rome's hands were freed by the peace with Carthage (201 B.C.),

¹ Ætolia had sought Roman protection against Macedonia and had been recognized as an "ally" (§ 251).

the Senate persuaded the wearied Assembly to enter upon the *Second Macedonian War* (201-196 B.C.).

At first Philip won some success, and began to overrun Greece; but in 198 the Senate intrusted the war to *Flamininus*, who was to be the first Roman conqueror in the East. Flamininus was one of the group of young Romans about Scipio Aemilianus imbued with Hellenic culture and chivalrous ideals. His appointment proved particularly grateful to the Greek allies of Rome, and his excellent generalship quickly put Philip on the defensive.

The decisive battle was fought at *Cynoscephalae* (Dog's heads), a group of low hills in Thessaly; and the result was due, not to generalship, but to the fighting qualities of the soldiery. The two armies were of nearly equal size. They met in mist and rain, and the engagement was brought on by a chance encounter of scouting parties. The pliable legion proved its superiority over the unwieldy phalanx (§ 353). The Roman loss was 700; the Macedonian, 13,000.

Philip was left at the mercy of the victor, but the chivalrous Flamininus gave generous terms. Macedonia, it is true, sank into a second-rate power, and became a dependent ally of Rome. But Rome herself *took no territory*. Macedonia's possessions in Greece were taken from her, and Flamininus proclaimed that the Greeks were "free." The many Greek states, along with Rhodes and Pergamum and the other small states of Asia, became Rome's grateful allies. In name they were equals of Rome; in fact, they were *Roman protectorates*.¹

393. The War with Antiochus of Syria.—Meanwhile Antiochus had sheltered Hannibal and had been plundering Egypt's possessions in Asia. Now he turned to seize Thrace, Greece, Pergamum, and Rhodes. Rome sincerely dreaded a conflict with the "Great King," the Lord of Asia, but she had no choice. The struggle proved easy and brief. In the second

¹ That is, Rome controlled all the foreign relations of each of these states, — at least, whenever she cared to do so.

campaign, in 190, Roman legions for the first time invaded Asia, and at *Magnesia*,¹ in Lydia, they shattered the power of Syria. That kingdom was reduced in territory and power, somewhat as Macedonia had been, but Rome still kept nothing for herself. Her allies were rewarded with gifts of territory; and most of the Greek cities and small states of Asia were declared free, and really became friendly dependents of Rome.

394. Rome drawn on, against her Will, to this System of Eastern Protectorates.²—Thus, in eleven years (200–190 B.C.) after the close of the Second Punic War, Rome had set up a virtual protectorate over all the realms of Alexander's successors. This had come about, too, without definite self-seeking on her part; and so far she seemed unwilling to *annex* any eastern territory.

But this position was unstable. The Greek states were embroiled ceaselessly in petty quarrels among themselves, and they were endangered constantly by the greed of their greater neighbors. From all sides came appeals to Rome to prevent injustice. The disturbing powers were Macedonia, Syria, and the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues. The forces which stood for peace were Egypt, Rhodes, Pergamum, and the small states of European Greece. It was these pacific powers which especially claimed protection from Rome.

It is true that the weakness of the eastern states drew the great western power on and on, and that her own methods became less and less scrupulous. Cruelty and cynical disregard for obligations more and more stamp her conduct. But, after all, as How and Leigh well say, "compared with the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Antigonids,³ her hands were clean and her rule bearable. In that intolerable eastern hubbub, men's

¹ The Roman commander was Lucius Scipio, who took the name *Asiaticus*; but credit was really due to his brother Publius Scipio Aemilianus, who accompanied the expedition.

² Cf. § 376. Read Mommsen, II, 363 and 413–415, to support the quotations in this section.

³ A ruling family in Macedonia.

eyes turned still with envy and wonder to the stable and well-ordered Republic of the West.”

“The Roman senate, which so lately sat to devise means to save Rome from the grasp of Hannibal, now sits as a Court of International Justice for the whole civilized world, ready to hear the causes of every king or commonwealth that has any plaint against any other king or commonwealth. . . . The Roman Fathers judge the causes of powers which in theory are the equal allies of Rome; they judge by virtue of no law, of no treaty; they judge because the common instinct of mankind sees the one universal judge in the one power which has strength to enforce its judgments.” — FREEMAN, *Chief Periods*, 58.

II. THE PROTECTORATES BECOME PROVINCES.

395. A Gradual Process — Rome could not stop with protectorates. They had neither the blessings of real liberty nor the good order of provinces; and gradually Rome was led into a process of annexation in the civilized East, as already in the barbarous West. By 146, this process was well under way; and in the next hundred years — before the day of the Caesars — the old power of *influence over “allies”* had everywhere been transformed into *dominion over provinces*.

Long before the close of that period, there took place a deplorable change in Roman policy. Appetite for power grew with its exercise. Jealousy appeared toward the prosperity of even the most devoted ally. And finally, to complete the extension of her sway in the East, where she had at first hesitated over-modestly, Rome sank to treacheries and violences as base and high-handed as those that marked her treatment of Carthage.

To tell in full the story of this Roman expansion is not possible in a book like this. We can note only a few great steps in the process.

396. Macedonia a Province, 146 B.C. — The plots of Perseus, king of Macedonia, made inevitable a *Third War with Macedonia*, and the Roman victory of *Pydna* (168 B.C.) closed the life of that ancient kingdom. It was broken up into four

petty republics, which were declared free, but which were provinces of Rome in all but name and good order. They paid tribute, were disarmed, and were forbidden intercourse with one another; but they did not at first receive a Roman governor or obtain the benefits of firm administration. Some years later a pretended son of Perseus tried to restore the monarchy; and this attempt led to the full establishment of the Roman "Province of Macedonia," with a Roman magistrate at its head (146 B.C.).

397. Rearrangements in Greece.—The same year witnessed important rearrangements in *Greece*. Various factions there had sympathized with Perseus in his hopeless struggle, and had been sternly or cruelly punished. In the years that followed, the Roman Senate was called upon to listen to ceaseless wearisome complaints from one Greek city or party against another. The Roman policy was sometimes vacillating, sometimes contemptuous. Finally a clash came with the Achaeans, who recklessly defied repeated Roman warnings. The Achaean Confederacy fell easily before Roman arms, in 146 B.C. Corinth had been the chief offender. By order of the Senate, that city was burned and its site cursed.¹

Greece was not yet made a province, but it was treated as Macedon had been just after Pydna, and was virtually ruled by the Roman governor of Macedon.² Thus the one year 146 B.C. saw the last territory of Carthage made a Roman province and the first province formed in the old empire of Alexander, together with the destruction of the ancient cities of Carthage and Corinth.

¹ The destruction of Corinth was a greater crime than that of Carthage, Syracuse, Capua, or the other capitals that Roman envy laid low. Corinth was the great emporium of Greece, and its ruin was due mainly to the jealousy of the commercial class in Rome. Its art treasures, so far as preserved, became the plunder of the Roman state; but much was lost. Polybius saw common soldiers playing at dice, amid the still smoking ruins, on the paintings of the greatest masters.

² A century later, Greece became the Province of Achaea. About the same time, Corinth was rebuilt by Caesar (§ 464), and Carthage by Octavius (§ 475).

398. The Province of Asia. — A few years later (133 B.C.) the king of Pergamum willed to Rome his realms, which became the *Province of Asia*.¹ Further progress in the East in this period consisted in jealously reducing friendly allies, like



Rhodes, to the condition of subjects, and in openly setting up protectorates over Egypt and Syria.

It is in this last series of events that Rome's lust for power begins to show most hatefully. She had no more generosity for a faithful ally than she had magnanimity toward a fallen foe, and her treatment of Pergamum gains little by contrast with her perfidious dealings with Carthage.

III. GENERAL RESULT IN 146 B.C.—A GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD UNDER ROMAN SWAY.

399. Rome the Sole Great Power. — In 264 B.C. Rome had been *one of five* Great Powers (§ 357). By the peace of 201, after Zama, Carthage disappeared from that list. In the next fifty years, Cynoscephalae, Magnesia, Pydna, and Roman diplo-

¹ After the battle of Magnesia (§ 393), Pergamum had been enlarged, so that it included most of western Asia Minor. This region was now known as "Asia." It is in this sense that the word Asia is used in the Acts of the Apostles, as, for instance, when Paul says, that, after going through Phrygia, he was forbidden "to pass into Asia," and again, later, that "all they who dwell in Asia" heard the word.

macy removed three of the others. In 146, Rome was the *sole* Great Power. She had annexed as provinces all the dominions of Carthage and of Macedonia. Egypt and Syria had become protectorates. All the smaller states had been brought within her "sphere of influence." She held the heritage of Alexander as well as that of Carthage. There remained no state able to dream of equality with Rome.

400. Distinction between the Latin West and the Greek East. — At the same time, while Rome was really mistress in both East and West, her relations with the two sections were widely different. In the West, Rome appeared on the stage as the successor of Carthage; and to the majority of her western subjects, despite terrible cruelties in war, she brought better order and higher civilization than they had known. Thus the western world became Latin.

In the East, Rome appeared first as the liberator of the Greeks. Her provincial system and the good Roman order were introduced slowly; and to the last, the East remained Greek, not Latin, in language, customs, and thought. *The Adriatic continued to divide the Latin and Greek civilizations when the two shared the world under the sway of Rome.*

FOR FURTHER READING. — An admirable brief treatment of the expansion in the East is given in Pelham, 140-157. Mommsen and Ihne give sharply opposed views of Rome's intentions in Greece; their works may be consulted for the period by advanced students. The histories of Greece that deal with this period are useful, especially Holm, Thirlwall, and Mahaffy. Plutarch's *Lives* ("Aemilius Paulus," "Flaminius,") as usual. All should read the noble summary of the whole period of Roman expansion in Freeman's *Chief Periods*, 45-59.

REVIEW EXERCISES. — 1. Catchword review of Rome's progress in the East.

2. Connected review of the general topic of Rome's growth by large periods; thus, —

- (1) Growth under the Kings, 753-510 (?).
- (2) Growth during the strife between patricians and plebeians, 510-367.
- (3) Growth of united Rome (under the guidance of the Senate), 367-146.

3. Catchword review of the same topic, — Roman expansion, from legendary times to 146 B.C.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW STRIFE OF CLASSES, 146-49 B.C.

I. PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

401. A Summary of Periods of History under the Republic.—The history of the Roman Republic falls into three great divisions.

a. The internal conflict between plebeians and patricians (a century and a half, 510-367). This period closed with the fusion of the old classes into a united people.

b. The expansion of this united Rome (a little more than two centuries): over Italy, 367-266; over the Mediterranean coasts, 264-146.

c. A new internal strife (something less than a century, 146-49). This time the conflict was between rich and poor,¹ between Rome and her "Allies," and between Italy and the provinces.

The first two periods we have already surveyed. The third is the subject of the present chapter.

402. The Great Evils of the Period.—We have noted that Rome was governed by a new "nobility" (§ 345). This senatorial oligarchy carried Rome triumphantly through her great wars, but it failed to devise a plan of government fit for the conquests outside Italy. It knew how to conquer, but not how to rule. There followed a century of gross misgovernment abroad. This corrupted the citizens and lowered the moral tone at home, until the Republic was no longer fit to rule even Italy or herself. *There resulted a threefold conflict: in Rome,*

¹ Observe that this class struggle bears more closely upon questions of our own day than did the earlier conflict of plebeians and patricians.

between rich and poor; in Italy, between Rome and the "Allies"; in the empire at large, between Italy and the provinces.

Moreover, Rome had left no other state able to keep the seas free from pirates or to guard the frontiers of the civilized world against barbarians. It was therefore her plain duty to police the Mediterranean lands herself. But ere long this simple duty was neglected: the seas swarmed again with pirate fleets, and new barbarian thunderclouds, unwatched, gathered on all the frontiers.

403. The Plan of the Chapter. — Each of these evils will be surveyed in detail (§§ 404–417). Then we shall notice how the senatorial oligarchy grew more and more irresponsible and incompetent. It was not able itself to grapple with the new problems which expansion had brought, and it jealously crushed out each individual statesman who tried to heal the diseases of the state in constitutional ways (§§ 420–431). Thus, when the situation became unbearable, power fell to a series of military chiefs — Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar. The despotic usurpations of these leaders led to a new system of government which we call the Empire.

II. THE EVILS IN DETAIL.

A. IN ROME.

404. Economic and Moral Decline due to the Great Wars. — Rome had begun to decline in morals and in industry before the end of the Second Punic War. Even a glorious war tends to demoralize society. It corrupts morals, and creates extremes of wealth and poverty. Extreme poverty lowers the moral tone further. So does quick-won and illegitimate wealth. Then the moral decay of the citizens shows in the state as political disease. The Second Punic War teaches this lesson to the full.

In that war Italy lost a million lives — the flower of the citizen body. The adult Roman citizens fell off from 298,000 to 214,000. Over much of the peninsula the homesteads had been hopelessly devastated; while years of camp life, with plunder for pay, had corrupted the simple tastes of the old yeomen. In

the ruin of the small farmer, Hannibal had dealt his enemy a deadlier blow than he ever knew.

Trade, too, had stagnated, and illegitimate profits were eagerly sought. The merchants who had risked their wealth so enthusiastically to supply their country in her dire need after Cannae (§ 376), began to indemnify themselves, as soon as that peril was over, by fraudulent war contracts. We are told even that sometimes they over-insured ships, supposed to be loaded with supplies for the army in Spain or Africa, and then scuttled them, to get the insurance money from the state. Later conquests gave this merchant class still further opportunities.

Thus the farmers had been impoverished, and in the cities there gathered a starving rabble, while between these masses and the old senatorial oligarchy sprang up a new aristocracy of wealth. Its members were known as *equites* (knights).¹ Its riches were based on rapacious plunder of conquered countries, on fraudulent contracts with the government at home, on reckless speculation, and on unjust appropriation of the public lands.²

405. The Rise of Luxury. — With the *equites* and the nobles, the old Roman simplicity gave way to sumptuous luxury. There was growing display in dress and at the table, in rich draperies and couches and other house furnishings, in the celebration of marriages, and at funerals. As the Roman Juvenal wrote later: "Luxury has fallen upon us — more terrible than the sword; the conquered East has avenged herself by the gift of her vices." The economic phenomena, good and bad, that had occurred in the Greek world (§§ 227, 235) after the conquests of Alexander, were now repeated on a larger scale in Italy — with this difference, that the coarser Roman resorted too often to tawdry display and to gluttony or other brutal

¹ This order must not be confused with the earlier *military class of knights* (§ 286).

² The restriction of the Licinian law (§ 322) had soon become a dead letter, and the wealthy classes continued to use the state lands as private property.

excesses, from which the more refined and temperate Greek turned with disgust.

Alongside this private luxury, there grew the practice of entertaining the populace with public shows. These were often connected with religious festivals, and were of many kinds. It was the special duty of the aediles to care for public entertainment, but gradually many candidates for popular favor began to give shows of this kind.

406. Gladiatorial Games. — Among these new shows were the horrible *gladiatorial games*. These came, not from the Greek East, but from neighbors in Italy. They were an old Etruscan custom (§ 260, close), and were introduced into Rome about the beginning of the Punic Wars. A gladiatorial contest was a combat in which two men fought each other to the death for the amusement of the spectators. The practice was probably connected with ancient human sacrifices for the dead, and at Rome the first contests of this kind took place only at the funerals of nobles. By degrees, however, they became the most popular of the public amusements and were varied in character. A long series of combats would be given at a single exhibition, and many couples, armed in different ways, would engage at the same time. Sometimes wild beasts, also, fought each other, and sometimes beasts fought with men.

At first the gladiators were captives in war, and fought in their native fashion, for the instruction as well as the entertainment of the spectators. Later, slaves and condemned criminals were used. Finally this fighting became a profession, for which men prepared by careful training in gladiatorial schools.

407. Greek Culture. — Alongside these evil features there was some compensation in a new inflow of Greek culture. Men like Flamininus and the Scipios absorbed much of the best spirit of Greek thought; and there was a general admiration for Greek art and literature. For a long time to come, however, this did not make Rome herself productive in art or literature. Greek became the fashionable language; Greek marbles and pictures were carried off from Greek cities

to adorn Roman palaces. But Rome, in this period, produced few great sculptors or painters, and such books as appeared were mainly the work of Greek adventurers (§ 523).

408. The Continued Decline of the Yeomanry after the Wars.¹—After the great wars were over, the rift between rich and poor went on widening. Rome soon had its hungry masses of unemployed laborers in the city and its land question in the country.

The yeomanry who had survived the ruin of war were fast squeezed off the land by new economic conditions which the ruling classes did not try to correct. Sicily and other provinces supplied Italian cities with corn cheaper than the Italian farmer could raise. The large landlord in Italy turned to cattle-grazing, or to wine and oil culture. The small farmer had no such escape, for these forms of industry called for large tracts and slave labor. For grazing, or often simply for pleasure resorts, the new capitalists and the nobility wanted huge domains, and sought to buy out the poor farmers. The decreased profits of grain raising usually made this class ready to sell. At the same time, the wars in the East furnished an abundance of cheap slaves for the wealthy class, so that the landless freeman could find no employer.

Thus we have a group of factors, all tending to the same end:—

- a. the cheap grain from the provinces;
- b. the introduction of a new industry better suited to large holdings and to slave labor;
- c. the growth of large fortunes eager for landed investment;
- d. the growth of a cheap slave supply.

And so great ranches, with slave herdsmen and their flocks, took the place of many cottages on small, well-tilled farms, each of which once supported its independent family of Italian citizens. The small farmers, formerly the backbone of Italian society in peace and war alike, drifted from the soil to form a miserable rabble at the capital. There they became the

¹ Read Mommsen, III, 304-308, 311-314, or Ihne, IV, ch. xli.

allies and finally the masters of cunning politicians, who amused them with festivals and gladiatorial shows, and who were finally to support them, at state expense, with free grain. The lines of an English poet, two thousand years later, regarding similar phenomena in his own country, apply to this Italy:—

“ Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay ! ”

409. Violent Seizure of Land by the Rich.— When the small farmer would not sell, the rich and grasping landlord sometimes had recourse to force or fraud, to get the coveted patch of land. This was especially true in the more secluded regions, where, despite all discouragements, the yeomen clung stubbornly to their ancestral fields.¹ In pathetic words the Latin poet Horace (§ 525) describes the violence and trickery used by the great man toward such helpless victims.

410. Political Results: Growth of the Mob and Decay of the Constitution.— The economic changes had replaced the rugged, honest citizen-farmer with an incapable, effeminate nobility and a mongrel, hungry mob, reënforced by freed slaves. With this moral decline came political decay. The constitution in theory remained that of the conquerors of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal, but in reality it had become a plaything tossed back and forth between factions in the degenerate state. Old ideas of loyalty, obedience, regard for law, self-restraint, grew rare. Young nobles flattered and caressed the populace for votes.² Bribery became undisguised and rampant. Statesmen came to disregard all checks of the constitution in order to carry a point.

¹ Read Mommsen, III, 313.

² On the rabble, see Mommsen, III, 35-40 and 329-332. Few were those who could defy the hissings as did the younger Africanus: “ Silence, ye step-children of Italy. Think ye I fear those whom I myself brought in chains to Rome ? ” Special report: the incident in which Africanus used these words. Observe the suggestion as to the mixed, non-Italian character of the Roman populace.

411. Political Results: Decline of the Senate. — Meantime the senatorial oligarchy closed up its ranks. A law provided that the great offices could be held only in a certain order; and, by custom, the lowest curule office, the aedileship, was so burdened with costly spectacles for the populace that only men of great wealth or the most reckless gamblers could start upon a political career.¹ Thus secure in their own fortunes, the nobles let things go at will, grasping for themselves the profits of empire, but shirking its responsibilities.

Of course, among the cowardly and dissolute aristocrats there were noble exceptions; but Mommsen, who so generously applauded the Senate of 200 B.C. (§ 348), says of its successor eighty years later: —

“It sat on the vacated throne with an evil conscience and divided hopes, indignant at the institutions of the state which it ruled, and yet incapable of even systematically assailing them, vacillating in all its conduct except where its own material advantage prompted a decision, a picture of faithlessness toward its own as well as the opposite party, of inward inconsistency, of the most pitiful impotence, of the meanest selfishness, — an unsurpassed ideal of misrule.”²

B. IN ITALY.

412. The distinction between citizens and subjects (§ 334 ff.) was drawn more sharply. Admission to Roman citizenship from without almost ceased. New Latin colonies were no longer founded. Laws restricted the old freedom of Latin migration to Rome, and confounded the Latins with the other “Allies.” The grade of inferior municipalities, too, disappeared, partly by promotion, partly by degradation.³

¹ Ihne, II, 481; Mommsen, III, 40-42 and 124-126. Special report: new games and festivals in this period. On the effect of the lack of salary for public service, cf. §§ 177 and 244.

² To keep clear the significance of this decline of the Senate, let the student reread (with reference to dates) §§ 348, 349, 403, 411.

³ Read Mommsen, III, 23-29. It may be well for the student to prepare for §§ 412-413 by reviewing §§ 334-349.

413. Growth of Roman Insolence toward the "Subjects." — This sharpening of the line between Romans and subjects tended to create envy on one side and haughtiness on the other. Rome began openly to treat the "Allies" as subjects. They were given a smaller share of the plunder in war than formerly, and they were ordered to double their proportion of soldiers for the army.

Worse than this, was the occasional insolence or brutality of a Roman official. In one town the city consul was stripped and scourged because the wife of a Roman magistrate felt aggrieved that the public baths were not vacated quickly enough when she desired to use them. In another, a young Roman idler, looking on languidly from his litter, caused a free herdsman to be whipped to death for a light jest at his expense.¹

C. IN THE PROVINCES.²

414. Irregular Growth of the Provincial System and its Deterioration. — The growth of provincial government had been a matter of patchwork and makeshifts. There had been no comprehensive views of Roman interests and no earnest desire to govern for the good of the provincials. Both these things had to wait for the Caesars. The Republic began its world-rule by adopting, with some changes, the systems of taxation it found in force in its different conquests. At first, to be sure, the Roman administration was more honest, capable, and just, than the Carthaginian or the Greek. But irresponsible power bred recklessness and corruption. Deterioration soon set in; and,

¹ These incidents were stated by Calus Gracchus (§ 426) in the year 123, in his fiery pleas for reform.

² Mommsen, III, 29-35; Ihne, IV, 197-208; Pelham, 174-186, 327-329; Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 40-88. On the governor's tyranny, Cicero's *Oration against Verres*, or the chapter on "A Roman Magistrate" in Church's *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*. By 133, there were eight provinces, — Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hither Spain, Farther Spain, Africa, Illyria (which had been conquered after the third Macedonian War), Macedonia, and Asia. Cisalpine Gaul, Southern Gaul, and Greece were Roman possessions and were soon to be provinces.

before the year 100, it was doubtful whether the West had gained by the fall of Carthage. It took the Empire with its better aims and methods to dispel the doubt.

415. Marks of a Province. — At the worst, existing institutions were everywhere respected, with true Roman tolerance. As in Italy, however, the different cities were jealously isolated from one another. As in Italy, too, there were various grades of cities. To most of them was left their self-control for purely local concerns, and some nominally were independent allies, with special exemption from taxes. But in general, the distinctive marks of a province, as opposed to Italian communities, were (1) *payment of tribute* in money or grain,¹ (2) *disarmament*, and (3) *the absolute rule of a Roman governor*.

416. The Governor. — The actual working of the system rested with the governor, and everything tended to make him a tyrant. He was appointed by the Senate from those who had just held consulships or praetorships, and he had the title of pro-consul or pro-praetor. His power, even in peace, was as great as the consul exercised at the head of an army. He had no colleague. There was no appeal from his decrees. There was no tribune to veto his act. He had soldiery to enforce his commands. His whole official staff went out with him, and were strictly subordinate to him.

The persons of the provincials were at his mercy. In Cisalpine Gaul a governor caused a noble Gaul, a fugitive in his camp, to be beheaded, merely to gratify with the sight a worthless favorite who lamented that he had missed the gladiatorial games at Rome. There was even less check upon the governor's financial oppression. All offices were unpaid; the way to them was through vast expense; and the plundering of a province came to be looked upon as the natural means of repaying one's self for previous outlay and for a temporary exile

¹ The "Allies" in Italy furnished men, but did not pay tribute. The position of the provincial cities was less honorable in Roman eyes, and it was more liable to abuse (§ 416).

from Rome. In short, the senatorial nobility passed around the provinces among themselves as so much spoil.

A governor might be brought to trial, it is true; but only *after* his term had expired; and only at Rome. Poor provincials, of course, had to endure any abuse without even seeking redress; and in any case it was rarely possible to secure conviction even of the grossest offenders. The only court for such trials was made up of senators.¹ Thus many of the judges were themselves interested in similar plunderings; and, with the best of them, class spirit stood in the way of convicting a noble.

When other means failed to secure acquittal, the culprit could fall back on bribery. When Verres was given the province of Sicily for three years, Cicero tells us, he cynically declared it quite enough: "In the first year he could secure enough plunder for himself; in the second for his friends; in the third for his judges."

417. The Provinces the "Estates of the Roman People."—It was not the senatorial class alone, however, who enriched themselves from the provinces. All Rome, and indeed all Italy, drew profit from them.

The state now secured its immense revenues mainly from taxation of the provincials, and from its domains and mines in the provinces. *The equites*, organized in companies ("publicans") or as private speculators, with their agents, swarmed by tens of thousands in every rich province. They conducted all public works, with corrupt contracts. They "farmed" the taxes (that is, they paid the Roman treasury a fixed amount, and then squeezed from the province as much more as they could). They loaned money at infamous interest; and, dividing their ill-gotten plunder with the governor, they robbed the unhappy provincials mercilessly in many ways.² *The populace* looked to the provinces for cheap grain, and for wild-beast shows and other spectacles.

¹ Later on, the equites were admitted to these courts; § 427, close.

² Read Arnold, *Provincial Administration*, 82, 83.

"Italy was to rule and feast; the provinces were to obey and pay." And withal it was nobody's business in particular to see that these "farms of the Roman people" were not rapidly and wastefully exhausted.

D. SLAVERY.

We have now surveyed the first three of the four great evils mentioned in § 402. The fourth (the danger of barbarian inroads) can be best dealt with in the narrative to follow (§§ 434, 441, 450, etc.). But Rome's most dangerous barbarians were in her midst; and a few words must be given now to the evils of Roman slavery.

418. **The Extent and Brutal Nature of Roman Slavery.**¹—In the last period of the Republic, slavery was unparalleled in its immensity and degradation. Mommsen is probably right in saying that in comparison with its abyss of suffering all negro slavery is but as a drop. Captives in war were commonly sold by the state or given away to wealthy nobles. To keep up the supply of slaves, man hunts were regularly organized on the frontiers, and some of the provinces themselves were desolated by kidnappers. At the market in Delos ten thousand slaves were sold in a single day.

The slaves came in part from the cultured East, but they came also from the wildest and most ferocious barbarians,—Gauls, Goths, Moors. The more favored ones became schoolmasters, secretaries, stewards.² The most unfortunate were savage herdsmen and the hordes of branded and shackled laborers, who were clothed in rags and who slept in underground dungeons.

The maxim of even the model Roman, Cato (§ 420), was to work them like so many cattle, selling off the old and infirm.

¹ Mommsen, III, 68-73, 305-311; or Beesly, *The Gracchi*, 10-14.

² The student must not think of slaves in ancient times as usually of a different color and race from the masters. The fact that they were commonly of like blood, and often of higher culture, gave to ancient slavery a peculiar character, when compared with more modern slavery.

"The slave," said he, "should be always either working or sleeping." With the worst class of masters the brutal Roman nature vented itself in inhuman cruelties. The result was expressed in the saying — "So many slaves, so many enemies." The truth of this maxim was to find too much proof.

419. Slave Wars. — In the year 135 came the first of a long series of slave revolts. Seventy thousand insurgent slaves were masters of Sicily for four years. They defeated army after army that Rome sent against them, and desolated the island with indescribable horrors before the revolt was stamped out.

Thirty years later, when Rome was trembling before the Teutonic invasion (§ 434), occurred a Second Sicilian Slave War — more formidable even than the first,¹ lasting five years. Other slave risings took place at the same time. Another thirty years, and there came the terrible slave revolt in Italy itself, headed by the gallant *Spartacus*. Spartacus was a Thracian captive who had been forced to become a gladiator. Escaping from the gladiatorial school at Capua, with a few companions, he fled to the mountains. There he was joined by other fugitive slaves and outlaws until he was at the head of an army of seventy thousand men. He kept the field three years, and for a time threatened Rome itself.

FOR FURTHER READING. — For an early authority, see *Appian*, II (White's translation). Very full surveys are given in Ihne, IV, and Mommsen, bk. iii, chs. xi-xiii, and bk. iv, first part of ch. ii. A good brief account may be found in Beesly's *The Gracchi*, opening pages, or in Merivale's *Fall of the Roman Republic*, ch. i. The more important matters are given full references in the footnotes.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — The Second Sicilian Slave War, and the revolt of Spartacus.

REVIEW EXERCISE. — General topical review of the development of the government of Rome, from 510 to 146 B.C.

¹ Mommsen, III, 382-387, and Freeman's *Story of Sicily*.

III. THE GRACCHI: ATTEMPTS AT PEACEFUL REFORM.

A. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, 133 B.C.

420. Attempts at Reform before the Time of the Gracchi. — The evils that have been described had not come upon Rome without being observed by thoughtful men. The chief needs of the state may be summed up under two heads: (1) the government needed to be taken from the incapable senatorial class and given to some organization that would more truly represent all classes in the state; (2) the poor in the cities needed to be restored to the land as farmers. No attempt had been made to accomplish either of these things, but there had been one notable effort at another kind of reform.

This was the work of *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Cato was a Roman of the old school, — austere, upright, energetic, patriotic, but coarse and narrow. From a simple Sabine farmer, he had risen to the highest honors of the state. He had been just old enough to join the army at the beginning of the Second Punic War, in which he fought valiantly for sixteen years from Trasimene to Zama; and, half a century later, as we saw (§ 387), he had a chief part in bringing on the Third Punic War. Thus his long public life covered the period of chief Roman decline.

Cato longed ardently to restore "the good old days" of Roman virtue and simplicity. As censor (195 B.C.) he tried in a way to bring back those days. He repressed luxury sternly, and struck from the Senate some of the proudest names because of private vices. But he had no far-reaching views. He spent his force foolishly in fighting the new Hellenic culture and the rising standard of comfort. He did not touch the real evils, or suggest any remedy for their causes. Indeed, instead of himself remaining a yeoman farmer, like the Manius (§ 351) whom he took for his model, he became the owner of great plantations worked by slave labor.¹

¹ Mommsen (III, 117 ff.) gives a charming picture of the best side of Cato. The student should read Plutarch's "Cato" in the *Lives*.

For a time there seemed one other chance. After 146 B.C. Scipio Africanus the Younger was the foremost man in Rome. He was liberal, virtuous, cultivated. Many looked hopefully to him for reform. But though more of a statesman than Cato, he lacked Cato's courage. He shrank from a struggle with his order; and when he laid down his censorship, he betrayed his despair by praying the gods, not in the usual words, to *enlarge* the glory of Rome, but to *preserve* the state.

Some slight reforms there were. For instance, the ballot was introduced into the Assembly, so that the rich might have less chance for bribery.¹ But such measures did not reach the root of the disease of the state. For this the older statesmen were too narrow or too timid; and the great attempt fell to two youths, the Gracchi brothers, throbbing with the fire of genius and with noble enthusiasm.

421. Tiberius Gracchus² was still under thirty at his death. He was one of the brilliant circle of young Romans about Scipio. His father had been a magnificent aristocrat. His mother, *Cornelia*, a daughter of the older Africanus, is as famous for her fine culture and noble nature as for being the "Mother of the Gracchi." Tiberius himself was early distinguished in war and marked by his uprightness and energy. This was the first man to strike at the root of the economic, moral, and political decay of Italy, by trying to rebuild the yeoman class.

422. The Agrarian³ Proposals of Tiberius. — Tiberius obtained the tribuneship for the year 133, and at once brought forward an agrarian law. This was simply the land clause of the old Licinian law (§ 322) in a gentler but more effective form. That ancient enactment had become obsolete, and the public land had again fallen into the hands of the wealthy, who paid no return for its use. The proposal of Gracchus was threefold.

¹ On these reforms, read Mommsen, III, 299 ff.

² Read Beesly's *The Gracchi*, 23-37. See Mommsen, III, 320-333, for a less cordial view.

³ "Agrarian" refers to land, especially agricultural land; from Latin *ager*.

a. Each holder of state land was to surrender all that he held in excess of 500 jugera (cf. § 322), receiving in return absolute title to the five hundred left him.¹

b. The land so reclaimed was to be given in small holdings (30 jugera each) to poor applicants, so as to re-create a peasantry. And to make the reform lasting, these holders were to possess their land *in perpetual lease without right to sell*. In return, they were to pay a small rent to the state.

c. To provide for changes, and to keep the law from being neglected, there was to be a *permanent board* of three commissioners to superintend the reclaiming and distributing of land.

423. The Struggle.—Gracchus urged his law with fiery eloquence.

“The wild beasts of Italy have their dens, but the brave men who spill their blood for her are without homes or settled habitations. Their generals do but mock them when they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchers and the gods of their hearths; for among such numbers there is perhaps not one who has an ancestral altar. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the luxury of the great, and they are called masters of the world without having a sod to call their own.”

The Senate of course opposed the proposal, and the wealthy men, who had so long enjoyed what did not belong to them, cried out that the measure was confiscation and robbery. Tiberius brought the question directly before the tribes, as he had the right to do. The Senate fell back upon a favorite device. It put up one of the other tribunes, Octavius, to forbid a vote. After many pleadings, Tiberius resorted to a revolutionary measure. In spite of his colleague's veto, he put to the Assembly the question whether he or Octavius should be deposed; and when the vote was given unanimously against Octavius, Tiberius had him dragged forth from his seat.² Then the great law was passed.

¹ This was a mild measure, and neither confiscation nor demagogism. It was further provided that an old holder might keep 250 jugera more if he had a son, and still another 250 if he had two sons.

² On the morality of this act, cf. Beesly's *The Gracchi*, 32, 33, and Mommsen, III, 323 and 330.

424. Further Conflict ; Gracchus murdered. — At this time the last king of Pergamum, by will, left his treasure to the Roman people. Gracchus proposed to divide the money among the new peasantry to stock their farms. He also desired to extend Roman citizenship to all Italy. The Senate accused him of trying to make himself king (cf. § 312), and threatened to try him at the end of his term. To complete his work, and possibly to save himself, Gracchus asked for reelection. The first two tribes voted for him, and then the Senate, having failed in other methods, declared his candidacy illegal.¹ The election was adjourned to the next day, and the end was not difficult to foresee.

Tiberius put on mourning and commended his infant son to the protection of the people. It was harvest time, and the farmers were absent from the Assembly, which was left largely to the worthless city rabble. On the following day the election was again forbidden. A riot broke out, and the more violent of the senators and their friends, charging the undecided mob, put it to flight and murdered Gracchus — a patriot-martyr worthy of the company of the Cassius, Manlius, and Maelius of earlier days. Some three hundred of his adherents also were killed and thrown into the Tiber. Rome, in all her centuries of stern, sober, patient, constitutional strife, had never witnessed such a day before.

425. The Work of Gracchus lived. — Partisanship ran so high that the whole aristocratic party approved the outrage, rather than abandon their champions to popular vengeance. Accordingly the Senate declared the murder an act of patriotism, and followed up the reformer's partisans with mock trials and persecutions (fastening one of them, says Plutarch, in a chest with vipers).

It did not dare, however, to interfere with the great law that had been carried. A consul for the year 132 inscribed on a monument, that he was the first who had installed farmers in

¹ Read Beesly, 35.

place of shepherds on the public domains. The land commission (composed of the friends of Tiberius) did its work zealously, and in 125 B.C. the citizen list of Rome had increased by eighty thousand farmers. The movement certainly constituted a vast and healthful reform.¹

If it could have been kept up vigorously, it might have turned the dangerous rabble into sturdy husbandmen, and so abolished Rome's chief danger. But of course to reclaim so much land from old holders led to many bitter disputes as to titles; and, after a few years, the Senate took advantage of this fact to abolish the commission.

B. CAIUS GRACCHUS² (123-121 B.C.).

426. Character and Aims. — Immediately after this reaction, and just nine years after his brother's death, *Caius Gracchus* took up the work. He had been a youth when Tiberius was assassinated; now he was Rome's greatest orator, — a dauntless, resolute, clear-sighted man, long brooding on personal revenge and on patriotic reform. Tiberius, he declared, appeared to him in a dream to call him to his task: "Why do you hesitate? You cannot escape your doom and mine — to live for the people and to die for them!"

Tiberius had striven only for economic reform. Caius saw the necessity of buttressing that work by political reform. Apparently he meant to overthrow the Senate and to set up a new constitution something like that of Athens under Pericles.

427. Political Measures, to win Allies. — The city mob Gracchus secured by a *corn law* providing for the sale of grain to the poor in the capital at half the regular market price, the other half to be made up from the public treasury.³ Perhaps

¹ Read Mommsen, III, 334-335, or Beesly, 39.

² Mommsen, bk. iv, ch. iii; Beesly, 42-65; Ihne, bk. vii, ch. iv; Plutarch's *Life*.

³ Cf. Mommsen, III, 344, and Beesly, 48-50, for differing views.

he regarded this as a necessary poor-law, and as a compensation for the public lands that still remained in the hands of the wealthy. It did not pauperize the poor, since such distributions by private patrons were already customary on a vast scale. It simply took this charity into the hands of the state. If Gracchus' other measures could have been carried through, the need for such charity would have been removed; but, however well-meant, this measure certainly introduced a vicious system of *legislative bribery*, where in the end the well-meaning patriot was sure to be outbidden by the reckless demagogue. For the moment, however, it won the Assembly.

The equites also Caius won, by taking the law courts from the Senate to place in their hands — a measure that did something, perhaps, to secure better government in the provinces. (Cf. § 416.)

428. Economic Reform. — Then, with these political alliances to back him, Caius took up his brother's work. The land commission was reestablished, and its work was extended to the founding of Roman colonies in distant parts of Italy. Still more important, — Caius *introduced the plan of Roman colonization outside Italy*. He sent six thousand colonists from Rome and other Italian towns to the waste site of Carthage; and he planned other such foundations. *The colonists were to keep full Roman citizenship.*

If this statesmanlike measure had been allowed to work, it would not only have provided for the landless poor of Italy; it would also have Romanized the provinces rapidly, and have broken down the unhappy distinctions between them and Italy.

429. Personal Rule; an Uncrowned "Tyrant." — Then Caius turned to attack senatorial government. To a great degree *he drew all authority into his own hands*. By various laws he took away power from the Senate, and himself ruled in its place. He had tried to provide against his brother's fate by a law expressly legalizing reelection to the tribuneship, and he served two terms, virtually as dictator.

“With unrivaled activity,” says Mommsen, “he concentrated the most varied and complicated functions in his own person. He himself watched over the distribution of grain, selected jurymen, founded colonies in person, notwithstanding that his magistracy legally chained him to the city, regulated highways and concluded business contracts, led the discussions of the Senate, settled the consular elections; in short, he accustomed the people to the fact that one man was foremost in all things, and threw the lax and lame administration of the Senate into the shade by the vigor and dexterity of his personal rule.”¹

430. Attempt to extend Citizenship to Italians: Fall of Caius. — Caius also pressed earnestly for political reform outside the city. He proposed, wisely and nobly, to confer full citizenship upon the Latins, and Latin rights upon all Italy. But the tribes, jealous of any extension of their privileges to others, were quite ready to desert him on these matters.

The Senate seized its chance. It set on another tribune, Drusus, to outbid Caius by promises never meant to be kept. Drusus proposed to found twelve large colonies at once in Italy and to do away with the small rent paid by the new peasantry. There was no land for these colonies, but the mob thoughtlessly followed the treacherous demagogue and abandoned its true leader. When Gracchus stood for a third election he was defeated.

Now that he was no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribuneship (§ 308), the nobles, headed by the consul (a ferocious personal enemy), were bent upon Caius' ruin. The chance was soon found. The Senate tried to undo the law for the colony at Carthage. This attempt caused many of the old supporters of Caius to come into the Assembly from the country. Remembering the fate of Tiberius, some of them came in arms. The nobles cried out that this meant a conspiracy to overthrow the government. The consul called the organized senatorial party to arms, offered for the head of Gracchus its weight in gold,² and charged the unorganized and unprepared crowd.

¹ See Mommsen, III, 355-361, as to the constitutional designs of Caius.

² This is the first instance of head money in Roman civil strife.

A bloody battle followed in the streets. Gracchus, taking no part in the conflict himself, was slain. Three thousand of his adherents were afterward strangled in prison.

431. Overthrow of the Work of the Two Brothers. — The victorious Senate struck hard. It resumed its sovereign rule. The proposed colonies were abandoned, and the great land reform itself was undone. *The peasants were permitted to sell their land, and the commission was abolished.* The old economic decay began again, and soon the work of the Gracchi was but a memory.

Even that memory the Senate tried to proscribe. Men were forbidden to speak of the brothers, and Cornelia was not allowed to wear mourning for her sons. One lesson, however, had been taught: the Senate had drawn the sword; and when a Marius or a Caesar should attempt again to take up the work of the Gracchi, he would appear as a military master, to sweep away the wretched oligarchy with the sword or to receive its cringing submission.

“The net result of the work [of Caius] was to demonstrate the hopelessness of any genuine democracy. . . . The two Gracchi, . . . in their hope to regenerate Italy, were drawn on to attempt a political revolution, whose nature they did not realise. . . . They were not revolutionists, but they were the fathers of revolution. They aimed at no tyranny, but they were the precursors of the principate [Empire].” — HOW AND LEIGH.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Ancient writers: Plutarch, *Lives* (“Tiberius Gracchus” and “Caius Gracchus”); Appian, *Civil Wars* (opening). Modern writers: Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*; Mommsen, bk. iv, chs. ii, iii; Ihne, V; Merivale, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, ch. i; How and Leigh, 331-359.

IV. MILITARY RULE: MARIUS AND SULLA, 106-78 B.C.

432. The Biographical Character of Roman History in the Last Century of the Republic. — In earlier times Rome had been greater than any of her citizens. But after 146, the history of the Republic is summed up in a series of biographies; and soon the only question is, which man will finally seize the sover-

eignty. This phase of the Roman Republic really begins with the younger Africanus and closes with Julius Caesar; but it is with Marius and Sulla (halfway between) that the new character first shows without disguise, because these men were the first to carry political measures by the use of the army.

433. The War with Jugurtha: New Leaders. — For some twenty years after the murder of the Gracchi, the Senate's misrule was undisturbed. But a prolonged fourteen-year border war in Africa again revealed in glaring colors its corruption and incapacity, and brought military masters to the front.

Jugurtha, grandnephew of Massinissa (§ 387), — brave, crafty, cruel, — had made himself king of Numidia by the assassination of a series of princes dependent upon Rome. He bribed Roman investigating commissioners; bought a consul who had been sent to attack him; and, being summoned to Rome after massacring thousands of Italians and Romans in Africa, he bought his acquittal from the Senate itself. But an indignant tribune brought the matter directly before the tribes and so stirred their indignation that war at last was prosecuted in earnest.

Its progress revealed the utter corruption of the army, but it finally called out two great captains. One was the rude soldier *Marius*, son of a Volscian day laborer, who had risen from the ranks, and who by the votes of the people, without having been praetor,¹ was made consul to prosecute the war; the other was his aristocratic lieutenant, *Sulla*.

By skill and good fortune, and by a daring exploit of Sulla's, Marius was able to bring the war to a close during his year of office. Jugurtha was captured. Marius was given a splendid triumph² at Rome (January 1, 104 B.C.). With characteristic Roman cruelty the captive king was dragged through the streets in chains at the wheel of his conqueror's chariot, and then cast into an underground dungeon to starve.

¹ This was contrary to law, see § 409. Special report: the Jugurthine War.

² See § 326, note.

434. The Invasion by the Cimbri and Teutones. — Meantime a storm had broken upon the northern frontier, where Rome now had need of Marius. The *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, two German peoples, migrating slowly with families, flocks, and goods, in search of new homes in the fertile south, had reached the passes of the Alps in the year 113. These barbarians were huge, flaxen-haired, with fierce blue eyes, and they terrified the smaller Italians by their size, their terrific shouts, and their savage customs.

A Roman consul who tried to entrap the strangers treacherously, was defeated and slain; but, leaving Italy on one side for the time, the Germans crowded into Gaul. There they harried the native tribes at will, and, after defeating four more Roman armies (the last with slaughter that recalled the day of Cannae), they finally threatened Italy itself. At the same time the Second Slave War had broken out in Sicily (§ 417).

435. Marius the "Saviour of Rome." — Rome had found a general none too soon. Marius was just finishing his work in Africa. In his absence he was reëlected consul — despite the law, which required a candidate to appear in person and which forbade an immediate reëlection in any case — and was intrusted with the defense of Italy. Happily, the Germans gave him time, by turning for two years more into Spain.

Marius used the interval in raising and drilling troops, and in reorganizing the military system. Then, in the summer of 102, at *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix), in southern Gaul, he annihilated the two hundred thousand warriors of the Teutones, with all their women and children, in a huge massacre; and the next summer he destroyed in like manner the vast horde of the Cimbri, who had penetrated to the Po. The first German nation to attack Rome had been given graves in her soil, and Italy was saved for five hundred years.¹

436. Civil Disorder: Retirement of Marius. — In defiance of the constitution, Marius had been reëlected consul each year

¹ On this first German attack, see Mommsen, bk. iv, ch. v, or Ihne, V, ch. ix.

while the peril lasted. Thus he had held the consulship five successive years. To some Romans this began to look like a military monarchy. Perhaps it would have been well for Rome if Marius had made himself king. Or, had he been enough of a statesman, he might have used his great power to secure the reforms needed by the Republic. He did not try to do either of these things.

Marius was given another consulship; but he was as incapable in politics as he was great in war. The leaders of the popular party tried to secure his aid for reforms like those of the Gracchi. He joined this party, but failed to act with decision. The feeling between Democrats and Aristocrats ran high, and finally broke into street war (December, 100 B.C.). Marius looked on while his Radical friends were massacred. Then he found himself in disgrace with both parties; and in chagrin he retired for some years into obscurity. Meantime another war brought to the front the other great general of the time, the champion of the Aristocrats (§ 435).

437. The Social War.— There had grown up in the Senate a small liberal party bent upon reform. Their leader was the tribune *Drusus*, the son of the Drusus who had opposed the Gracchi. In the year 91, Drusus took up the work of the ancient enemies of his house, and proposed to extend citizenship to the Italians. He was assassinated; and the nobles carried a law threatening with death any one who should renew the proposal. Then the Italians rose in arms and set up a republic of their own.

Once more Rome fought for life, surrounded by a ring of foes. The *Social War* (war with the *Socii*, or "Allies") was as dangerous a contest as the imperial city ever waged (91-88 B.C.). Two things saved her. (1) She wisely divided her foes by granting citizenship to all who would at once lay down their arms. (2) Sulla showed a magnificent generalship, outshining Marius as the saviour of Rome.¹

¹ Marius served with credit, and his generalship seems to have been as successful as ever; but he was disliked by the Senate and was suspected by all of favoring the demands of the Italians.

438. All Italy enters the Roman State.—The “Allies” were crushed, but their cause was victorious. When the war was over, Rome gradually incorporated into the Roman state all Italy south of the Po, raising the number of citizens from about four hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand. The cities all became municipia (§ 336), and their burgesses secured the full Roman citizenship with enrollment in the tribes. By most of these new citizens the privilege of voting in the Assembly at Rome could rarely be exercised: but the movement was a great advance in the world’s history and the most notable reform in the last century of the Republic.

439. Civil War between Marius and Sulla, 88 B.C.—The Italian “Allies” who joined Rome in the war had all been placed in eight tribes. Thus, at most, they could influence only eight out of thirty-five votes, though they made half the citizen body. Now that more Italians were to be enrolled, the popular party proposed to remedy this injustice and to distribute all the new additions among the thirty-five tribes. This attempt was the occasion for the brooding civil war to break forth.

The tribune *Sulpicius*, a friend of Drusus, carried a law providing for the distribution of the new citizens. In trying to prevent it, Sulla provoked a riot, from which he himself barely escaped with his life through the aid of his rival Marius. Just before this, the Senate had appointed Sulla to manage a war against *Mithridates* the Great, king of Pontus. Now, fearing a military revolution, Sulpicius induced the tribes to give this command to Marius instead. Sulla fled to his army at Capua; he declared the decree of the tribes illegal; and, though all but one of his officers left him, he marched upon Rome. *For the first time a Roman magistrate used a regular army to reduce the capital.* After a brief but furious resistance, the Democrats under Marius were scattered, and Sulla became the military master of the city.

For the moment the usurper showed much moderation. He repealed the Sulpician laws, executed a few Democratic

leaders,¹ set a price upon the head of Marius, tried to buttress the Senate by hasty laws, and then departed for the East, where Roman dominion was rapidly crumbling.

440. Victory of Cinna and the Marians: the Massacre. — With the departure of Sulla his aristocratic reaction collapsed. The Democratic party rallied to undo his legislation. The Aristocrats, it is true, surrounded the Assembly with armed forces, and ruthlessly cut down ten thousand men, until the streets ran with blood. But the Democratic leader *Cinna* escaped, was welcomed by the Italians and the country tribes, and returned to besiege the city. Marius came back from his adventurous exile,² — a grim, vengeful, repulsive old man, with some thousands of freed slaves for his bodyguard. Rome was captured; the gates were closed; and for four days and nights the senatorial party were hunted down and butchered by the desperadoes of Marius, despite the indignant pleadings of other Democratic leaders, like the generous *Sertorius*.

Marius and Cinna proclaimed themselves consuls, *without even the form of an election*. They then outlawed Sulla, repealed his legislation, and restored the Sulpician law regarding the Italians. In the midst of his orgy of triumph Marius died. Then Sertorius with regular troops stamped out the band of slave assassins, but Cinna remained political master of Rome for four years.

441. Sulla in the East; the War with Mithridates. — For thirty years the indolent Senate had watched dangers growing in the East. Three barbarian kingdoms had appeared there, — in Pontus, Armenia, and Parthia, — all encroaching ruthlessly upon the protectorates and allies of Rome.

Finally Mithridates, king of Pontus, seized the Roman province of Asia. To guard against a Roman restoration, he gave secret orders that all Italians in the province (men, women, and

¹ The head of Sulpicius, with grim irony, was set up on the rostrum in the Forum, whence his lips had so often swayed the Assembly.

² Special report: stories of Marius' hairbreadth escapes while in exile.

children) should be put to death, and on the appointed day the order was carried out so faithfully that at least eighty thousand were massacred. Next, Mithridates attacked Macedonia and Greece, where he found many of the people eager to throw off Roman misgovernment. Athens, in particular, welcomed him as a deliverer.

This was the peril that had summoned Sulla from Rome. Outlawed by the Democrats at home, without supplies, with only a small army, Sulla restored Roman authority in the East in a series of brilliant campaigns, while Cinna lorded it in Italy. Then he returned to glut his private vengeance and restore the nobles to power (83 B.C.).



A COIN OF SULLA, struck in Athens. Athene and her Owl.

442. The New Civil War. — Italy was almost a unit for the Democrats, but Sulla's veterans made him victor after a desolating two years' struggle. Toward the close of the war the Samnites rose, for the last time, under another Pontius, and marched straight upon helpless Rome, "to burn the den of the wolves that have so long harried Italy," and the city was barely saved by Sulla's forced march and desperate victory at the *Colline Gate*.

443. The Rule of Sulla. — Sulla's victory virtually left him king: indeed, at his suggestion, the Senate declared him *permanent dictator*¹ (81 B.C.). His first work was to crush the Democratic party by systematic massacre. Lists of names were

¹ The old constitutional office of dictator had become obsolete; the new permanent dictatorship of Sulla, and later of Caesar, is merely a name for a new monarchy.

posted publicly day by day, and any desperado was invited to slay the proscribed men at \$2000 a head. Sulla's friends were given free permission to include private enemies in the lists. Debtors murdered their creditors. The wealth of the proscribed was confiscated, and many a man's only offense was the possession of a desired property. "Unhappy wretch that I am," cried one gentleman who had stepped up unsuspectingly to look at the list and who found his own name there; "my villa pursues me!"

When entreated even by the servile Senate to let it be known when he would be through with such slaughter, Sulla characteristically replied that he did not recall any more enemies just then, but that those whom he had forgotten would have to be included in some future proscription. Forty-seven hundred Romans of wealth and position perished, and even worse massacres followed over Italy. At Praeneste alone twelve thousand men were put to death in one day. Sulla thought he had stamped out the embers of the Marian party. Only Sertorius, the noblest Roman of the age, held Spain for the Democrats, and the youth Julius Caesar,¹ a nephew of Marius' wife and the husband of Cinna's daughter, was in hiding in the mountains.

444. Restoration of Senatorial Rule.—Sulla next set about reëstablishing the oligarchic state. He enlarged the numbers of the Senate to about six hundred, and by law made all officers dependent upon it.² The tribuneship (whence had come all the popular movements) was restricted: no tribune could bring any proposal before the tribes, or even address them, without the Senate's permission.³ By various other changes the part of the people in the government was weakened.

¹ Sulla had had Caesar (a boy of seventeen) in his power and had meant to put him to death. Finally, at the entreaties of friends, he spared him, exclaiming, however, "There is many a Marius hidden in that young fop."

² On the Sullan Constitution, see Mommsen, IV, 98-139 and 145-150.

³ The office was also made undesirable by the provision that a man who had held it could never afterward hold another political office.

445. "Sulla the Fortunate": Character and Place in History. — After a three years' absolutism, Sulla abdicated, — to go back to his debaucheries, and to die in peace shortly after as a private citizen. He is a monstrous enigma in history — dauntless, crafty, treacherous, dissolute, licentious, refined, absolutely unfeeling and selfish, and with a mocking cynicism that spiced his conversation and conduct. He called himself the favorite of the Goddess of Chance, and was fond of the title "Sulla the Fortunate." No other civilized man has ever so organized murder. Few have had so clear a grasp of ends and made such unscrupulous use of means.

Apparently Sulla believed sincerely in senatorial government; but he had striven against his age, and his work hardly outlived his mortal body.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Ancient writers: Plutarch, *Lives* ("Marius" and "Sulla"); Appian, *The Civil Wars*, opening chapters; Salust, *The Jugurthine War*. (There are good extracts from all these writers in Munro's *Source Book*.)

Modern writers: Mommsen, bk. iv, chs. vi, vii, ix, x, and bk. v, chs. i-iii and viii-xi; Ihne, V (later chapters); Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*; Freeman's *Sulla* (in *Historical Essays*, 2d series); Merivale, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, chs. i-v; How and Leigh, 360-449.

V. POMPEY AND CAESAR, 78-49 B.C.

446. General View. — The history of the next thirty years — to the rule of Caesar — has two phases. (1) Internally it is a question as to what leader should become master. (2) Externally it is marked by Pompey's conquests and his organization of Roman dominion in the East to the Euphrates, and by Caesar's like work in the West to the Rhine and the North Sea. The rivalry for supreme power at Rome narrowed down to these two men, and happily victory fell to Caesar, incomparably the abler and nobler of the two.¹

A. PERIOD OF POMPEY'S LEADERSHIP, 78-59 B.C.

447. Pompey and Crassus. — By the death of Sulla two of his officers were left in special prominence, — *Pompey* and

¹ Reread § 349, and notice the application of the second paragraph in it.

Crassus. Both were regarded as belonging to the oligarchic party. Crassus was not only a soldier, but also a scheming man of business. He had built up the greatest fortune in Rome, largely by the purchase of confiscated property during the Sullan proscriptions. "Pompey the Great," with more honesty and good nature, was a man of mediocre ability—vain, sluggish, cautious to timidity, without broad views or magnanimous feelings. Still he easily held Crassus in check, and was always a possible king of Rome until the rise of Caesar twenty years later.

448. Sertorius in Spain.—During the rule of Sulla, Spain had been the one remaining refuge of the Democrats. While that party had been in power (83 B.C.), one of their leaders, Sertorius (§ 438), had been sent to Spain as governor. He had refused to recognize the usurpation of Sulla at Rome, and, aided by the native Spaniards, he had maintained himself against the officers Sulla sent to drive him out. He proved a great general and a broad-minded statesman. His rule was gentle and just, and the Spaniards were devoted to him. In the brief time allowed him, he did much to advance the prosperity of the province and to introduce there the best elements of Roman civilization.¹

449. Pompey's First Chance at the Crown in Rome.—Sulla had made it plain that the path to the throne lay through a position as proconsul in a rich province for a term of years, with a war that would call for a large army. Pompey had not yet held any of the offices leading to a proconsular appointment;² but, upon Sulla's death, he compelled the Senate to send him to Spain against Sertorius, with an indefinite term and absolute powers (77 B.C.). After some years of warfare, Sertorius was assassinated, and then Pompey quickly reduced Spain to obedience. In the year 71, he returned triumphantly to Italy. Meantime had come the rising of Spar-

¹ Special report: anecdotes of Sertorius. Read Plutarch's *Life*.

² It was customary to give such places only to ex-consuls or ex-praetors.

tacus (§ 419). This revolt had just been crushed by Crassus, though Pompey arrived in time to cut to pieces a few thousand of the fugitives, and to claim a large share of the credit.

Thus there were two generals in Italy, each at the head of a victorious army. The senatorial oligarchy feared and disliked both leaders, and foolishly refused them the honor



POMPEY THE GREAT. — A bust in the Spada Palace in Rome.

of a triumph. This led the generals to join their forces and ally themselves with the Democratic leaders. Their armies encamped at the gates of the city, and the two generals easily obtained the desired triumphs and their election to the consulship. Then, to pay the Democrats, they undid the chief work of their old master, Sulla, by restoring the tribunes and censors with their ancient powers.

Sovereignty was now within the reach of Pompey. He longed for it, but did not dare stretch out his hand to grasp it;¹ and the politicians skillfully played off the two military chiefs against each other until they agreed to disband their armies simultaneously. The crisis was past. Pompey, who had expected still to be the first man in Rome, found himself of very little account among the senatorial talkers, and, for some years, sulked in retirement.

450. Pompey's Second Chance; Roman Expansion in the East.— In 67, military danger called Pompey again to the front. The navy of Rome had been allowed to fall to utter decay, and swarms of pirates again terrorized the seas. They even set up a formidable state, with its headquarters on the rocky coasts of Cilicia, and negotiated with kings as equals. They paralyzed trade along the great Mediterranean highway. They even dared to ravage the coasts of Italy, and carry off the inhabitants for slaves. Finally they threatened Rome itself with starvation by cutting off the grain fleets.

To put down these plunderers, Pompey was given supreme command for three years in the Mediterranean and in all its coasts for fifty miles inland. He received also unlimited authority over all the resources of the realm. Assembling vast fleets, he swept the seas in a three months' campaign.

Then his command was extended indefinitely in order that he might carry on war against Mithridates of Pontus, who for several years had again been threatening Roman power in Asia Minor.² Pompey was absent on this mission five years—a really glorious period in his career, and one that proved the resources and energies of the commonwealth unexhausted if only a respectable leader were found to direct them. He waged successful wars, crushed dangerous rebellions, conquered Pontus and Armenia, annexed many wide provinces, and

¹ Mommsen, IV, 382-385.

² This was the Third Mithridatic War. Sulla had waged the First. The Second, which came shortly after the First, was not very important.

extended Roman control to the Euphrates.¹ He then organized these provinces, restored order, founded cities, and deposed and set up kings in the dependent states. When he returned to Italy, in 62, he was the leading figure in the world.

In his triumph, three hundred and twenty-two princes walked captive behind his chariot, and triumphal banners proclaimed that he had conquered twenty-one kings and twelve millions of people, and doubled the revenues of the state. Again the crown was within his grasp; again he let it slip, expecting it to be thrust upon him; and again he was to rue his indecision.

451. New Leaders in Pompey's Absence. —

Meantime, new actors had risen to prominence. Three deserve special mention, because they represent three distinct forces.

Cato the Younger, great-grandson of *Cato the Censor*, was a brave,

honest, bigoted Aristocrat, bent upon preserving the oligarchic Republic. *Cicero*, the greatest orator of Rome, was a refined scholar and a representative of the wealthy middle class. He desired reform, and at first he inclined toward the Democratic party; but, alarmed by their violence and rudeness, he



CICERO. — The Vatican bust.

¹ At this time Syria became a Roman province, and the Jews a dependent kingdom.

finally joined the conservatives, in the idle hope of restoring the old republican constitution.¹

Neither of these two men deserve the name of statesman. "Both," says Merivale, fitly, "were blinded to real facts — Cato by his ignorance, Cicero by his learning." The third man was to tower immeasurably above these and all other Romans. *Caius Julius Cæsar* was the chief Democratic leader, and perhaps the greatest genius of all history. He was of an old patrician family that claimed divine descent through Aeneas and his son Iulus (Julius). His youth had been dissolute, but bold; and he had refused with quiet dignity to put away his wife (the daughter of Cinna) at Sulla's order, though Pompey had not hesitated to obey a like command. In Pompey's absence he had served as quaestor and praetor, and he strove ardently to reorganize the Democratic party. In public speeches he ventured to praise Marius and Cinna as champions of the people; and in the year 64, by a daring stroke, he again set up at the Capitol the trophies of Marius, which had been torn down in the rule of Sulla.

452. The Conspiracy of Catiline. — Caesar had tried also to build up some counterpoise to Pompey's power, by securing a province in Egypt; but his hopes had been dashed by a strange incident. One of the Democratic agitators was the profligate *Catiline*. This man organized a reckless conspiracy of bankrupt and ruined adventurers, like himself. He planned to murder the consuls and the senators, confiscate the property of the rich, and make himself tyrant. This conspiracy was detected and crushed by Cicero, the consul (63 B.C.). The movement was not one of the Democratic party proper. It belonged to the disreputable extremists who always attach themselves to a liberal party; but the collapse reacted upon the whole popular party, and Caesar's plans were necessarily laid

¹ Cicero has been bitterly accused of cowardly and shifty politics. Mommson is very hard upon him. Warde-Fowler's *Caesar* is sympathetic in its treatment. There is an excellent statement in Pelham, 247-252. For fuller study, see Davidson's *Cicero* and Forsyth's *Cicero*.

aside. The same year, his career seemed closed by Pompey's return, and he was glad to withdraw from Italy for a while to the governorship of Spain, which at that time was not an important province.

B. THE RISE OF CAESAR.

453. Formation of the "First Triumvirate": Caesar's Consulship. — To the amazement of all parties, Pompey dismissed his veterans and came to Rome as a private citizen. Then the jealous and stupid Senate again drove him into the arms of the Democrats. It refused to give his soldiers the lands he had promised them for pay, and delayed even to ratify his political arrangements in the East.

For two years Pompey fretted in vain. Caesar seized the chance and formed a coalition between Pompey, Crassus, and himself. This alliance is sometimes called the "First Triumvirate."¹ Caesar furnished the brains and secured the fruits. He became consul (59 B.C.) and first set about securing Pompey's measures. The Senate refused even to consider them. Caesar laid them directly before the Assembly. A senatorial tribune interposed his veto, with the support of the other consul, Bibulus. Caesar looked on calmly while a mob of Sulla's veterans drove the two from the Assembly. To delay proceedings, Bibulus announced that he would consult the omens. According to religious law, all action should have ceased until the result was known; Caesar serenely disregarded this antiquated check, and carried the measures. Next he demolished the remains of Sulla's constitution. He had stepped into the first place in Rome as the Democratic leader.

454. Caesar in Gaul: New Expansion in the West. — At the close of his consulship, with Pompey's aid, Caesar received command of the Cisalpine and Transalpine² Gallic provinces for five years as proconsul.

¹ For a caution regarding this term, see § 469, note.

² In 121, the southern part of Gaul had at last been given the form of a province (§ 336, close). It was commonly known as *The Province* (modern, *Provence*).

The appointment was one of the happy accidents that influence all history. For the next ten years Caesar abandoned



JULIUS CAESAR. — The British Museum bust.

Italy for the supreme work that opened to him beyond the Alps. He found the Province threatened by two great military invasions: the whole people of the Helvetii were migrating from their Alpine homes in search of more fertile lands, and a great German nation, under the king Ariovistus, was already encamped in Gaul. The Gauls themselves had adopted some civilization, but they were distracted by feuds and grievously oppressed by their disorderly chieftains.

Caesar saw the danger and grasped the opportunity. He levied armies hastily, and in one summer drove back the Helvetii and annihilated the Germans. Then he seized upon the Rhine as the proper Roman frontier, and, in a series of masterly campaigns, he made all Gaul Roman, extending his expeditions even into Britain.

The story is told with incomparable lucidity in his own Commentaries.¹ Whatever we think of the morality of the

¹ Special reports: Caesar in Britain; revolt of Vercingetorix; the Druids.

conquests, they were to produce infinite good for mankind.¹ The result was twofold.

(a) The wave of German invasion was again checked, until Roman civilization had time to do its work and to prepare the way for the coming Christian church. "Let the Alps now sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but they are no longer needed."

(b) A wider home for Roman civilization was won among fresh populations, unexhausted and vigorous. The map widened from the Mediterranean circle to include the shores of the North and Baltic seas. The land that Caesar made Roman (our modern France) was, next to Greece and Italy, to form down to the present time the chief instructor of Europe; while, except for this work of Caesar, "our civilization itself would have stood in hardly more intimate relation to the Romano-Greek than to Assyrian culture."²

455. The Rupture between Caesar and Pompey. — The close of the first five years of Caesar's rule in Gaul saw him easily superior to his colleagues, and able to seize power at Rome if he chose. But it was never his way to leave the work in hand unfinished. He renewed the alliance in 55 B.C., securing the Gauls for five years more for himself, giving Spain to Pompey, and Asia to Crassus.

Crassus soon perished in battle with the Parthians³ (a huge, barbaric empire, then reaching from the Euphrates to the Indus); and it became more and more apparent that the question whether Caesar or Pompey was to rule at Rome

¹ Says John Fiske, "We ought to be thankful to Caesar every day that we live." Read Fiske's *American Political Ideas*, 108-113, and Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, III, 45-46 and 174-176, for their justification of wars with savages as "the most ultimately righteous of all wars." The justification of Caesar's conquests in Gaul and Britain rests upon much the same basis as does the white man's occupation of the American continents. The student should compare the Roman possessions after these conquests of Pompey and Caesar, east and west, with the territory as it stood before them. Compare the map on page 348 with that following page 422.

² Read Mommsen, V, 100-102, for an admirable statement.

³ Special report: Crassus' campaign.

could not be long postponed. Pompey, in his jealousy of his more brilliant rival, drew nearer to the Senate again, and was finally adopted by that terrified body as their champion. *He was made sole consul, and at the same time his military commands abroad were continued to him.* The Aristocrats planned to destroy Caesar when his term of office should expire. By a series of acts, marked by vacillation and bad faith, they even tried to deprive him of his army before the settled time. When two tribunes, friendly to Caesar, vetoed this decree, they were mobbed and driven from Rome. The civil war was drawing near (§§ 456 ff.).

FOR FURTHER READING ON DIVISION V. — Mommsen, bk. v, chs. vii-ix; Merivale's *Triumvirates*; Pelham; Warde-Fowler's *Caesar*; Davidson's *Cicero*; Froude's *Caesar*; Plutarch's *Lives* ("Caesar," "Lucullus," "Crassus").

REVIEW EXERCISES ON PART IV.

1. Review by the syllabus in the table of contents.
2. Review questions prepared by class.
3. Fact drills.

a. *Dates.* The class, of course, continue drill on the list on page 251. Fill out the following table, and group other dates around these. Use the table of dates in the Appendix for review; note especially the relative rates of development of Greece and Rome in the several periods or centuries.

510 (?)	B.C.	"Expulsion" of the kings.
390	"	Sack of Rome by the Gauls.
367	"	_____
266	"	_____
218	"	(Cf. 220 B.C. — Greek History.)
146	"	_____
49	"	_____

- b. List of Rome's wars after 390 B.C.
- c. List of important battles.

PART V.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE (THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD).

Rome was the whole world, and all the world was Rome.

— SPENSER, *Ruins of Rome*.

Even now a sovereign who should thus hold all the lands round the Mediterranean Sea, and whose borders should be the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, would be incomparably the strongest ruler in the world. . . . As has been often pointed out, when Rome ruled she was not only the greatest, but practically the only Power of which the statesman and the philosopher took any cognisance.

— HODGKIN, in *Contemporary Review*, January, 1898, p. 53.

Republican Rome had little to do either by precept or example with modern life; imperial Rome, everything. — STILLÉ, *Studies*, 17.



CHAPTER I.

FOUNDING THE EMPIRE: JULIUS AND AUGUSTUS, 49 B.C.—14 A.D.

I. THE FIVE YEARS OF JULIUS CAESAR.

A. THE MORAL QUESTION.

456. Monarchy at Rome Inevitable. — From the time of the Gracchi, Rome had been moving toward monarchy. *Owing to the corruption of the populace in the capital, the tremendous power of the tribune had grown occasionally into a virtual dictatorship (as with Caius Gracchus and Sulpicius). Owing to the growing military danger on the frontiers, the mighty authority of a one-year proconsul of a single province was sometimes extended, by special decrees, over vaster areas for indefinite time (as with Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar). To make a*

monarch needed but to unite these two powers at home and abroad in one person.

457. Monarchy Right for Rome: Caesar the Hope of the Subject Nations.—These two conditions (the corruption of the Roman citizens and the danger of barbarian invasion) made monarchy *inevitable*. A third condition made it *right*. This was *the need for better government in the provinces*,—by far the greater part of the Roman world.

Here is the merit of Caesar. There might have arisen a purely selfish despot. It is Caesar's peculiar honor that he, more than any other statesman of the time, felt this third need. He rose to power as the champion of the suffering subject-populations. He had undoubtedly come to see that in any case the only government for that age was one-man rule; the existing commonwealth he called "a body without a soul." But his special aim was to mold the distracted Roman world into a mighty empire *under equal laws*.

His faith in monarchy was not an abandonment of his earlier democracy, so much as a broadening of it. From the champion of the city mob against an aristocratic ring, he had become the champion of wide nationalities against the same narrow circle and the mob of a single city. Already, as proconsul, on his own authority, he had admitted the Cisalpine Gauls to all the privileges of citizenship. In the midst of arduous campaigns, he had kept up correspondence with leading provincials in all parts of the empire. He had expended vast sums in adorning and improving provincial cities, not only in his own districts of Gaul and Spain, but also in Asia and Greece. His army itself was drawn from Cisalpine Gaul, and indeed partly from Gaul beyond the Alps.

The subject nationalities were learning to look to him as their best hope against senatorial rapacity, and the great body of them wished for monarchy as the only legitimate government and the only escape from anarchy.

458. Despotism a Medicine for Rome.—To call Caesar *right* in his day, is not to call monarchy *right* in all times and places. No institution

can be judged apart from the surrounding conditions. A "Caesar" in Rome in 200 B.C. would have been a criminal; the real Caesar in 50 B.C. was a benefactor.

Moreover, to say that monarchic government was the happiest solution possible for Rome is not to call it an unmixed good. No perfectly happy outcome was possible to that Roman world, destitute of representative institutions and based on slavery. *But a despotism can get along on less virtue and intelligence than a free government can.* The evils that were finally to overthrow the Empire five centuries later had all appeared in the last century of the Republic. Ruin seemed imminent. The change to the imperial system restored prosperity and staved off the final collapse for a time as long as separates us from Luther or Columbus.

The interval was precious; for in it, under Roman protection, priceless work was to be done for humanity. *But finally the medicine of despotism exhausted its good effect; its own poison was added to the older evils; and the collapse, threatened in the first century B.C., came in the fifth century A.D.*

B. THE CIVIL WAR.

459. Caesar crosses the Rubicon: Campaign in Italy.—Caesar had finished his work in Gaul in the nick of time, and was free to meet his enemies at Rome and to take up his greater designs. He still shrank from civil war. He wished to secure the consulship, and he seems to have hoped, in that event, to accomplish reform without violence. Accordingly, he made offer after offer of conciliation, and finally agreed to all that his opponents had asked. But he was rebuffed by Pompey and the Senate, and his friends were driven from Rome. He had to choose between civil war and personal ruin.

Caesar finally chose war. He had only one legion in Cisalpine Gaul; but, in January, 49 B.C., he led it into Italy. This was an act of war, and the story goes that as he crossed the Rubicon—the little stream between his province and Italy—he exclaimed, "The die is cast!" He never again looked back. With audacious rapidity he moved directly upon the much larger forces that ponderous Pompey was mustering at leisure; and in sixty days, almost without bloodshed, he was master of the peninsula.

460. Campaigns in Spain and Greece. — Pompey was still in control of most of the empire, but Caesar held the capital and the advantage of Italy's central position. Turning to Spain, in three months he dispersed the armies of Pompey's lieutenants there; and then, following Pompey himself to Greece, in a critical campaign in 48 B.C. he became master of the world.

The decisive battle was fought at *Pharsalus* in Thessaly. Caesar's little army, living for weeks on roots and bark of trees, numbered less than half Pompey's well-provided troops. Pompey had his choice of positions, and he had never been beaten in the field. It looked for a time as though Caesar had rashly invited ruin. From this danger he snatched overwhelming victory.

The result is explained largely by the character of the opposing commanders. Pompey, despite his long career of unbroken success, was "formed for a corporal and forced to be a general"; while Caesar, though caring not at all for military glory, was one of the two or three greatest captains of all time. Almost as much the armies differed in real fighting power Warde-Fowler's summary is masterly (*Caesar*, 299):—

"On one side the disunion, selfishness, and pride of the last survivors of an ancient oligarchy, speculating before the event on the wealth or office that victory was to bring them; on the other, the absolute command of a single man, whose clear mental vision was entirely occupied with the facts and issues that lay before him that day. The one host was composed in great part of a motley crowd from Greece and the East, representing that spurious Hellenic civilization that for a century had sapped the vigor of Roman life; the other was chiefly drawn from the Gallic populations of Italy and the West, fresh, vigorous, intelligent, and united in devotion and loyalty to a leader whom not even defeat could dishearten. With Pompeius was the spirit of the past, and his failure did but answer to the failure of a decaying world; with Caesar was the spirit of the future, and his victory marks the moment when humanity could once more start hopefully upon a new line of progress."

461. The Four remaining Campaigns. — Other wars hindered the great work of reorganization. Egypt and Asia Minor each

required a campaign.¹ In Egypt, under the wiles of the voluptuous princess, *Cleopatra*, whom he made queen, Caesar seems to have wasted a few months. He partly atoned for this delay by his swift prosecution of the war in Asia against *Pharnaces*, son of Mithridates. It was this campaign that Caesar reported pithily to the Senate in the historic phrase, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Meantime, Cato and the senatorial party had raised troops in Africa and called in the aid of the Numidian king. Caesar crushed them at *Thapsus*.² Somewhat later, Pompey's sons and the last remnants of their party were overthrown in Spain at *Munda*.

C. CONSTRUCTIVE WORK.³

462. Clemency and Reconciliation. — The first effort of the new ruler went to reconcile Italy to his government. All respectable classes there had trembled when he crossed the Rubicon, expecting new Marian massacres or at least a new Catilinarian war upon property. But Caesar maintained strict order, guarded property carefully, and punished no political opponent who laid down arms.

Only one of his soldiers had refused to follow him when he decided upon civil war. Caesar sent all this officer's property after him to Pompey's camp. He continued the same policy, too, toward the nobles who left Italy to join Pompey. On the field of victory, he checked the vengeance of his soldiers, calling upon them to remember that the enemy were their fellow-citizens; and after Pharsalus he employed in the public

¹ Special report: siege of Caesar in Alexandria.

² Cato, stern Republican that he was, committed suicide at Utica, after this defeat, unwilling to survive the commonwealth. His death was admired by the ancient world, and cast an undeserved halo about the expiring Republican cause. More than anything else, it has led later writers to treat Caesar as the ambitious destroyer of his country's liberty. Read the story in Plutarch's *Life of Cato*.

³ Warde-Fowler, 326-359; How and Leigh, 539-551; Merivale, *Triumvirates*, 136, 139, 157-170; Mommsen, bk. v, ch. xi.

service any Roman of ability, without regard to the side he had fought on.

In Gaul, Caesar's warfare had been largely of the cruel kind so common in Roman annals; but his clemency in the civil war was without example. It brought its proper fruit: almost at once all classes, except a few extremists, became heartily reconciled to his government.

463. The Form of the New Monarchy.—For the most part, the old Republican *forms* continued. Except for some brief intervals, the Senate deliberated, and consuls and praetors were elected, as before. *But Caesar drew the more important powers into his own hands.* He received the *tribunician power*¹ *for life*, and likewise the authority of a *life censor*. He was already head of the state religion as *Pontifex Maximus*. Now he accepted also a *dictatorship for life* and the title of *Imperator* for himself *and his descendants*.

“Imperator” (from which comes our “Emperor”) had meant simply “general,” or “supreme commander.” It suggested the absolute power of the master of the legions in the field. This power (the closest survival of the ancient *imperium* of the kings) was now conferred upon a civil officer in the city itself.²

Probably Caesar would have liked the title of king, since the recognized authority, and forms that went with it, would have helped to maintain order. But when he found that term still hateful to the populace, he seems to have designed this hereditary Imperatorship for the title of the new monarchy. Had he succeeded in making it strictly hereditary, the world would have been spared many of the worst evils of the next four centuries.

¹ Caesar was from an old patrician family, and so could not hold the office of tribune (§§ 308, 324). Therefore he devised this new grant of “tribunician power,” to answer the purpose.

² Caesar's power really resulted from a union (§ 454) of the tribunician power in the city with the proconsular power over all the provinces. The title Imperator sums up this union, and indicates supreme authority throughout the empire.

464. General Measures of Reform.—Caesar's reforms embraced Rome, Italy, and the empire. A bankrupt law released all debtors from further obligation, if they surrendered their entire estates to their creditors,¹—and so the demoralized society was given a fresh start. A commission like that of the Gracchi to reclaim and allot public lands was put at work. Landlords were required to employ at least one free laborer for every two slaves. Italian colonization in the provinces was pressed vigorously. In his early consulship (59 B.C.), Caesar had refounded Capua; now he did the like for Carthage and Corinth, and these noble capitals which had been criminally destroyed by the narrow jealousy of republican Rome, rose again to wealth and power. Eighty thousand landless citizens of Rome were provided for beyond seas; and by these and other means the helpless poor in the capital, dependent upon free grain,² were reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. Beyond doubt, with longer life, Caesar would have lessened the evil further.

Rigid economy was introduced into all branches of the government. Taxation was equalized and reduced. A comprehensive census was taken for all Italy, and measures were under way to extend it over the empire, as was done later by Augustus. Caesar also reformed the calendar³ and the coinage, began the codification of the irregular mass of Roman law, created a great *public* library, built a new Forum, and began vast public works in all parts of the empire.

¹ This principle has been adopted in modern legislation.

² Soon after the time of the Gracchi, it became necessary to extend the practice of *selling cheap grain to distributing free grain*, at state expense, to the populace of the capital. This became one of the chief duties of the government. To have omitted it would have meant starvation and a horrible insurrection.

³ The Roman calendar, inferior to the Egyptian, had got three months out of the way, so that the spring equinox came in June. To correct the error, Caesar made the year 46 ("the last year of confusion") consist of four hundred and forty-five days, and for the future, instituted the system of leap years, as we have it, except for a slight correction by Pope Gregory in the sixteenth century. The reform was based upon the Egyptian system (§ 17).

465. The Provinces. — The system of provincial government was made over. The old governors had been ignorant and irresponsible tyrants, with every temptation to plunder their charge. Under Caesar they became the trained servants of a stern master who looked to the welfare of the whole empire. Their authority, too, was lessened, and they were surrounded by a system of checks in the presence of other officials dependent directly upon the Emperor. The governors soon came to be paid fixed salaries, and were not allowed even to accept presents from the provincials.

Such correction of abuses was a vast gain; but even more important was Caesar's plan to put the provinces upon an equality with Italy. "*As provinces they were to disappear, to prepare for the renovated Romano-Greek nation a new and more spacious home, of whose several parts no one existed merely for the others, but all for each and each for all.*"¹ All Cisalpine Gaul was incorporated in Italy, and Roman citizenship was enormously multiplied *by the addition of whole communities in Farther Gaul, in Spain, and elsewhere.* Leading Gauls, too, were admitted to the Senate, which Caesar hoped to raise to a Grand Council really representative of the needs and feelings of the empire.

466. The Unforeseen Interruption. — In a few months Caesar had won the favor of the Roman populace, the sympathy of the respectable classes in Italy, and the enthusiastic reverence of the provinces. He was still in the prime of a strong and active manhood, and had every reason to hope for time to complete his work.

No public enemy could be raised against him within the empire. One danger there was: lurking assassins beset his path. But with characteristic dignity he quietly refused a bodyguard, declaring it better to die at any time than to live always in fear of death. And so, in the midst of preparation for expeditions against the Parthians and Germans to secure

¹ Read Mommsen, V, 415-417, also 427, 428.

the frontiers, the murderous daggers of men whom he had spared struck him down.

A group of irreconcilable nobles, led by the envious *Cassius* and the weak enthusiast *Brutus* (whom Caesar had heaped with favors), plotted to take his life. They accomplished their crime in the senate house, on the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C. Crowding around him, and fawning upon him as to ask a favor, the assassins suddenly drew their daggers. According to an old story, Caesar at first, calling for help, stood on his defense, and wounded *Cassius*; but when he saw the loved and trusted *Brutus*, in the snarling pack, he cried out sadly,



MARCUS BRUTUS. — A bust now in the Capitoline Museum.

“What! thou, too, *Brutus*!” and drawing his toga about him with calm dignity, he resisted no longer, but sank at the foot of Pompey’s statue, bleeding from three and twenty stabs.

467. Caesar’s Character.—Caesar has been called the one original genius in Roman history. His gracious courtesy and unrivaled charm won all hearts, so that it is said his enemies dreaded personal interviews, lest they be drawn to his side. Toward his friends he never wearied in forbearance and love. In the civil war young *Curio*, a dashing but reckless lieutenant, lost two legions and undid much good work — to Caesar’s great peril. *Curio* refused to survive his blunder, and found death on the field; but Caesar, with no word of reproach, refers to the disaster only to excuse it kindly by reference to *Curio*’s youth and to “his faith in his good fortune from his former success.”

No man ever excelled Caesar in quick perception of means, fertility of resource, dash in execution, or tireless activity. His opponent Cicero said of him: "He had genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry, exactness." Numerous anecdotes are told of the many activities he could carry on at one time, and of his dictating six or more letters to as many scribes at once. Says a modern critic, "He was great as a captain, statesman, lawgiver, jurist, orator, poet, historian, grammarian, mathematician, architect."

No doubt "Caesar was ambitious." He was not a philanthropic enthusiast merely, but a broad-minded, intellectual genius, with a strong man's delight in ruling well. He saw clearly what was to do, and knew perfectly his own supreme ability to do it. Caesar and Alexander are the two great captains whose conquests have done most for civilization. But Caesar, master in war as he was, always preferred statesmanship, and was free from Alexander's boyish liking for mere fighting.

The seven campaigns in the five years after he crossed the Rubicon left Caesar less than eighteen months for his great plans of reorganization. Even this short time was in broken intervals between wars, and the whole routine of ordinary government had to be taken care of also. Of course the new work remained incomplete, and it is not always possible to tell just what Caesar planned to do; but that which was actually accomplished dazzles the imagination. His genius, too, marked out the lines along which, on the whole, his successors, less grandly, had to move.

The murder was as imbecile as it was wicked. It struck the wise monarch, but not the monarchy, and left Caesar's work to be completed by smaller men, after a new period of anarchy. We can do no better, in leaving "the foremost man of all this world," than to use the words of Mommsen: "Thus he worked and created as never any mortal before or after him; and as a worker and creator he still, after two thousand years, lives in

the memory of the nations — the first and the unique Imperator Caesar!"¹

FOR FURTHER READING. — White's *Appian*, for the period; Mommsen, bk. v, chs. x-xi; Warde-Fowler's *Caesar* (Heroes); Davidson's *Cicero* (Heroes); Trollope's *Cicero*; Froude's *Caesar*; Pelham; Merivale's *Triumvirates*; Plutarch's *Lives* ("Caesar," "Pompelius," "Crassus," "Cicero," "Brutus").

II. FROM JULIUS TO OCTAVIUS, 44-31 B.C.

468. Antonius and Octavius. — Caesar's assassination led to fourteen years more of dreary civil war, before the Empire was finally established on a firm foundation. The murderers had hoped to be greeted as liberators. For the moment they were the masters of the city; but, to their dismay, all classes (even the senatorial order) shrank from them. In a few days they found themselves in extreme peril. At Caesar's funeral his lieutenant and friend, Marcus Antonius ("Mark Antony") was permitted to deliver the usual oration over the dead body, and his skillful and fiery words² roused the populace to fury against the assassins. The mob rose; all Italy was hostile; and the conspirators fled to the eastern provinces, where some of them had commands and where the fame of Pompey was still a strength to the Aristocrats.

In the West, control fell to two men, *Antonius* and *Octavius Caesar*. Antonius, the orator of Caesar's funeral, was a dissolute, resolute, daring soldier. Octavius was a grand-nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar. He was an unknown sickly youth of eighteen, and at first he owed his importance wholly to the connection with the great dictator; but he soon proved himself the shrewdest and strongest statesman of the empire.

¹ Read the rest of Mommsen's fine summary, V, 441-442, and, for Caesar's character, the famous passage, pp. 305-314. See also a fine passage on the necessity of the Empire, and on Caesar's work, in Hodgkin's "Fall of the Roman Empire," in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1898, pp. 53-58.

² Shakespeare follows the historical account in the nature of the speech he puts into Antony's mouth in *Julius Caesar*.

469. Formation of the Second Triumvirate. — At first these two leaders were rivals, each posing as the heir and successor of Caesar. By the shrewd policy of Octavius, however, they united their forces, and, to secure the West thoroughly, they took into partnership Lepidus, governor of Gaul and Spain.



OCTAVIUS CAESAR (AUGUSTUS) AS A BOY.
A bust now in the Vatican.

The three men got themselves appointed *triumvirs*¹ by the Senate (43 B.C.). They were given unlimited power for five years to reorganize the state; and this dictatorship they afterward extended at will.

470. The Proscription.

— The union was cemented with blood. To their shame, the triumvirs abandoned the merciful policy of Caesar. Their first deed was to get rid of their personal foes in Italy by a horrible proscription. Each marked off on the fatal list those whose deaths

he demanded, and each surrendered an uncle, a brother, or a trusting friend, to the others' hate. It was at this time that Cicero perished, abandoned by his friend Octavius to the hatred of Antonius. More than three thousand victims — all men of high position — were slain. The triumvirate had crushed out all possible opposition in Italy.

¹ Note that the term triumvirate is official in this use, while the so-called *first* triumvirate (§ 443) was an unofficial league, or ring, of public men. The triumvirate of 43 B.C. was a triple dictatorship; just as the ancient *decemvirate* (§ 314) was a dictatorship of *ten* men.

471. Final Overthrow of the Oligarchs; Philippi.—Meantime Brutus and Cassius had been rallying the old Pompeian forces in the East. Their army contained troops from Parthia, Armenia, Media, Pontus, and Thrace. Octavius and Antonius marched against them. Again the East and West met in conflict, and again the West won — at Philippi in Macedonia (42 B.C.). This was the last time the “Republicans” appeared in arms.

472. Quarrels of the Triumvirs; Actium.—Then Octavius and Antonius set aside Lepidus and divided the Roman world between themselves. Soon each was plotting for the other’s share. The East had fallen to Antonius. There he became infatuated with the licentious Cleopatra of Egypt, until he lost care even for his military fame and sank into sensual indolence, with only fitful gleams of his old energy.

Octavius was preparing to take advantage of this condition, when a pretext was made ready to his hand. Antonius bestowed rich provinces upon Cleopatra, and, it was rumored, planned to supplant Rome by Alexandria as chief capital. The West turned to Octavius as its champion. The Roman Senate declared war against Antonius, and, in 31, the rivals met in the naval battle of *Actium* off the west coast of Greece. This was the third of the decisive battles in the establishment of the empire: and, like Pharsalus and Philippi, it also was a victory for the West over the East.¹

III. OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS, 31 B.C.—14 A.D.

473. Final Establishment of the Empire; Republican Forms.—Actium made Octavius sole master of the Roman world. He proceeded to the East to restore order and to annex Egypt, which now became a Roman province. On his return to Rome, in 29 B.C., the gates of the Temple of Janus were

¹ Special reports: story of the battle of Actium; death of Antonius and of Cleopatra.

closed, in token of the reign of peace.¹ He declared a general amnesty, and thereafter welcomed to favor and public office the followers of his old enemies; and, by prudent and generous measures, he soon brought back prosperity to long-distracted Italy.

In 27, Octavius laid down his office of triumvir (which had become a sole dictatorship), and declared *the Republic restored*. The act really showed that he was absolute master and that *the Empire was safely established*. To be sure, Octavius himself wrote (*Monumentum*,² xxxiv): "After that time I excelled all others in dignity, but of power I held no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy." And indeed Republican *forms* were respected as scrupulously as conditions would permit. The Senate deliberated; the Assembly met to elect consuls and the other officers of the old constitution. But, even in form, the Senate at once gave back to Octavius his most important authority in various ways,³ and, in reality, supreme power lay in his hands as Imperator,⁴ master of the legions. This office and title Octavius kept, and the Senate now added to it the new title *Augustus*, which had before been used only of the gods.⁵ It is by this name that he is thenceforth known in history.

Augustus, however, carefully refused the forms and pomp of monarchy. He lived more simply than many a noble, and walked the streets like any citizen, charming all by his frank

¹ These gates were always open when the Romans were engaged in any war. In all Roman history, they had been closed only twice before, and one of these times was in the legendary reign of King Numa.

² See References, page 457.

³ Cf. § 497, and see an excellent statement in Pelham, 407-409.

⁴ Octavius, however, was so intrenched in popular favor that he did not need open support from the army. The legions were stationed mostly on the frontiers, far from Italy. Octavius did create a body of city troops, ten thousand in number, the *praetorian guards*, to preserve order at Rome; but during his rule even these guards were encamped outside the city.

⁵ For Augustus' "official version" of his political conduct, see the extract in Munro's *Source Book*, 144-145. The student must be on his guard in reading such "sources": Augustus' account is true to the letter, not to the spirit.

courtesy. He preferred to all his other titles the name of honor, *Princeps* (Prince), which was popularly conferred upon him and which signified "the first citizen" of the Republic.

474. The Character of Augustus.—In his early career Augustus had proven himself able, adroit, unscrupulous, cold-blooded. He had shrunk from no cruelty, and had been moved by no passion. But absolute power, which often drives small men to frenzy, warmed this cold, unlovely schemer into something akin to greatness.¹ He laid aside his first position as chief of a party, to become an impartial and faithful ruler. He took up the work of the great Julius, though with a more cautious spirit; and the remaining forty years of his life he gave to unremitting toil in strengthening the Empire and in improving the condition of the people throughout the Roman world.

475. The Augustan Age.—Augustus extended the boundaries of the empire, especially on the north, to secure safer frontiers (§ 507). But his chief work lay in internal organization. He organized the administration of the capital. A police department, a fire department, and a department for the distribution of grain, each under its proper head, were created, and the work of founding colonies outside Italy was renewed on a large scale. In like manner, the material needs of Italy and the provinces received careful attention. Throughout the empire, peace reigned. Order was everywhere established. Industry revived and thrived. Marshes were drained. Roads were built. A postal system was organized. A great census of the whole empire was carried out. The number of citizens was increased by about one fifth, and many important public works were carried through.

Above all, out of the long century of anarchy, Augustus reared a new structure of imperial government (§§ 496–499), building so firmly that even his death did not shake his work. For three centuries (until the time of Diocletian, § 549)

¹ Read Capes, *Early Empire*, 6–9.

his successors for the most part followed his general policy in government.

Augustus was also a generous and ardent patron of literature



AUGUSTUS. — Vatican Museum.

and art,¹ and the many famous writers of his reign (§ 526) gave splendor to his memory. In the history of Latin literature,

¹ In this patronage Augustus was imitated by many great nobles and especially by his minister *Maecenas*, whose fame in this respect outshines even that of his master. *Maecenas* was the particular friend and patron of Vergil and Horace.

the *Augustan Age* is synonymous with "golden age." The chief cities of the empire were adorned with noble buildings, — temples, theaters, porticoes, baths (§ 521). Augustus tells us in a famous inscription that in one year he himself began the rebuilding of eighty-two temples, and of Rome he said, "I found it brick and left it marble."

The details of much of his work will appear more fully in Chapter III (§ 496 ff.).

476. The Worship of the Dead Augustus. — At his death, by decree of the Senate, divine honors were paid Augustus. Temples were erected in his honor, and he was worshiped as a god. Impious as such worship seems to us, it was natural to the Romans. It was connected with the ideas of ancestor worship in each family, and with the general worship of ancient heroes, and was a way of recognizing the emperor as "the father of all his people." The practice was adopted for the successors of Augustus, and this worship of dead emperors soon became the most general and widespread religious rite in the Roman world, as well as a mighty bond of union.¹

In this connection it is interesting to remember that when the reign of Augustus was a little more than half gone, there was born in a manger in an obscure hamlet of a distant corner of the Roman world a child who became the founder of a religion which, after some centuries, was to replace the worship of emperors and all other religious faiths of the old pagan world.

FOR FURTHER READING. — On the work of Augustus: Firth's *Augustus*; Capes' *Early Empire*, ch. i; Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. v, ch. iii; Bury's *Roman Empire*, 1-149. For other material and for the account by Augustus himself, see page 457.

EXERCISES. — (1) Catchword review, 47-27 A.D. (2) Add the battles of this period to the list for drill. (3) Review the growth of Roman citizenship from legendary times to the death of Augustus (see index for references). (4) Review the theme sentences throughout the volume at the heads of chapters or of divisions of chapters, and note how they apply to the historical movements.

¹ Read Capes, *Early Empire*, 41-44.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES— AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN.

(*The Story of the Emperors.*)

477. Character of the Treatment of this Period.—With the Age of Augustus the history of the Empire ceases to be centered in the city of Rome. Nor is it centered even in the emperors. Much depends, of course, upon the ruler; but the great movements go on in a good deal the same way, no matter who sits upon the throne. Our study will not concern itself with the gossip of the court. For the next three centuries our interest lies not so much in a *narrative* of any kind as in a *topical* survey of the institutions of the Empire, upon which, in large measure, modern society rests.

Such a topical study is given in the next chapter. But, since it is convenient to refer to the reigns as dates, a brief summary of the emperors is given first. *This chapter is for reading and reference, not for careful study* at this stage. In review, after studying the topical treatment, important names and dates in the summary may be memorized.¹

I. TWO CENTURIES OF ORDER, 81 B.C.—180 A.D.

A. THE JULIAN CAESARS.

478. Augustus, 31 B.C.—14 A.D.: a Summary.—The work of Augustus is discussed in detail elsewhere; but a brief outline is added here. Augustus fixed the imperial constitution, *establishing despotism under Republican forms* (§§ 496–498). He *fixed*

¹ Students who wish to read more fully on the *narrative* of the first two centuries may use Capes' *Early Empire*, 44–180, and *Age of the Antonines*, 1–135, or Bury, *Roman Empire* (Student's Series). Other material can be found in the references named on page 457. On the third century there is no good brief treatment. The narrative chapters in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* may be used.

the boundaries of the empire (meeting with a check from the Germans in the defeat of the *Teutoberg Forest*, § 507). He restored *order*, promoted *prosperity*, carried out a *census* of the empire, constructed many vast *public works*. His age was the "golden age" of Latin literature. He "found Rome brick and left it marble." During his reign, *Christ was born*.

479. Tiberius, 14-37 A.D. — Augustus was succeeded by his stepson *Tiberius*, whom he had adopted as his heir. Tiberius was stern, morose, suspicious; but he was also an able, conscientious ruler. The nobles of the capital conspired against him, and were punished cruelly. The populace of Rome, too, hated him because he restricted the distribution of grain and refused to amuse them with gladiatorial sports. To keep the capital in order, Tiberius brought the praetorians (§ 473, note) into the city and encouraged a system of paid spies, so that the people of Rome with some reason looked upon him as a gloomy tyrant.¹ He also made the law of treason (*majestas*) apply to words against the emperor, as well as to acts of violence. *But in the provinces he was proverbial for fairness, kindness, and good government.* On one occasion, after a great earthquake in Asia Minor, he rebuilt twelve cities which had been destroyed there. In this reign occurred *the crucifixion of Christ*.

480. Caligula, 37-41. — In the absence of nearer heirs, Tiberius adopted his grandnephew *Caligula*. This prince had been a promising youth, but, crazed by power, he became a capricious madman, with gleams of fero-

¹ The great authority for this period is the Roman historian, *Tacitus*. But *Tacitus* is affected by the prejudice of the Roman nobles, and he paints Tiberius in colors much too dark. (See extracts in *Munro's Source Book*, 149-152.) The worst cruelties of Tiberius's reign were due, too, to his misplaced trust in *Sejanus*, his minister and commander of the praetorians. For a time this infamous miscreant virtually ruled the capital while Tiberius, in disgust, withdrew to his beautiful retreat on the island of *Capri*, near the Bay of Naples, to manage the affairs of the empire at large. Finally *Sejanus* plotted against the life of Tiberius, and was himself put to death. The abuse of the system of spies was due to the corruption of society in the capital. Read the extract in *Munro*, pages 151-152.

scious humor. "Would that the Romans had all one neck!" he exclaimed, wishing that he might behead them all at one stroke. His deeds were a series of crimes and extravagant follies. The wild-beast fights of the amphitheater and the gladiatorial shows fascinated him strangely. It is said that sometimes, to add to the spectacle, he ordered spectators to be thrown to the animals, and he entered the arena himself as a gladiator, to win the applause of the people whom he hated. After four years, he was murdered by his guard.

481. Claudius, 41-54. — Caligula had named no successor. For a moment the Senate hoped to restore the old Republic; but the praetorians set up as emperor *Claudius*, the uncle of Caligula. Claudius was a timid, gentle, awkward, well-meaning scholar. Much of the time he was under the influence of unworthy favorites. Still his reign is famous for a *great extension of citizenship* to provincials and for *legislation to protect slaves* against cruel masters.¹ *The Roman conquest of southern Britain* took place in this reign (§ 508).²

482. Nero, 54-68. — Claudius was succeeded by his stepson *Nero*, a boy of sixteen. Nero had been trained by the philosopher *Seneca* (§ 525), and for two thirds of his reign he was ruled by this great thinker and by other wise ministers. Indeed, the young emperor cared little for affairs of government, but was fond of art, and ridiculously vain of his skill in music and poetry. After some years he began to withdraw himself from the influence of his good advisers, and toward the close of his reign he manifested a *tiger-like depravity*. Wealthy nobles were put to death in great numbers and their property confiscated for the tyrant's benefit, *Seneca* himself being among the victims. Like Caligula, Nero entered the lists as a gladiator, and he sought popular applause also for his music and dancing.

During this reign *half of Rome was laid in ashes* by the "Great Fire." For six days and nights the flames raged unchecked, surging in billows over the slopes and through the valleys of the Seven Hills. By some, Nero was believed to have ordered the destruction, in order that he might rebuild in

¹ See Munro, *Source Book*, 187.

² Special report.

more magnificent fashion. On better authority he was reported to have enjoyed the spectacle from the roof of his palace, with music and dancing, singing meanwhile a poem he had composed on the "Burning of Troy."

The new sect of Christians also were accused of starting the fire, out of their supposed "hatred for the human race." To many, some color was given to the accusation by the talk of the Christians about an approaching destruction of the world. To turn attention from himself, Nero took up the charge, and carried out the *first persecution of the Christians* (§ 540), one of the most cruel in all history. Victims tarred with pitch were burned as torches in the imperial gardens, to light the indecent revelry of the court at night, and others, clothed in the skins of animals, were torn by dogs for the amusement of the mob. The persecution, however, was *confined to the capital*, and was *not religious in purpose*.

Nero sank deeper and deeper in vice and crime. Except for the disgrace, his capricious tyranny did not reach far beyond the city of Rome; but finally the legions in the provinces revolted. The tyrant was deserted by all, and the Senate condemned him to death. To avoid capture he stabbed himself, exclaiming, "What a pity for such an artist to die!"

B. THE FLAVIAN CAESARS.

483. Vespasian, 70-79. — *The year 69* was one of wild confusion in government. The legions in Spain had proclaimed the general *Galba* emperor. Another army set up *Otho*, who, after a brief struggle thrust Galba from the throne. Soon Otho was slain by the praetorians; and, for a few weeks, *Vitellius*, another hero of the soldiery, held the imperial title. Then the legions in Syria proclaimed their general, *Flavius Vespasianus* (*Vespasian*).

Vespasian was the grandson of a Sabine laborer. He was a rude soldier, — stumpy in build, blunt in manner, homely in tastes, but honest, industrious, experienced, and broad-minded. He had distinguished himself in Britain and in Asia, and he knew the needs of the empire. He quickly made himself master, and brought to an end the disorder into which Nero's misrule had plunged the state. His reign was economical

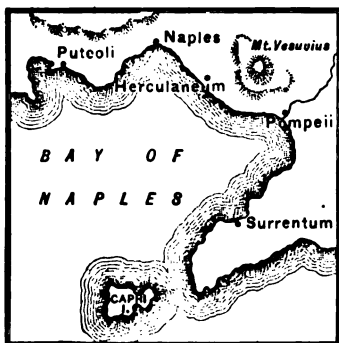
and thrifty, and was notable as an era of great public works and magnificent buildings (§ 521). He and his two successors are known as the *Flavian emperors*.

The anarchy of the year 69 had led to revolts in Gaul and in Judea. These were both put down promptly. *Rebellious Jerusalem was besieged and destroyed by Titus*, son of the emperor. The Jews made a frenzied resistance, and when the walls were finally stormed, many of them slew their women and children and died in the flames. More than a million Jews are said to have perished in the siege and the massacre that followed.¹ The miserable remnant for the most part were sold into slavery (§ 56).

484. Titus, 79-81. — Titus had been associated in the government with his father. His kindness and indulgence toward all classes made him the most popular of all the emperors. Once at supper, not able to remember

that he had made any one happy during the day, he is said to have exclaimed, "I have lost a day!"

The most famous event of this brief reign is the *destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum*.² The volcano Vesuvius was believed extinct, and its slopes were covered with villas and vineyards. With little warning it belched forth in terrible eruption, burying two cities and many villages in ashes and volcanic mud. In the eighteenth century, by the chance digging of a well, the site of Pompeii, the largest of the two cities, was discovered,



VICINITY OF THE BAY OF NAPLES.

and in recent years it has been excavated, disclosing the streets, houses, shops, temples, baths, theaters, the dress, the ornaments, and the utensils of daily life, of the men of eighteen hundred years ago, — all preserved by their volcanic covering.

485. Domitian, 81-96 A.D. — Titus was followed by his brother Domitian, a strong, stern ruler. His general *Agricola* completed *the conquest of*

¹ These figures of the Jewish historian Josephus are probably a great exaggeration. No such number of people could have dwelt within the walls of the city.

² Special report: the destruction of Pompeii. Read Bulwer's novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Material may be found in Boissier's *Rome and Pompeii*, Mau's *Pompeii*, or Dyer's *Pompeii*.

*Britain*¹ to the highlands of Caledonia (Scotland). The southern part of the island was now to enjoy a long peace. Roman roads were built; camps grew into rich cities; merchants thronged to them; the country was dotted with beautiful villas. Britain became a Roman province with Roman civilization. To protect the southern districts against the inroads of the unconquered highlanders, Agricola built a line of fortresses from the Forth to the Clyde.

On the continent, a similar, more important wall was begun, to defend the open frontier between the Rhine and the Danube. At home Domitian tried to reduce the power of the Senate. In consequence the nobles conspired against him. He put down their plots with cruelty, earning from their sympathizers the name of tyrant. Finally he was assassinated by members of his household. In this reign took place the *second persecution of the Christians*.

C. THE ANTONINE CAESARS.

486. Nerva (96–98), the First of the “Five Good Emperors.”—The Senate had lost power since the time of Augustus. The death of Domitian marks something of a revolution in its favor. It chose the next ruler from its own number; and that emperor with his four successors governed in harmony with it. These princes are known as the *five good emperors*. The first of the five was *Nerva*, an aged senator of *Spanish descent*, who died after a kindly rule of sixteen months.

487. Trajan, the next emperor (98–117 A.D.), was the adopted son of Nerva. He was a *Spaniard by birth* and a great general. Once more the boundaries of the empire were advanced, though with doubtful wisdom (§ 509). Trajan conquered *Dacia*, a vast district north of the Danube, and then attacked the Parthians in Asia. That power was humbled, and new provinces were added *beyond the Euphrates*. *These victories mark the greatest extent of the Roman empire.*

Trajan's reign was the most famous in Roman history for the *construction of roads and other useful public works throughout the provinces*. Despite his wars, his rule was humane as well as

¹ Special report.

just. By loans from the treasury, he encouraged the cities of Italy to care for and educate many thousands of poor children.¹ A slight persecution of Christians took place under this emperor.

488. Hadrian, a Spanish kinsman of Trajan, followed him upon the throne (117–138 A.D.). He was a wise and prudent man, and his rule was one of *general reorganization*. He reformed the army and strengthened its discipline, and at the same time he looked to the fortification of the exposed frontiers.



DETAIL FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN: Trajan sacrificing a bull at the bridge over the Danube just built by his soldiers. Cf. § 521.

His most famous work of this kind was the wall (Hadrian's Wall) in Britain, from the Solway to the Tyne, to replace the less satisfactory wall of Agricola, farther to the north. He wisely abandoned most of Trajan's conquests in Asia, and withdrew the frontier there to its old line of the Euphrates.

Hadrian spent most of his twenty years' rule in inspecting the provinces; and everywhere memorials of his stay sprang up in splendid buildings and useful public works. He gave a more definite form to the civil service (the great body of officers who carried on the business of the government), and

¹ Read Capes' *Antonines*, 19–21.

in particular he organized a Privy Council, a body of great ministers to assist and advise the emperor (§ 497, note).

489. Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D., who had been adopted by Hadrian, was his successor. His reign was singularly *peaceful and uneventful*, and might well have given rise to the saying, "Happy the people whose annals are meager." Antoninus himself was a pure and gentle spirit. The chief feature of his rule was the legislation *to prevent cruelty to slaves and to lessen suffering*.

On the evening of his death, when asked by the officer of the guard for the watchword for the night, he gave the word *Equanimity*, which might have served as the motto of his life. His son wrote of him: "He was ever prudent and temperate. . . . He looked to his duty, and not to the opinion of men. . . . There was in his life nothing harsh, nothing excessive, nothing overdone."

490. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161-180 A.D. — Antoninus, Pius was followed by his nephew, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, whom he had adopted as a son. Marcus Aurelius was a *philosopher and student*. He belonged to the Stoic school (§ 238), but in him that stern philosophy, without losing its lofty tone, was softened by a gracious gentleness. His *Thoughts* (§ 536) is one of the world's noblest books, deeply religious, and closer to the spirit of Christ than any other writing of the pagan world.

The tastes of Aurelius made him wish to continue in his father's footsteps, but he had fallen upon harsher times. Moved by some great impulse, the barbarians renewed their attacks upon the Danube, the Rhine, and Euphrates. Marcus and his lieutenants beat them back successfully, but at the cost of almost incessant war; and the gentle philosopher lived and wrote and died in camp, on the frontiers. A great Asiatic plague, too, swept over the empire, with terrible loss of life, demoralizing society. This plague, regarded as a visitation from offended gods, roused the populace in many parts of the empire against the unpopular sect of Christians, who refused

to worship the gods of Rome; and the reign of the kindly Aurelius was marked by a cruel persecution.

Bury writes : " To come to the aid of the weak, to mitigate the lot of slaves, to facilitate manumission, to protect wards, were the objects of Marcus as of his predecessor." Says Merivale, " The blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Caesarism in all after ages."

491. Commodus, 180-192 A.D.— The " five good emperors " end with Marcus Aurelius. His son, Commodus, was an infamous wretch who repeated the crimes and follies of the worst of his predecessors. He was finally murdered by his officers.

D. SUMMARY, 31 B.C.—192 A.D.

492. General Character of the Government.— Thus this first long period of two hundred and twenty-four years was an age of settled government and regular succession, except for two or three slight disturbances and for the disorders of the one terrible year 69, at the close of Nero's reign. That brief anarchy subdivides the period into nearly equal parts. The Julian emperors (*Romans* and related to the great Julius) covered just a century. After the three Flavians (*Italians*) came the six Antonines, who also covered nearly a hundred years. They were *provincials*. The majority of the fourteen rulers were good men. Nearly all were good rulers. The few tyrants had short reigns after their evil qualities began to show.

II. A CENTURY OF DISPUTED SUCCESSION BETWEEN MILITARY ADVENTURERS.

493. The Period of " Barrack Emperors," 193-284 A.D.— The misrule of Commodus had again left the throne the sport of the soldiery. There followed ninety years of twenty-seven " barrack emperors," set up by the praetorians or the legions, and engaged in frequent civil war. All but four of the twenty-seven emperors were slain in some revolt; and, of these four, two fell in battle against barbarian invaders.

494. The following list of the "barrack emperors" is given for reference.

Pertinax, Julianus ; 193.

Septimius Severus, 193-211.

Caracalla, 211-217.

Macrinus, 217-218. Elagabalus, 218-222.

Alexander Severus, 222-235.

Maximus, 235-238. Gordianus I and II, Pupienus, Balbinus, 238.

Gordianus III, 238-244. Philippus, 244-249.

Decius, 249-251.

Gallus, Aemilianus, Valerian, Gallienus ; 251-268.

Claudius II, 268-270.

Aurelian, 270-275.

Tacitus, Florianus, Probus, Carus, Carinus, Numerianus ; 275-282.

495. Some of the Strongest of the Barrack Emperors.— After the murder of Commodus, the praetorians proclaimed a worthy senator emperor, but in three months he fell a victim to his masters. Then they offered the imperial purple to the highest bidder, and sold it to a wealthy noble, who paid each of the twelve thousand guards about a thousand dollars.

At this disgraceful news the armies on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, rebelled, each proclaiming its favorite general. **Septimius Severus**, an African soldier, was the commander on the Danube and the nearest of the rivals to the capital. By swift action he secured the prize. He then conquered his opponents, put to death many hostile senators and nobles, repulsed the barbarians, and ruled with a strong hand (193-211 A.D.). *Another persecution of Christians* took place in this reign.

Caracalla, the son of Severus, completed the extension of Roman citizenship by making all free inhabitants of the empire full citizens. In other respects he was a brutal tyrant. His reign (211-217), however, with his father's, is the age of the famous jurists *Papinian* and *Ulpian*, who gave a great development to Roman law (§ 535).

Then, after two unimportant emperors, the times and character of the Antonines were recalled by the rule of the youth **Alexander Severus** (222-235 A.D.) Most of his reign was an era of prosperity and happiness, but it closed amid barbarian invasions. He was murdered in camp upon the Rhine while warring against the Germans.

For the next thirty years phantom emperors follow each other in bewildering confusion. Only one able ruler appeared. This was **Decius** (249-251), and he soon fell in battle against the invading Goths. His

reign was marked by a widespread *persecution of Christians*. In the sixties, so many rival claimants for the throne appeared that the period is known as the age of the "Thirty Tyrants." The empire seemed split in fragments by the jealousies of contending legions, and sunk in anarchy by misgovernment. At the same time, the barbarians swarmed over every exposed frontier, penetrating for the first time far into the empire.

Happily, strong hands grasped the scepter and restored order. **Claudius II (268-270 A.D.)** began to beat back the invaders, and his successor, the great **Aurelian**, restored the frontier (except that he abandoned Dacia to the Goths). Aurelian (270-275) was an Illyrian peasant who had risen from the ranks. He is among the ablest of the emperors. He put down internal rebellion,¹ and went far toward restoring general prosperity. In this good work he was seconded worthily by three of the six rulers whose short reigns fill the next nine years, and then Diocletian came to reorganize the state (540 ff.).

¹ Among his other wars Aurelian subdued *Zenobia*, the Queen of Palmyra, who had rebelled against Rome. Read Ware's novel, *Zenobia*.

CHAPTER III.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES, FROM AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN, 31 B.C.-304 A.D.

(*A Topical Treatment.*¹)

I. THE CONSTITUTION.

A. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

496. A Despotism under Republican Forms: the Principate.—

We have noted how Augustus cloaked the new Monarchy in old Republican forms (§ 473). *The Senate* in particular continued to exercise much real power. It was no longer a close oligarchy. It became a chosen body of distinguished men selected by the emperors from all parts of the realm, and it gave powerful expression to the feelings and needs of the empire. On the whole, this continued to be true during the first three centuries. Most of the better emperors treated the Senate with respect and welcomed its help in carrying on the government. There was a constant tendency, however, to lessen its authority, even in form, and the century of "barrack emperors" especially contributed to that result.

The Assembly ceased at once to pass laws, but, during the forty years of Augustus, it continued to go through the form of elections. Augustus did not hesitate to canvass in person for its vote in favor of himself and his nominees. Tiberius, however, transferred the elections to the Senate; and the Assembly soon faded away.

¹ For references on this important chapter, see page 457. Full titles will be found there also for various works referred to briefly in the footnotes. The student will readily perceive that the plan of this chapter involves some repetition of events mentioned in chapter ii.

Some writers call the government from Augustus to Diocletian by the name *Dyarchy*, to signify a *joint rule* of emperor and Senate. It seems a fact that in all his words and in outward forms *Augustus conciliated Republican feelings much more even than Julius Caesar had done*. The student must not forget, however, that in reality a strong emperor was an absolute monarch whenever he cared to assert his authority. Indeed, constitutionally, he could change the membership of the Senate at will (§ 497). Another term for the disguised despotism of these centuries is the *Principate*, from the title *Princeps* (§ 473).

497. The Power of the Emperors.¹—From the first, even under Augustus, the duties of the consuls and other elected officers of the old constitution were confined more and more to the city of Rome alone. For the government of the empire there grew up a new imperial machinery, centralized in one man.

This machinery was partly old in origin, and partly new. Following the example of Julius Caesar (§ 463), each emperor *concentrated in his own person* a number of the more important powers of the old Republican officers. Each emperor held the *tribunician power* and the *proconsular power* throughout all the provinces for life, and so was leader of the city and master of the legions. Usually he became *Pontifex Maximus*. With the power of censor, or with the tribunician power, he could *appoint and degrade senators*, and so could at any time make himself absolute master of the Senate. By the same right he could lead the debates in that body and control its decrees, which became a chief means of law-making.² He appointed the governors of the provinces and the generals of the legions, the city prefect, the head of the city police, and the prefect of the praetorians; and, at will, he called together his chief

¹ Consult Munro's *Source Book*, 146-148. There is an admirable discussion in Pelham, 398-449, and a shorter one in Capes' *Early Empire*, 11-18. Bury's treatment (*Roman Empire*, 12-22) is excellent, but somewhat difficult for young readers.

² The emperor controlled the remaining legislation also: (a) *directly*, in *edicts* (as from the old republican magistrates sometimes), or in *rescripts* (directions to his officials); (b) *indirectly*, through the great jurists he appointed, whose interpretations of doubtful cases came to be a source of law.

officers and friends to advise and assist in carrying on the government.¹ Each successor of Augustus was hailed *Imperator Caesar Augustus*.²

498. The Establishment of the Empire a Gradual Process.—The Empire is dated sometimes from the year 27 B.C., when Octavius received the title of Augustus; sometimes from 31 B.C., when he became sole dictator; sometimes from 49 B.C., when Caesar crossed the Rubicon to become master of Rome. The fact is, its establishment was a *gradual process*. The essence of the change was, *that a single citizen, by different commissions, united in himself powers that had been intended to check one another.*

The process was not complete, even in the life of Augustus, for the practical master was not yet the acknowledged monarch. But a great step was taken when, on Augustus' death, all the world quietly recognized that he must have a successor. To be sure, in granting titles and authority to Tiberius, the Senate made no reference to the *term* of his office; and Tiberius hinted that he should lay it down as soon as the state no longer needed him. No one took these words seriously, however; and soon it became the practice to confer all the imperial powers upon each new ruler *for life*.

499. Nature of the Succession.—The weakest point in the imperial constitution was the uncertainty about the succession. In theory, just as the early republican magistrates nominated their successors (§ 275), so the emperor nominated the ablest man in his dominions to the Senate for his successor. But this principle was confused from the first by family claims, and later by the whims of the legions. The monarchy was neither elective nor hereditary, but in time it came to combine the worst evils of both systems. The praetorian guards in Rome had to be conciliated by presents from each new ruler,

¹ Hadrian (§ 488) made this irregular body of advisers and assistants a Privy Council, a regular part of the government, with definite composition and duties.

² The name Caesar survives in *Kaiser* and probably in *Tsar*.

and after two centuries the throne became for a hundred years the prey of military adventurers (§§ 493-495).

Still, the student of history must acknowledge the truth of Mommsen's statement regarding the first two centuries: "Seldom has the government of so large a part of the world been conducted for so long a time in so orderly a sequence."

B. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.¹

500. Municipal Government.²—Throughout the empire great numbers of cities enjoyed self-government for local concerns. The magistrates (consuls, aediles, and quaestors) were elected in popular Assemblies that remained active long after the Assembly at Rome had passed away. Election placards posted in the houses of Pompeii (§ 484) show that the political contests were real, with strong popular excitement.

In each such town, the ex-magistrates formed a senate, or town council, which voted local taxes, expended them for town purposes, and in general looked after town matters. The ordinances of this council, sometimes at least, were submitted to the Assembly of citizens for approval. The *forms* of these municipal institutions, derived from the old Republic and now organized and extended to the provinces, were never to die out in Europe; and in the early Empire, the spirit of local patriotism and of self-government was strong.

501. The Tendency of the Emperors and their Governors to centralize the Local Government.—It is true, however, that the independence of the local governments was gradually sapped by the habit of referring all matters to the provincial governor. Moreover, it must be understood that the many

¹ This is a convenient point for the student to get a clear idea of the difference between "government" and "administration." "Administration," in the sense in which we shall most often have occasion to use the word, refers to the *machinery* for carrying out the will of the government.

² Read Capes, *Early Empire*, 193-198, or Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 223-238.

varieties and irregularities of the local institutions in the different cities of a province would cause vexatious delays to the central government. Therefore, strong rulers were sometimes disposed to sweep away the local institutions, in order to make the administration more uniform and to secure quicker results.

Oftentimes, the better intentioned the ruler, the stronger this evil tendency. Pliny (§ 529) was a worthy servant of a noble emperor; but we find Pliny writing to ask Trajan whether he shall allow the citizens of a town in his province of Bithynia to *repair* their public baths as they desire, or whether he shall require them to *build new ones*,¹ and whether he shall not interfere to compel a wiser use of public moneys lying idle in another town, and to simplify varieties of local politics in other cities.¹

Trajan, wiser than his minister, gently rebukes this over-zeal, and will have no wanton meddling with matters that pertain to established rights and customs. But other rulers were not so far-sighted, and local life did decline before the spirit of centralization.

502. The Provinces. — Above the towns there was no local *self-government*. The administration of the provinces was regulated along the lines Julius Caesar had marked out, and the better emperors gave earnest study to provincial needs. But the imperial government, however paternal and kindly, was despotic and absolute. Provincial Assemblies, it is true, were called together sometimes, especially in Gaul, but only to give the emperor information or advice. These Assemblies were made up of delegates from the various towns in a province. At first sight, they have the look of representative parliaments, but they never acquired any real political power.²

¹ Read the correspondence, or at least the excellent extracts in Bury, 440-444, or in Fling's *Studies*, No. 9. Capes' *Antonines*, 23-25, gives a shorter extract. A brief extract is given also in Munro's *Source Book*, 232 (No. 201).

² Read Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*, 202.

II. IMPERIAL DEFENSE.

A. THE ARMY.

503. Size of the Army. — The standing army counted thirty legions; the auxiliaries and naval forces raised the total of troops, at the highest, to some four hundred thousand. They were stationed almost wholly on the three exposed frontiers, — the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. The



A GERMAN BODYGUARD. — A detail from the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

inner provinces, as a rule, needed only a handful of soldiers, for police purposes. Twelve hundred sufficed to garrison all Gaul.

It is a curious thought that the civilized Christian nations which now fill the old Roman territory, with no outside barbarians to dread, keep always under arms twelve times the forces of the Roman emperors. One chief cause of the Empire, it will be remembered, had been the need for better protection of the frontiers. This need the Empire met nobly and economically.

504. Sources. — Roman citizens had long ceased to regard military service as a first duty. The army had become a standing body of disciplined mercenaries, with intense pride,

however, in their fighting powers, in their privileges, and in the Roman name. The recruits were drawn, even in the Early Empire, from the provinces rather than from Italy; and more and more the armies were renewed from the frontiers where they stood. In the third century *barbarian mercenaries were admitted on a large scale*, and in the following period they came to make the chief strength of the legions. From the hungry foes surging against its borders the Empire drew the guardians of its peace.

505. Industrial and Disciplinary Uses.—The Roman legions were not withdrawn wholly from productive labor. In peace, besides the routine of camp life, they were employed upon public works. "They raised the marvelous Roman roads through hundreds of miles of swamp and forest; they spanned great rivers with magnificent bridges; they built dikes to bar out the sea, and aqueducts and baths to increase the well-being of frontier cities." The steady discipline of the legions afforded also a moral and physical training for which there were fewer substitutes than now.

At the expiration of their twenty years with the eagles, the veterans became full Roman citizens (no matter whence they had been recruited). They were commonly settled in colonies, with grants of land, and became valuable members of the community.

The legions proved, too, a noble school for commanders. Merit was carefully promoted, and military incompetence disappeared. Great generals followed one another in endless series, and many of the greatest emperors were soldiers who had risen from the ranks.

B. THE FRONTIERS.

506. The Frontiers as Augustus found them.—Julius Caesar left the empire bounded by natural barriers on three sides and on part of the fourth: the North Sea and the Rhine to the northwest, the Atlantic on the west, the African and Arabian deserts on the south, Arabia and the upper Euphrates on the east, and the Black Sea to the northeast.

The Euphrates limit was not altogether satisfactory: it surrendered to Oriental states half the empire of Alexander, and let the great Parthian kingdom border dangerously upon the

Roman world. Julius seems to have intended a sweeping change on this side, but none of his successors until Trajan seriously thought of one. The only other unsafe line was on the north, in Europe, between the Rhine and the Black Sea.

507. The Frontiers as Augustus corrected them. — Augustus aimed to make this northern line secure. He easily annexed the lands south of the lower Danube (modern Servia and Bulgaria — the Roman province of Moesia); and, after many years of stubborn warfare, he added the remaining territory between the Danube and the Alps (the provinces of Rhaetia, Noricum, and Pannonia). The colonizing and Romanizing of these new districts were pressed on actively, and the line of the Danube was firmly secured.

In Germany, Augustus wished, wisely, to move the frontier from the Rhine to the Elbe. The line of the Danube and Elbe is much shorter than that of the Danube and Rhine, though it guards more territory (see map). Moreover, it could have been more easily defended, because the critical opening between the upper courses of the rivers is filled by the great natural wall of the mountains of modern Bohemia and Moravia. But here the long success of Augustus was broken by his one failure. The territory between the Rhine and the Elbe was subdued, it is true, and it was held for some years. But in the year 9 A.D. the Germans rose again under the hero Hermann.¹ Varus, the Roman commander, was entrapped in the *Teutoberg Forest*, and in a three-days' battle his three legions were utterly annihilated.

The Roman dominion was at once swept back to the Rhine. This was the first retreat Rome ever made from territory she had once occupied. Roman writers recognized the serious nature of the reverse. As one of them said: "From this disaster it came to pass that that empire which had not stayed its march at the shore of ocean did halt at the banks of the Rhine."

¹ Special report: read Creasy's *Decisive Battles*, ch. v, for the struggle.







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The aged Augustus was broken by the blow, and for days moaned repeatedly, "O Varus, Varus! give me back my legions!" At his death, five years later, he bequeathed to his successors the advice to be content with the boundaries as they stood. This policy was adopted, perhaps too readily. Tiberius did send expeditions to chastise the Germans, and Roman armies again marched victoriously to the Elbe. The standards of the lost legions were recovered, and a Roman commander won the title Germanicus. But no attempt was made to restore the lost Roman province, and the Rhine became the accepted boundary.

Still, the general result was both efficient and grand. About the civilized world was drawn a broad belt of stormy waves and desolate sands, and at its weaker gaps — on the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates — stood the mighty, sleepless legions to watch and ward.

508. Britain.—Claudius renewed the attempt to conquer *Britain*. If the work had been carried to completion, it might have been well enough; but, after long and costly wars, the Roman power reached only to the edge of the highlands in Scotland. Thus a new frontier was added to the long line that had to be guarded by the sword, and little strength was gained to the empire (§ 481).

509. The Extreme Limits, and the First Surrenders.—Trajan, with more provocation than that which had lured Claudius into Britain, added *Dacia* north of the lower Danube, and *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Assyria*, in Asia (§ 487). The two latter provinces were at once abandoned by his successor (§ 488).

Dacia, however, even more than Britain, became Roman in speech, culture, and largely in blood; and though it was abandoned by Aurelian in the weak period toward the close of the third century (§ 495), still the modern Roumanians claim to be Roman in race as well as in name. Britain was the next province to be given up, when the frontier began to crumble in earnest in the next great period of decay (§ 597).

510. Frontier Walls.—Since the attempt had failed to secure the mountain barrier of Bohemia for part of the northern frontier, Domitian wisely constructed an artificial rampart to join the upper Danube to the upper Rhine. This vast fortification was three hundred and thirty-six miles in length (map, page 493), with frequent forts and castles. Better known, however, is the similar work built shortly after in Britain, called Hadrian's wall (§ 488). Its purpose was to help shut out the wild Picts of the north. It extended from the Tyne to the Solway, and considerable remains still exist. Under Antoninus, a like structure was made farther north, just at the foot of the highlands, from the Clyde to the Forth, along the line of Agricola's earlier rampart (§ 485).

Hadrian's Wall was seventy miles long, extending almost from sea to sea. It consisted of three distinct parts, (1) a stone wall and ditch, on the north; (2) a double earthen rampart and ditch, about one hundred and twenty yards to the south; and (3) between wall and rampart, a series of fourteen fortified camps connected by a road. The northern wall was eight feet broad and twenty feet high, with turreted gates at mile intervals and with numerous large towers for guard-stations.

III. SOCIETY IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.¹

A. PEACE AND PROSPERITY.²

511. The "Good Roman Peace."—The year 69 A.D. (§ 483) is the only serious break in the quiet of the first two centuries—for the revolts of Boadicea³ in Britain (58 A.D.) and of Hermann (§ 507) are really frontier wars. The rebellion of *Civilis*³ on the Gallic side of the Rhine was connected with the disorders of the year 69, and the national rebellion of the Jews (§ 484)

¹ The society of the third century is treated in Division IV.

² Besides the specific references in the text below, see Gibbon, ch. II; Capes' *Early Empire* and *Antonines*; Freeman's "Flavian Emperors," in *Second Series of Historical Essays*; Watson's *Aurelius*; Thomas' *Roman Life*; Pellison's *Roman Life*; Dill's *Roman Life from Nero to Aurelius*.

³ Special report.

began at that same time. To the empire at large, moreover, both these were trivial disturbances. Even in the third century, when the legions were incessantly warring among themselves in behalf of their favorite commanders (§ 495), vast regions of the empire were uninterested and undisturbed.

All in all, an area as large as the United States, with a population of one hundred millions, rested in the "good Roman peace" for nearly four hundred years. *Never, before or since, has so large a part of the world known such unbroken rest from the horrors and waste of war.* Few troops were seen within the empire, and "the distant clash of arms upon the Euphrates or the Danube scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands."

512. Good Government, even by Bad Emperors. — The Caesars at Rome were sometimes weak or wicked, but their follies or crimes were felt for the most part only by the nobles of the capital. The imperial system became so strong that, save in minor details, the world moved along the same lines whether a mad Caligula or a philanthropic Aurelius sat upon the throne.

"To the Roman city the Empire was political death; to the provinces it was the beginning of new life. . . . It was not without good reason that the provincials raised their altars to more than one prince for whom the citizens, also not without good reason, sharpened their daggers." — FREEMAN, *Chief Periods*, 69.

"It was in no mean spirit of flattery that the provincials raised statues and altars to the Emperors, to some even of the vilest who have ever ruled. . . . The people knew next to nothing of their vices and follies, and thought of them chiefly as the symbol of the ruling Providence which, throughout the civilized world, had silenced war and faction and secured the blessings of prosperity and peace, before unknown." — CAPES, *Early Empire*, 202.

513. Prosperity of the First Two Centuries. — The reign of the Antonines has been called the "golden age of humanity." Gibbon believed that a man, if allowed his choice, would prefer to have lived then rather than at any other period of the world's history. Mommsen adds his authority:—

“ In its sphere, — which those who belonged to it were not far wrong in regarding as the world, — the Empire fostered the peace and prosperity of the many nations united under its sway longer and more completely than any other leading power has ever succeeded in doing. . . . *And if an angel of the Lord were to strike a balance whether the domain ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with the greater intelligence and greater humanity at that time or in the present day, whether civilization and national prosperity generally have since that time advanced or retrograded, it is very doubtful whether the decision would prove in favor of the present.*” — MOMMSEN, *Provinces*, 5.

The roads were safe. Piracy ceased from the seas, and trade flourished as it was not to flourish again for a thousand years. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. An immense traffic flowed ceaselessly between Europe and Central Asia along three great arteries: one in the north by the Black Sea and by caravan (along the line of the present Russian trans-Caspian railway); one on the south by Suez and the Red Sea; one by caravan across Arabia, where, amid the sands, arose white-walled Palmyra, Queen of the Desert.¹

From frontier to frontier, communication was safe and rapid. The grand military and post roads ran in trunk-lines—a thousand miles at a stretch—from every frontier toward the central heart of the empire, with a dense network of ramifications in every province. Guide books described routes and distances. Inns abounded. The imperial couriers that hurried along the great highways passed a hundred and fifty milestones a day; and private travel, from the Thames to the Euphrates, was swifter, safer, and more comfortable than ever again until well into the nineteenth century.

Everywhere rude stockaded villages changed into stately marts of trade, huts into palaces, footpaths into paved Roman roads. Roman irrigation made part of the African desert the

¹ On trade routes to China, advanced students may see Bury's *Gibbon*, IV, Appendix, 534 ff.

garden of the world, where, from drifting sands,¹ desolate ruins mock the traveler of to-day. In Gaul, Caesar found no real towns. In the third century that province had one hundred and sixteen flourishing cities, with baths, temples, amphi-



AQUEDUCT AT NÎMES, FRANCE, built by Antoninus Pius to supply the city with water from distant mountain springs; present condition of the structure where it crosses a deep valley.

theaters, works of art, roads, aqueducts,² and schools of eloquence and rhetoric.

514. Forms of Industry.—It is difficult to picture the throbbing, busy life of the empire. Plainly it was a city life. Plainly, too, it rested on agriculture as the chief industry. We are to think of a few great cities, like Rome, Alexandria,

¹ Under French rule North Africa, in the last of the nineteenth century, began to recover its Roman prosperity after a lapse of fifteen hundred years.

² Particular attention was paid in cities to the water supply. That of Rome was better than that of London or Paris to-day. Most of the large cities, too, had more and better public baths than the modern capitals of Europe or the cities of America.

and Antioch, with populations varying from two million to two hundred thousand, and with their rabble fed by the state. Then we must think of the rest of the empire mapped into municipia, — each a farming district with a town for its core.

Within the town, modern manufacturing works were absent. For gentlemen there were the occupations of law, the army, teaching, literature, medicine, and the farming of large estates. Lower classes furnished the merchants, architects, shopkeepers, weavers, fullers, and artisans. In medicine there was considerable subdivision of labor. We hear of dentists and of specialists for the eye and for the ear. The shopkeepers and artisans were organized in companies or *gilds*. Unskilled manual labor in country and city was carried on by slaves, and that class rendered assistance also in many higher forms of work.

B. THE WORLD BECOMES ROMAN.

515. Political Unity by Extension of Citizenship.—Julius Caesar had begun the rapid expansion of Roman citizenship beyond Italy. Through his legislation the number of adult males with the franchise rose from some nine hundred thousand to over four million.¹ Augustus was more cautious, but before his death the total reached nearly five million.² This represented a population of some twenty-five million people, in an empire of nearly one hundred million, including slaves. Claudius made the next great advance, after a curious debate in his council,³ raising the total of adult male citizens, fit for military service, to about seven millions. Hadrian completed the enfranchisement of Gaul and Spain. The final step, as we

¹ This is the increase between 70 B.C. (after the admission of the Italians) and 27 B.C. The greater part of the growth must have been due to the reforms of Caesar.

² Augustus is our authority for both these sets of figures. See extract in Munro's *Source Book*, 187.

³ Cf. § 481. Read the interesting and sensible speech by Claudius as it is reported by Tacitus, *Annals*, xi, 24-25.

have noted (§ 405), was taken by Caracalla (212 A.D.), who made all free inhabitants of the empire full citizens. This completed the process of political absorption that began when the Romans and Sabines of the Palatine and Quirinal made their first compact.

By the time of Caracalla the franchise was no longer exercised, for the Roman Assembly had ceased except as a mob gathering. Moreover, most of the provincials had already come to possess many of the advantages of citizens. Caracalla may have acted partly from a desire to increase the revenues, — since citizens were subject to some taxes not paid by non-citizens. Still the gift of complete citizenship, with its eligibility to office and its rights before the law, was no slight gain.

516. Social Unity, in Patriotism and Aspiration. — By its generous policy, by its prosperity and good government, by its uniform law, and its means of close communication, the Empire won spiritual dominion over the hearts and minds of men. Rome molded the manifold races of her realms into one, — not by conscious effort or by violent legislation, but through their own affectionate choice.¹ *Gaul, Briton, Dacian, African, Greek, called themselves Romans.* They were so, in life, thought, and feeling. The East kept its Greek tongue and a pride in its earlier civilization (§ 400); but it, too, turned from the glories of Miltiades and Leonidas for what seemed the higher honor of the Roman name. *And East and West alike used the Roman law and Roman political institutions.*

This union was not, like that of previous empires, one of external force.² It was in the inner life of the people. The

¹ This Romanization of the provincials was very different from the violent measures used by Russia or Germany to-day to nationalize their mixed populations, and more like the unconscious absorption of many stocks in the United States. The Roman army as a means of mixing the many races into one must not be forgotten, however; "Spanish legions were stationed in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Pannonians in Africa, Illyrians in Armenia." They settled and married in their new homes and helped to produce a race uniform even in blood.

² Note that the physical conquests of Rome were chiefly made under the Republic. *The Empire was a defensive civilized state; and its wars, with rare exceptions, were not for conquest.*

provincials had no reason to feel a difference between themselves and the inhabitants of Italy. From them now came the men of letters who made Roman literature glorious, and the grammarians who defined the Roman language (§§ 519, 525-527). They furnished the emperors. In their cities arose schools of rhetoric that taught the use of Latin even to youth born by the Tiber.

The poet Claudian, an Egyptian Greek of the fourth century, expressed this grand unity in noble and patriotic lines:—

“Rome, Rome alone has found the spell to charm
The tribes that bowed beneath her conquering arm;
Has given one name to the whole human race,
And clasped and sheltered them in fond embrace,—
Mother, not mistress; called her foe her son;
And by soft ties made distant countries one.
This to her peaceful scepter all men owe,—
That through the nations, wheresoe'er we go
Strangers, we find a fatherland. Our home
We change at will; we count it sport to roam
Through distant Thule, or with sails unfurled
Seek the most drear recesses of the world.
Though we may tread Rhone's or Orontes' shore,
Yet are we all one nation evermore.”

And says George Burton Adams:—

“It was a genuine absorption, not a mere contented living under a foreign government. Local dress, religions, manners, family names, language, and literature, political and legal institutions, race pride, disappeared for all except the lowest classes, and everything became really Roman, so that neither they (the new Romans) nor the Romans by blood ever felt in any way the difference of descent.”—*Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 23.

517. Diffusion of Social Life.—Life did not remain centralized at Rome as in the first century. To condense a passage from Freeman's *Impressions of Rome*:—

“Her walls were no longer on the Tiber, but on the Danube, the Rhine, and the German Ocean. Instead of an outpost at Janiculum, her fortresses were at York and Trier. Many of the emperors after the first century

were more at home in these and other distant cities than in the ancient capital, which they visited perhaps only two or three times in a reign for some solemn pageant.¹ In these once provincial towns the pulse of Roman life beat more strongly than in Old Rome itself."²

C. EDUCATION IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.³

518. The Universities. — The three great centers of learning were Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. In these cities there were *universities*, as we should call them now, fully organized, with vast libraries and numerous professorships. The early Ptolemies in Egypt had begun such foundations at Alexandria (§ 239). Augustus followed their example at Athens, from his private fortune. Vespasian was the first to pay salaries from the public treasury, and Marcus Aurelius began the practice of permanent state *endowments*.⁴

The professors had the rank of senators, with good salaries for life and with various privileges. At Rome there were ten chairs of Latin Grammar (language and literary criticism); ten of Greek; three of Rhetoric, which included law and politics;⁴ and three of Philosophy, which included logic. These represent the three chief studies (the *trivium*) — language, rhetoric, and philosophy. There was also a group of mathematical studies, — music, arithmetic,⁵ geometry, astronomy (the *quadrivium*). In some universities special studies flourished. Thus law was

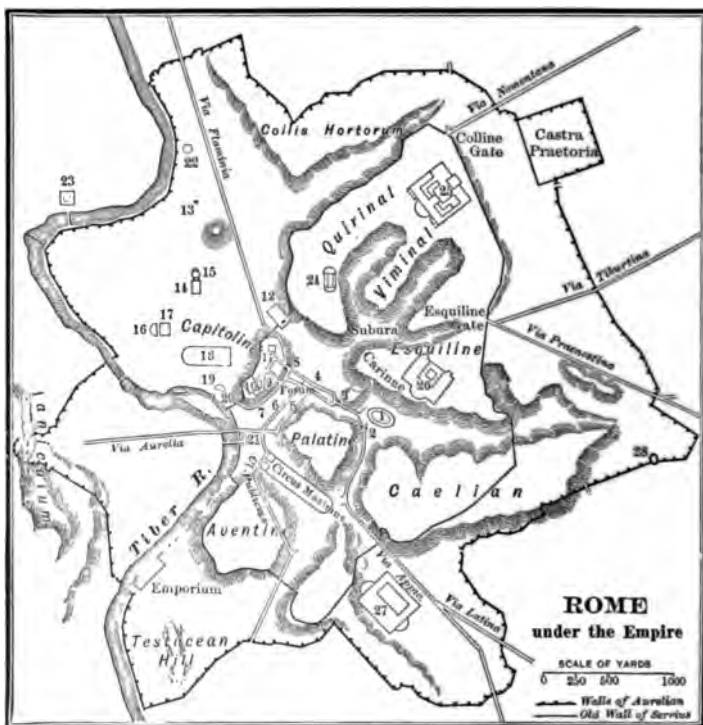
¹ This statement holds good for most of the better emperors. As a rule it was the weak or wicked ones who spent their reigns in the capital.

² Cf. Inge; Thomas; Capes; Bury; Dill, *Roman Life in the Last Century of the Empire*, 399-428 (excellent), and *Roman Life to Nero*; Kingsley's *Alexandria and her Schools* (in *Historical Lectures*); Laurie's *Rise of the Universities* (Lecture I, 1-17).

³ That is, the state gave large sums of money or valuable property, the *income* of which was to be used for the support of the institution receiving the gift.

⁴ Because these were subjects to which rhetoric was especially applied and on account of which it was studied.

⁵ When Roman numerals were used, arithmetic could not be an elementary study. To appreciate this, let the student try to multiply *xlv* by *xix*.



- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Coliseum. | 10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. | 19. Theater of Marcellus. |
| 2. Arch of Constantine. | 11. Arch. | 20. Forum Holitorium. |
| 3. Arch of Titus. | 12. Column of Trajan. | 21. Forum Boarium. |
| 4. Via Sacra. | 13. Column of Antoninus. | 22. Mausoleum of Augustus. |
| 5. Via Nova. | 14. Baths of Agrippa. | 23. Mausoleum of Hadrian. |
| 6. Vicus Tuscus. | 15. Pantheon. | 24. Baths of Constantine. |
| 7. Vicus Jugarius. | 16. Theater of Pompey. | 25. Baths of Diocletian. |
| 8. Arch of Septimius Severus. | 17. Portico of Pompey. | 26. Baths of Titus. |
| 9. Clivus Capitolinus. | 18. Circus Flaminius. | 27. Baths of Caracalla. |
| | | 28. Amphitheatrum Caesarense. |

a specialty at Rome (two chairs of Roman Law flourished there), and medicine at Alexandria.

519. "Grammar Schools" in the Provinces, and Lower Schools.
—Below the universities, in all large provincial towns, there

were "*grammar schools.*" These were endowed by the emperors, from Vespasian's time, and corresponded in some measure to advanced high schools or colleges.

Those in Gaul and Spain were especially famous; in particular, the ones at Massilia, Autun, Narbonne, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse. The reputation of the instructors in the best schools



ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM.

drew students from all the empire. The walls of the class rooms were painted with maps, dates, and lists of facts. The masters were appointed by local magistrates, with life tenure and good pay. Like the professors in the universities, they were exempt from taxation and had many privileges.¹

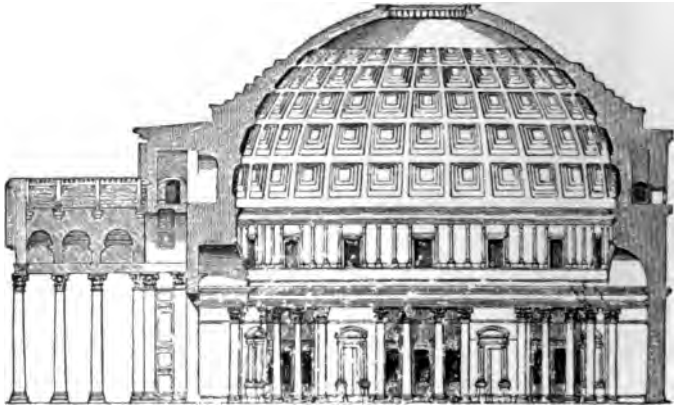
In the small towns were many *schools of a lower grade.*

¹ The privileges of this learned class were the origin of the "benefit of clergy" in the Middle Ages.

All this education was for the upper and middle classes, and for occasional bright boys from the lower classes who found some wealthy patron. Little was done toward dispelling the dense ignorance of the masses.

D. ARCHITECTURE.¹

520. Characteristics. — Architecture was the chief Roman art. With the Early Empire it takes on its distinctive character. To the Greek columns it adds the noble Roman arch,



A SECTION OF THE PANTHEON AS AT PRESENT.

with its modification, the dome. As compared with Greek architecture it has more massive grandeur and is more ornate. The Romans commonly used the rich Corinthian column instead of the simpler Doric or Ionic (§ 127).

521. Famous Buildings and Types. — The most famous building of the Augustan Age is the *Pantheon*, — “shrine of all saints and temple of

¹ Ferguson's *Ancient and Modern Architecture*; Inge, ch. v; Thomas, ch. iii; Boissier's *Rome and Pompeii*; Dyer's *Pompeii*; Lanciani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* and *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. In the absence of such works, articles on architecture in good encyclopaedias will be found useful.

all gods," — built in the Campus Martius by the minister Agrippa.¹ It is a circular structure 132 feet in diameter and of the same height, surmounted by a majestic dome that originally flashed with tiles of bronze. The interior is broadly flooded with light from an aperture in the dome 26 feet in diameter. The inside walls were formed of splendid columns of yellow marble, with gleaming white capitals, supporting noble arches, upon which again rested more pillars and another row of arches — up to



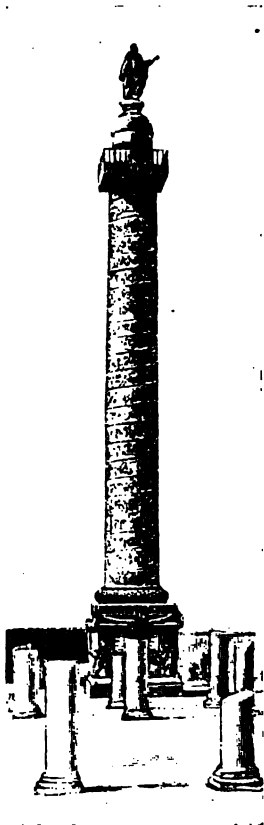
THE COLISEUM TO-DAY.

the base of the dome. Under the arches in pillared recesses stood the statues of the gods of all religions; for this grand temple was symbolic of the grander toleration and unity of the Roman world. Time has dealt gently with it, and almost alone of the buildings of its day it has lasted to ours.²

The *Coliseum* was begun by Vespasian and finished by Domitian. It is a vast stone amphitheater (*two theaters, face to face*) for wild beast

¹ Agrippa was an early friend of Augustus and a faithful assistant through his whole life. He was an able soldier and an ardent builder. In his patronage of art and architecture he filled a place like that of Maecenas in literature (§ 475). Agrippa's generalship won the battle of Actium. He became the son-in-law of Augustus, and, except for his death shortly before that of the Emperor, he would probably have succeeded to his power.

² Read the picture in Byron's *Childe Harold*, canto iv.



TRAJAN'S COLUMN TO-DAY.

shows and games. It covers six acres, and the walls rise 150 feet.¹ It is said to have seated eighty thousand spectators. For centuries in the Middle Ages its ruins were used as a quarry for the palaces of Roman nobles, but its huge size has prevented its destruction.

A favorite application of the arch was the *triumphal arch*, adorned with sculptures and covered with inscriptions, spanning a street, as if it were a city gate. Among the more famous structures of this kind in Rome were the arches of Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and, later, of Constantine (see pages 433, 474).

The Romans erected also splendid *monumental columns*. The finest surviving example is *Trajan's Column*, one hundred feet high, circled with spiral bands of sculpture containing twenty-five hundred human figures. It commemorated and illustrated Trajan's Dacian expedition (§ 487).

522. Roman Basilicas and the Later Christian Architecture.—One other kind of building must have special mention. A little before the Empire, the Romans adopted the Greek basilica² and soon made it a favorite form of building for the law courts.

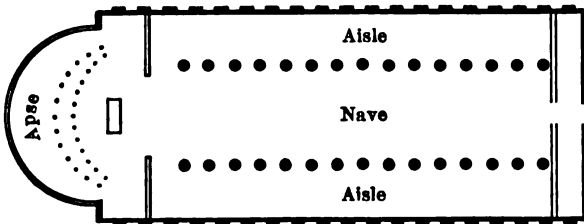
The general plan was that of a great oblong hall, its length some two times its breadth, with a circular raised *apse* at the end, where sat the numerous judges. The

hall itself was divided by two long rows of pillars into three parts running from the entrance to the apse—a central *nave* and two *aisles*, one each side of the nave. Sometimes there were double rows of pillars, making two aisles on each side. The nave was left open up to the

¹ Read the description in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, bk. i, ch. xii.

² So called from the hall at Athens where the *basileus archon* (king archon) heard cases at law involving religious questions.

lofty roof, but above the side aisles there were *galleries* shut off by a parapet, which supported a row of elevated pillars. These galleries were for the general public.



GENERAL PLAN OF A BASILICA.

The Christians found this building admirably adapted for their worship. After the conversion of the Empire, numerous basilicas were converted



INTERIOR VIEW OF TRAJAN'S BASILICA, as restored by Canina.

into churches, and for centuries all ecclesiastical buildings had this general plan. With slight changes, it grew into the plan of the medieval cathedral.

SPECIAL REPORTS.—The Roman house ; the Roman villa ; mosaic pavements ; excavations at Pompeii.

E. LITERATURE.¹

Literature plays so small a part in Roman life until just before the Empire, that it has not been needful to mention it until now. To grasp the literary conditions under the Empire, however, it is desirable to survey the whole field. The brief outline given here is designed only for reading and reference, not for careful study. If the teacher likes, it can be discussed in class, with open books.

523. Before the Age of Cicero. — Rome had no literature until the middle of the third century B.C. Then the influence of her conquest of Magna Græcia began to be felt. *Livius Andronicus*, a Greek slave from Tarentum, introduced the drama at Rome; but his plays, and those of his successor *Naevius*, were mainly translations from older Greek writers.

Ennius, also from Magna Græcia, comes in the period just after the Second Punic War. He translated Greek dramas, but his chief work was an epic on the legendary history of Rome.

Comedy was represented by two greater names, *Plautus* (of Italian origin) and *Terence* (a slave from Carthage). Both modeled their plays upon those of the Greek Menander (§ 236). *Plautus* (254–184 B.C.) is rollicking but gross. *Terence* (a generation later) is more refined and elegant.

To the period between the Second and Third Punic Wars belong also the *Origines* of *Cato* (an early history of Rome) and his writings on Agriculture, an earlier history by *Fabius Pictor*, and the great history by the Greek *Polybius*, all of whom have been referred to before in this volume.

524. The part of the first century B.C. preceding Augustus is sometimes known as the Age of Cicero, from the name that made its chief glory. *Cicero* remains the foremost orator of Rome and the chief master of Latin prose.

Two great poets belong to the period: *Lucretius* the Epicurean, a Roman knight, who reaches a sublimity never attained by other Latin poets; and *Catullus* from Cisalpine Gaul, whose lyrics are distinguished for delicacy, and who attacked *Caesar* in a poem of gentle forgiveness.

History is represented by the com

¹ Mackail, *Latin Literature*; or *Cr*

Caesar, the picturesque stories of *Sallust* (who is our chief authority for the conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War), and by the inferior work of *Nepos* and *Varro*.

525. In the **Augustan Age** the stream broadens, and only the more important writers can be mentioned.

Horace (son of an Apulian freedman) wrote the most graceful of *Odes* and most playful of *Satires*, while his *Epistles* combine agreeably a serene common sense with beauty of expression.

Vergil (from Cisalpine Gaul) is probably the chief Roman poet. He is best known to school boys by his epic, the *Aeneid*, but critics rank higher his *Georgics* (an exquisite agricultural poem). In the Middle Ages *Vergil* was regarded as the greatest of poets, and *Dante* was proud to acknowledge him for a master.

Ovid (Roman knight) has for his chief work the *Metamorphoses*, a mythological poem. *Ovid's* last years were spent in banishment on the shores of the Black Sea, where he wrote pathetic verses that will always keep alive a gentle memory for his name.

Livy (of Cisalpine Gaul) and *Dionysius* (an Asiatic Greek) wrote their great histories of Rome in this reign. *Diodorus* (a Sicilian Greek) wrote the first general history of the world. Greek science is continued by *Strabo* of Asia Minor (living at Alexandria), who produced a systematic geography of the Roman world, and speculated on the possibility of one or more continents in the unexplored Atlantic between Europe and Asia. The last three authors wrote in Greek.

526. The **First Century A.D.**—In the first century A.D., later than *Augustus*, we have among other authors the following: the poets *Lucan* and *Martial* (famous for his satirical wit), both Spaniards; the Jewish historian *Josephus* (writing in Greek); the scientist *Pliny the Elder* (of Cisalpine Gaul), who perished in the eruption of *Vesuvius* in his scientific zeal to observe the phenomena; the rhetorician *Quintilian* (a Spaniard); the philosophers *Epictetus* and *Seneca* (both Stoics). *Seneca* was a Roman lord of Spanish birth; *Epictetus* was a slave from Phrygia. Both taught a lofty philosophy, but the slave was the nobler both in teaching and in life. *Epictetus* wrote in Greek.

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In history we have:—

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Appian (an Alexandrian Greek), who wrote (in Greek) a history of the different parts of the empire;

Arrian (an Asiatic Greek), who wrote (in Greek) biographies of *Alexander* and his successors, and treatises on geography;

authority, without correction, than racy wits and scolding preachers for our own day.

On the whole, the first two centuries show a steady gain, even if we look only to pagan society. The *Letters* of Pliny



MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.—A bust now in the Louvre.

reveal, in the court circle itself, a society high-minded, refined, and virtuous. Pliny is a type of the finest gentleman of to-day, in delicacy of feeling, sensitive honor, genial and thoughtful courtesy.¹ Marcus Aurelius and his father illustrate like qualities on the throne. Epictetus (§ 526) shows them in slavery. All these are surrounded by friends whom they think good and happy.

Indeed, in a close survey, over against each evil we can set a good. The position of women was improved. Charity to

the poor abounded. Animals were treated more kindly. Slavery grew milder. The law showed a gentler spirit. The days

¹ Read a charming essay, by Harriet Walters Preston, in *Life*, chs. xi and xiv, and Capes

of the Republic gave way to a more devout religious feeling.¹ All this was true without referring to the Christian part of society, of which we shall speak later (§ 538 ff.). Some of these lines of improvement are noted in more detail in the following sections.

530. Woman became free,² the equal of man in law, and his companion instead of his servant in the family.

A higher view of marriage appeared than ever before in the pagan world. Plutarch and Seneca, for the first time in history, insisted that men be judged by the same moral standard as women; and Roman law adopted this principle in the decrees of Antoninus and the maxims of Ulpian (§ 495). Plutarch's precepts on

marriage "fall little if at all below any of modern days," and his own family life afforded a beautiful ideal of domestic happiness.³ Plutarch was the highest intellectual culture for women; and, says



FAUSTINA (wife of Marcus Aurelius).—A bust now in the Louvre.

¹ Head Bury, *Roman History*, p. 100, for a good statement of this truth.
² On the position of women in Roman law, see *European Morals*, ch. v.
³ *Plutarch*, *Life of Marcus Aurelius*, II, 283.

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¹ Read a charming essay, *A Roman Gentleman under the Empire* (Pliny), by Harriet Walters Preston, in *The Atlantic* for June, 1886. Thomas' *Roman Life*, chs. xi and xiv, and Capes' *Antonines*, ch. v, present similar pictures.

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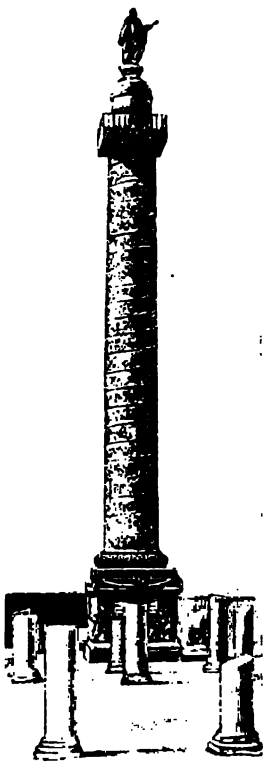


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³ Lecky, II, 236.



TRAJAN'S COLUMN TO-DAY.

shows and games. It covers six acres, and the walls rise 150 feet.¹ It is said to have seated eighty thousand spectators. For centuries in the Middle Ages its ruins were used as a quarry for the palaces of Roman nobles, but its huge size has prevented its destruction.

A favorite application of the arch was the *triumphal arch*, adorned with sculptures and covered with inscriptions, spanning a street, as if it were a city gate. Among the more famous structures of this kind in Rome were the arches of Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and, later, of Constantine (see pages 433, 474).

The Romans erected also splendid *monumental columns*. The finest surviving example is *Trajan's Column*, one hundred feet high, circled with spiral bands of sculpture containing twenty-five hundred human figures. It commemorated and illustrated Trajan's Dacian expedition (§ 487).

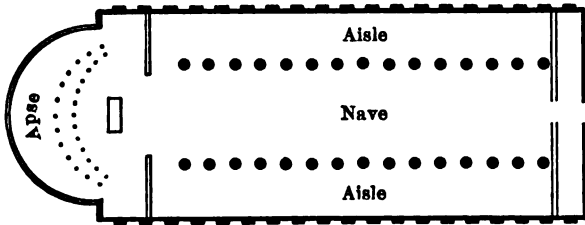
522. Roman Basilicas and the Later Christian Architecture.—One other kind of building must have special mention. A little before the Empire, the Romans adopted the Greek *basilica*² and soon made it a favorite form of building for the law courts.

The general plan was that of a great oblong hall, its length some two times its breadth, with a circular raised *apse* at the end, where sat the numerous judges. The hall itself was divided by two long rows of pillars into three parts running from the entrance to the apse—a central *nave* and two *aisles*, one each side of the nave. Sometimes there were double rows of pillars, making two aisles on each side. The nave was left open up to the

¹ Read the description in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, bk. i, ch. xii.

² So called from the hall at Athens where the *basileus archon* (king archon) heard cases at law involving religious questions.

lofty roof, but above the side aisles there were *galleries* shut off by a parapet, which supported a row of elevated pillars. These galleries were for the general public.



GENERAL PLAN OF A BASILICA.

The Christians found this building admirably adapted for their worship. After the conversion of the Empire, numerous basilicas were converted



INTERIOR VIEW OF TRAJAN'S BASILICA, as restored by Canina.

into churches, and for centuries all ecclesiastical buildings had this general plan. With slight changes, it grew into the plan of the medieval cathedral.

SPECIAL REPORTS.—The Roman house ; the Roman villa ; mosaic pavements ; excavations at Pompeii.

E. LITERATURE.¹

Literature plays so small a part in Roman life until just before the Empire, that it has not been needful to mention it until now. To grasp the literary conditions under the Empire, however, it is desirable to survey the whole field. The brief outline given here is designed only for reading and reference, not for careful study. If the teacher likes, it can be discussed in class, with open books.

523. Before the Age of Cicero. — Rome had no literature until the middle of the third century B.C. Then the influence of her conquest of Magna Graecia began to be felt. *Livius Andronicus*, a Greek slave from Tarentum, introduced the drama at Rome; but his plays, and those of his successor *Naevius*, were mainly translations from older Greek writers.

Ennius, also from Magna Graecia, comes in the period just after the Second Punic War. He translated Greek dramas, but his chief work was an epic on the legendary history of Rome.

Comedy was represented by two greater names, *Plautus* (of Italian origin) and *Terence* (a slave from Carthage). Both modeled their plays upon those of the Greek Menander (§ 236). *Plautus* (254-184 B.C.) is rollicking but gross. *Terence* (a generation later) is more refined and elegant.

To the period between the Second and Third Punic Wars belong also the *Origines* of *Cato* (an early history of Rome) and his writings on Agriculture, an earlier history by *Fabius Pictor*, and the great history by the Greek *Polybius*, all of whom have been referred to before in this volume.

524. The part of the first century B.C. preceding Augustus is sometimes known as the *Age of Cicero*, from the name that made its chief glory. *Cicero* remains the foremost orator of Rome and the chief master of Latin prose.

Two great poets belong to the period: *Lucretius* the Epicurean, a Roman knight, who reaches a sublimity never attained by other Latin poets; and *Catullus* from Cisalpine Gaul, whose lyrics are unsurpassed for delicacy, and who attacked Caesar with bitter invective, to meet gentle forgiveness.

History is represented by the concise, graphic, lucid narrative of

¹ Mackail, *Latin Literature*; or Cruttwell, *Roman Literature*.

Caesar, the picturesque stories of *Sallust* (who is our chief authority for the conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War), and by the inferior work of *Nepos* and *Varro*.

525. In the Augustan Age the stream broadens, and only the more important writers can be mentioned.

Horace (son of an Apulian freedman) wrote the most graceful of *Odes* and most playful of *Satires*, while his *Epistles* combine agreeably a serene common sense with beauty of expression.

Vergil (from Cisalpine Gaul) is probably the chief Roman poet. He is best known to school boys by his epic, the *Aeneid*, but critics rank higher his *Georgics* (an exquisite agricultural poem). In the Middle Ages *Vergil* was regarded as the greatest of poets, and *Dante* was proud to acknowledge him for a master.

Ovid (Roman knight) has for his chief work the *Metamorphoses*, a mythological poem. *Ovid's* last years were spent in banishment on the shores of the Black Sea, where he wrote pathetic verses that will always keep alive a gentle memory for his name.

Livy (of Cisalpine Gaul) and *Dionysius* (an Asiatic Greek) wrote their great histories of Rome in this reign. *Diodorus* (a Sicilian Greek) wrote the first general history of the world. Greek science is continued by *Strabo* of Asia Minor (living at Alexandria), who produced a systematic geography of the Roman world, and speculated on the possibility of one or more continents in the unexplored Atlantic between Europe and Asia. The last three authors wrote in Greek.

526. The First Century A.D.—In the first century A.D., later than Augustus, we have among other authors the following: the poets *Lucan* and *Martial* (famous for his satirical wit), both Spaniards; the Jewish historian *Josephus* (writing in Greek); the scientist *Pliny the Elder* (of Cisalpine Gaul), who perished in the eruption of *Vesuvius* in his scientific zeal to observe the phenomena; the rhetorician *Quintilian* (a Spaniard); the philosophers *Epictetus* and *Seneca* (both Stoics). *Seneca* was a Roman lord of Spanish birth; *Epictetus* was a slave from Phrygia. Both taught a lofty philosophy, but the slave was the nobler both in teaching and in life. *Epictetus* wrote in Greek.

527. In the second century contemporary society is charmingly illustrated in the *Letters* of *Pliny the Younger* (from Cisalpine Gaul), and is gracefully satirized in the *Dialogues* of *Lucian* (a Syrian Greek).

In history we have:—

Appian (an Alexandrian Greek), who wrote (in Greek) a history of the different parts of the empire;

Arrian (an Asiatic Greek), who wrote (in Greek) biographies of Alexander and his successors, and treatises on geography;

Plutarch (a Boeotian), the author of the famous *Lives* ("the text-book of heroism") and of a great treatise on *Morals* (*in Greek*);

Suetonius, the biographer of the first twelve Caesars;

Tacitus (a Roman noble), author of the *Agricola*, the *Germania* (a description of the Germans), the *Annals* (a great history of his own times), and the lost *Histories*.

Poetry is represented chiefly by the *Satires* of *Juvenal* (an Italian).

Science is represented by:—

Galen (an Asiatic Greek), who wrote treatises on medicine (*in Greek*), and who was revered for many centuries as the greatest medical authority;

Ptolemy, an Egyptian astronomer and geographer, whose work (*in Greek*) was the chief authority for centuries; he taught that the earth was round and that the heavens revolved about it for their center;

Pausanias (an Asiatic Greek), a traveler and writer (*in Greek*).

Philosophy has for its chief representative, —

Marcus Aurelius, the emperor (§§ 490, 536).

For the Christian religion, — the books of the New Testament received their present form in Greek.

EXERCISE. — Note the significance in the use of Greek or Latin by the authors named above (cf. § 400); observe the increase in prose literature.

F. PAGAN SOCIETY: MORALS.¹

528. The Dark Side. — Many writers dwell upon the immorality of Roman society under the Empire. It is easy to blacken the picture unduly. The records of course give most prominence to the court and the capital; and there the truth is dark enough. During some reigns the atmosphere of the court was rank with hideous debauchery. At all times many of the great nobles were sunk in coarse orgies; and the rabble of Rome, defiled with the offscourings of all nations, was ignorant, cruel, and wicked. In other great cities, also, the mob was wretched and vicious.

¹ Specific references will be given in footnotes. For longer reading, the student may consult Capes' *Early Empire*, chs. xviii, xix; Dill's *Roman Life from Nero to Aurelius*, and *Roman Life in the Last Century of the Empire*, bk. i, chs. i-iv; Lecky's *European Morals*, 161-335; Inge's *Society in Rome*; Pellison's *Roman Life in Pliny's Time*; Thomas' *Roman Life*.

Particular evil customs shock the modern reader. At the gladiatorial sports, delicate ladies thronged the benches of the amphitheater, without shrinking at the agonies of the dying; and the games grew in size and in fantastic character¹ until they seem to us a blot beyond anything else in human history. To avoid the cost and trouble of rearing children, the lower classes exposed their infants to die, with horrible frequency and indifference. The old family discipline was gone. The growth of divorce was railed at, as in our own day, by the satirists of the times. Slavery threw its shadow across the Roman world.

529. The Danger of Exaggeration: the Bright Side.²— Yet it is certain that a picture from such materials alone is grossly misleading. There was much good, though it made less noise than the evil. Some old, rude virtues were going out of fashion; but new, gentler virtues were coming in.³ The unexhausted populations of North Italy and of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and the great middle class over all the empire, remained essentially sound in morals. Satirists like Juvenal (§ 527) or moralists like Tacitus (§ 527) are no more to be accepted as

¹ Under Trajan one set of games continued 123 days. In a single day's games, when the Coliseum was first opened by Titus, 5000 animals were slain. The jaded spectators demanded ever new novelties, and the exhibitors sought out fantastic forms of combat. Thousands of men fought at once in hostile armies. Sea fights were imitated on artificial lakes. Distant regions were scoured for new varieties of beasts to slay and be slain. Women entered the arena as gladiators, and dwarfs engaged one another in deadly combat. The wealthy aristocrats laid wagers upon the skill of their favorite gladiators, as with us at the prize ring. Read, especially, Lecky's *European Morals*, I, 271-291.

² Read Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*, 115-117, and Capes' *Early Empire*, 223-227, for wholesome statements about the danger of exaggerating the evils.

³ "That effeminacy fell upon men which always infects them when they live under the rule of an all-powerful soldiery. But with effeminacy there came in time a development of the feminine virtues. Men ceased to be adventurous, patriotic, just, magnanimous; but in exchange they became chaste, tender-hearted, loyal, religious, capable of infinite endurance in a good cause."—SEELEY, *Roman Imperialism*, 33.

authority, without correction, than racy wits and scolding preachers for our own day.

On the whole, the first two centuries show a steady gain, even if we look only to pagan society.



MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.—A bust now in the Louvre.

The *Letters* of Pliny reveal, in the court circle itself, a society high-minded, refined, and virtuous. Pliny is a type of the finest gentleman of to-day, in delicacy of feeling, sensitive honor, genial and thoughtful courtesy.¹ Marcus Aurelius and his father illustrate like qualities on the throne. Epictetus (§ 526) shows them in slavery. All these are surrounded by friends whom they think good and happy.

Indeed, in a close survey, over against each evil we can set a good. The position of women was improved. Charity to

the poor abounded. Animals were treated more kindly. Slavery grew milder. The sympathies of men broadened. Law showed a gentler spirit. The harsh scepticism of the last days

¹ Read a charming essay, *A Roman Gentleman under the Empire* (Pliny), by Harriet Walters Preston, in *The Atlantic* for June, 1896. Thomas' *Roman Life*, chs. xi and xiv, and Capes' *Antonines*, ch. v, present similar pictures.

of the Republic gave way to a more devout religious feeling.¹ All this was true without referring to the Christian part of society, of which we shall speak later (§ 538 ff.). Some of these lines of improvement are noted in more detail in the following sections.

530. **Woman became free,**² the equal of man in law, and his companion instead of his servant in the family. A higher view of marriage appeared than ever before in the pagan world. Plutarch and Seneca, for the first time in history, insisted that men be judged by the same moral standard as women; and Roman law adopted this principle in the decrees of Antoninus and the maxims of Ulpian (§ 495). Plutarch's precepts on



FAUSTINA (wife of Marcus Aurelius).—A bust now in the Louvre.

marriage “fall little if at all below any of modern days,” and his own family life afforded a beautiful ideal of domestic happiness.³ Plutarch urges the highest intellectual culture for women; and, says Lecky:—

¹ Read Bury, *Roman Empire*, 575, 576, for a good statement of this truth.

² On the position of women, read Lecky, *European Morals*, ch. v.

³ Lecky, II, 239.

“ Intellectual culture was much diffused among them, and we meet with noble instances of large and accomplished minds united with all the gracefulness of intense womanhood and all the fidelity of the truest love. . . . When Paetus, a noble Roman, was ordered by Nero to put himself to death, his friends knew that his wife Arria, with her love and her heroic fervor, would not survive him. Her son-in-law tried to dissuade her from suicide by saying: ‘ If I am called upon to perish, would you wish your daughter to die with me ? ’ She answered, ‘ Yes, if she has then lived with you as long and happily as I with Paetus. ’ Paetus for a moment hesitated to strike the fatal blow, but Arria, taking the dagger, plunged it deeply into her breast, and then, dying, handed it to her husband, exclaiming, ‘ My Paetus, it does not pain ! ’ ”

531. Charity.—There was a vast amount of public and private charity. Homes for poor children and orphan girls were established. Wealthy men loaned money below the regular rate of interest, and provided free medicine for the poor. Tacitus tells how, after a great accident near Rome, the rich opened their houses and gave their wealth to relieve the sufferers. (Cf. § 487.)

532. Kindness to Animals.—Literature for the first time abounds in tender interest in animals. Cato in the days of the “ virtuous Republic ” had advised selling old or infirm slaves; Plutarch in the “ degenerate Empire ” could never bring himself to sell an ox in its old age.¹ We find protests even against hunting; and severe punishments were inflicted for wanton cruelty to animals. There seems little doubt that animals were better treated under the pagan Empire than in southern Europe to-day.

It is true, the gladiatorial games continued. They were defended by arguments like those used for bullfights, bear baiting, cockfighting, and the prize ring, in later times. But at last critics began to be heard, and Marcus Aurelius made the combats harmless for his time by compelling the use of blunted swords. Moreover, it is true beyond doubt—so strong is fashion even in morals—that the passion for these in-

¹ Read Lecky, II, 165.

human games was not inconsistent with humanity in other respects.¹

533. Slavery grew milder. Emancipation became so common that, on an average, household slaves were freed after six years' service. The horrible story of Pollio (a noble who threw a slave alive to the lampreys in a fish pond for carelessly breaking a precious vase) is often given as typical of Roman treatment of slaves. This is misleading. That crime occurred at the very beginning of the Empire, while there was yet no check *in law* upon a master; but even then, Augustus, by a stretch of humane despotism, ordered all the tableware in Pollio's house to be broken and his fish ponds to be filled up. Evidently, such a master was socially ostracised.

Soon afterward a master was murdered by a slave. The Senate, *after bitter opposition*, voted to put the entire household of slaves to death, according to the old custom of the Republic; but the city populace rose in indignant insurrection to prevent such unjust cruelty. In Nero's time a special judge was appointed to hear the complaints of slaves and to punish cruelties to them, and Seneca tells us that cruel masters were jeered in the streets. Law began to protect the slave, and imperial edicts improved his condition.²

534. Sympathies broadened. The unity of the vast Roman world prepared the way for the thought that all men are brothers. Philosophers were fond of dwelling upon the idea. Said Marcus Aurelius, "As emperor I am a Roman; but as a man my city is the world." Even the rabble in the Roman theater was wont to applaud the line of Terence: "I am a man; no calamity that can affect man is without meaning to me."

The age prided itself, justly, upon its enlightened humanity, much as our own does. Trajan instructed a provincial governor not to act upon anonymous accusations, because such conduct "*does not belong to our age.*"

¹ Read a good passage in Lecky's *European Morals*, 288-290.

² Cf. §§ 481, 489. Extracts from this legislation are given by Munro, 187, 192. Read Lecky, *European Morals*, I, 303-308.

535. The Gentler Spirit of Imperial Law. — The result of this broad humanity *was crystallized* in the Roman law.¹ The harsh law of the Republic became humane. Women and children shared its protection. Torture was limited. The rights of the accused were better recognized. From this time dates the maxim, "Better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." "All men by the law of nature are equal"² became a law maxim, through the great jurist Ulpian. Slavery, he argued, had been created only by the lower law, enacted not by nature but by man. Therefore, if one man claimed another as his slave, the benefit of any possible doubt was to be given to the one so claimed.³

G. EXTRACTS TO SHOW THE HIGHER PAGAN MORALITY.

536. From the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius:—

Aurelius thanks the gods "for a good grandfather, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, and good friends."

"From my mother I learned piety, and abstinence not only from evil deeds but from evil thoughts." From a tutor, ". . . not to credit miracle workers and jugglers, with their incantations and driving away of demons; . . . to read carefully, and not to be satisfied with a superficial understanding of a book."

"There are briars in the road? Then turn aside from them, but do not add, 'Why were such things made?' Thou wilt be ridiculed by a man who is acquainted with nature, as thou wouldst be by a carpenter or shoemaker if thou didst complain that there were shavings and cuttings in his shop."

"All that is from the gods is full of providence."

"On every vexation apply this principle: This is not a misfortune, but to bear it nobly is good fortune."

"The best way to avenge thyself is not to become like the wrong-doer."

¹ Read Lecky, I, 294-297, and Curteis, 17. Hadley, *Roman Law*, Lectures II and III, and Gibbon, ch. xlv, give longer discussions.

² This maxim was to work revolutions in distant ages. It played a part in both the American and the French Revolutions of the eighteenth century.

³ It is curious to remember that the rule was just the other way in nearly all Christian countries through the Middle Ages, and in the United States under the Fugitive Slave Laws from 1793 to the Civil War.

“When thou wishest to delight thyself, think of the virtues of those who live with thee.”

“Love men; revere the gods.” [Does not this come near “the two commandments”?]]

“Think of thyself as a member of the great human body, — else thou dost not love men from thy heart.”

“Suppose that men curse thee, or kill thee . . . if a man stand by a pure spring and curse it, the spring does not cease to send up wholesome water.”

“To say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and all that belongs to the soul is a dream and a vapor; life is a warfare and a stranger’s sojourn, and after fame is oblivion. What then is there about which we ought seriously to employ ourselves? This one thing—just thoughts and social acts, words that do not lie, and temper which accepts gladly all that happens.”

“Why then dost thou not wait in tranquillity for thy end, whether it be extinction or removal to another life? And until that time comes, what is sufficient? Why, what else than to venerate the gods and bless them, and to do good to men, and to practice tolerance and self-restraint.”

“Everything harmonizes with me which is harmonious to thee, O Universe! Nothing is too early or too late which is in due time for thee! Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature! From thee are all things; in thee are all things; to thee all things return. The poet says, Dear city of Cecrops; and shall not I say, Dear city of Zeus?”

“Many grains of frankincense upon the same altar; one falls before, another after; but it makes no difference.”

“Pass through this little space of time conformably to Nature, and end thy journey in content—just as an olive falls when it is ripe, blessing Nature who produced it and thanking the tree on which it grew.”

“What is it to me to live in a universe if devoid of gods. But in truth gods do exist, and they do care for human things, and they have put the means in man’s power to enable him not to fall into real evil.”

“It is sweet to live if there be gods, and sad to die if there be none.”¹

537. From Epictetus:—

“He is unreasonable who is grieved at things which happen from the necessity of nature.”

“Nothing is smaller than love of pleasure and love of gain and pride. Nothing is superior to magnanimity and gentleness and love of mankind and beneficence.”

¹ Read Watson’s *Marcus Aurelius*, or Matthew Arnold’s treatment in *Essays in Criticism*, First Series. See also Capes’ *Antonines*, 84–134.

“What we ought not to do we should not even think of doing.”

“No man is free who is not master of himself.”

“Think of God more frequently than you breathe.”

“Fortify yourself with contentment, for this is an impregnable fortress.”

“If you wish to be good, first believe that you are bad.”

“Do not so much be ashamed of that disgrace which proceeds from men’s opinions as fly from that which comes from the truth.”

“No man who loves money and pleasure and fame, also loves mankind, but only he who loves virtue.”

“If you wish to be rich, know it is neither a good thing nor in your power; if you wish to be happy, it is a good thing and in your power; for the one is a temporary loan of fortune, but happiness comes from the will.”

“When you die you will not exist, but you will be something else of which the world has need; you came into existence not when you chose, but when the world had need of you.”

“To me all significations are auspicious if I choose; for, whatever results, it is in my power to derive benefit from it.”

“It is not possible to be free from faults; but it is possible to direct your efforts incessantly to bring faultlessness.”

“Death or pain is not formidable, but the fear of pain or death.”

H. CHRISTIANITY.

538. Some Inner Sources of its Power.—Thus far we have considered the morals of the pagan world only. But during these same first centuries of the Empire, Christianity had come into the world (§ 476) and was already growing into the greatest single power that has ever worked upon the souls of men. God as a tender father replaced the gods demanding worship for themselves as the price of holding their hands from afflicting men. Confidence in a blissful life after death replaced the old gloomy and shadowy future. The obligation of pure and helpful living was substituted for the duty of minute ceremonial. Christianity made hope, love, and mutual helpfulness the essence of religion for the masses of men, and it replaced the lofty but trembling aspirations of the noblest philosophers by a sure and glowing faith.

Individuals in the pagan world, it is true, like Plato and Aurelius, held opinions regarding God, duty, immortality, not unlike the teachings of Christ; but through Christianity these higher doctrines, "which the noblest intellects of [pagan] antiquity could barely grasp, have become *the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and the alley.*"¹

539. Debt to the Roman Empire.²—In three distinct ways the Empire had made preparation for Christianity. (1) The gentler tendency of the age made easier the victory of Christianity, the religion of humility and self-sacrifice. (2) The political machinery of the empire had important influence upon the organization of Church government (§ 565). (3) An incalculable debt is due to the unity of the vast Roman world.

Except for the widespread rule of Rome, Christianity could hardly have reached beyond Judea. The early Christian writers recognized this, and regarded the creation of the Empire as a providential preparation. No other government was tolerant enough to permit the spread of such worship. The Empire had tolerated broadly the religions of all nations (except those believed to be seriously immoral), and so had melted down sharp local prejudices. The union of diverse peoples under the Empire, with a common language, common sentiments and customs, a common government, and habits of easy intercourse, laid the foundation for their spiritual union in Christianity. Says Renan:—

"It is not easy to imagine how, in the face of an Asia Minor, a Greece, an Italy, split into a hundred small republics, and of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Egypt, in possession of their old national institutions, the apostles could have succeeded, or even how their project could have been started."

¹ Lecky, *European Morals*. See that work (II, 1-4) on the relation of pagan speculation and teaching to Christian faith; and also some good pages in Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, First Series, 345-348. Robinson's *Readings in European History*, I, 14-18, has some excellent source extracts to illustrate the same relation.

² There is a good treatment in Fisher's *Beginnings of Christianity*, 47-73.

540. The Early Persecutions.—The Empire encouraged the utmost freedom of thought upon all subjects. Marcus Aurelius, in appointing men to the endowed chairs of philosophy at Rome, did not inquire whether or not they agreed with his own philosophical beliefs. Why, then, did Rome persecute the early Christians?

To understand this at all, it is best to treat separately the "persecution" under Nero, and the persecutions in the following century.

We know from the Book of Acts that within thirty years after the death of Christ his disciples were to be found in all large cities of the eastern part of the Empire, and that they had appeared in Rome itself. They were still confined, however, almost wholly to the lower classes of society. Cultivated Romans heard of them only by chance, if at all, and as a despised sect of the Jews. The Jews themselves accused the Christians of all crimes and impieties, — of eating young children and of horrible orgies in the secret love-feasts (the communion suppers). The accusation was accepted carelessly, because of the secrecy of the Christian meetings¹ and because there had been licentious rites in certain eastern religions which Rome had been compelled to check.²

The great fire in Rome, 64 A.D. (§ 482), first brought the Christians to general notice, and gave occasion for the first important mention of them by a pagan historian. The origin of the fire, says Tacitus, was charged upon the new sect, —

"Whom the vulgar call Christians, and who were already branded with deserved infamy. Christ, from whom the name was derived, was executed when Tiberius was emperor, by Pontius Pilate, the procurator in Judea. But the *pernicious superstition*, checked for the time, again broke out, not only in its first home, but even in Rome, the meeting place of all horrible and immoral practices from all parts of the world."

¹ See a significant extract from a pagan writer in Munro, 168 (No. 128).

² A brief clear statement is given by Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, 9-11 and 14-15.

Tacitus plainly does not think the charge of incendiarism proven, but he approves the punishment of these "haters of the human race." Nero was glad to satisfy the rage of the Roman populace by sacrificing such victims with ingenious and fiendish tortures. As we have noted, however (§ 482), the punishment was not in name or fact a *religious* persecution, and it was confined to the city of Rome.

Fifty years later, Pliny was a provincial governor under Trajan (§§ 501, 527). Many persons in his province were accused by the people, sometimes anonymously, of belonging to the "deplorable superstition" of the Christians. Such men, it was charged, were guilty of immoral practices, and also *brought down the anger of the gods upon the state*, since they would not sacrifice to its gods. Pliny had investigated and had found that they lived pure, simple lives, but that they refused with "immovable obstinacy" to sacrifice to the Roman gods. This, he thought, deserved death. But the number of such offenders was so great, and they came forward so readily, that he was embarrassed, and he wrote to Rome for instructions. Trajan directed him not to seek them out, and not to receive anonymous accusations, but added that if Christians were brought before him and then refused to sacrifice, they must be punished.¹

541. Causes of the Persecutions. — From these letters two things appear. (1) The populace hated the Christians as they did not hate the adherents of other strange religions, and pressed the government to persecute them. (2) The best rulers, though deploring bloodshed, thought it proper and right to punish the Christians with death.

These facts can be partly explained.

a. Rome tolerated and supported all religions, but she expected all her populations also to tolerate and support the state religion. The Christians alone not only refused to do so, but

¹ Read the correspondence in Munro's *Source Book*, 165-167, Fling's *Studies*, 140-143, or in Bury, 446-448. See, too, *Pennsylvania Reprints* IV, 10; Ramsay, 196-225, Hardy, 102-124.

declared war upon it as sinful and idolatrous. To the populace this seemed to challenge the wrath of the gods; and to enlightened men it seemed to indicate at least a dangerously stubborn and treasonable temper.

b. Secret societies were feared and forbidden by the Empire, on political grounds. Even the enlightened Trajan instructed Pliny to forbid the organization of a firemen's company in a large city of his province, because such associations were likely to become "factious assemblies." The church was a vast, highly organized, widely diffused, secret society, and "as such, was not only distinctly illegal, but in the highest degree was calculated to excite the apprehension of the government."¹

c. The attitude of the Christians toward society added to their unpopularity. Many of them refused on religious grounds to join the legions, or to fight, if drafted. This seemed treason, inasmuch as a prime duty of the Roman world was to repel barbarism. Moreover, the Christians were unsocial: they abstained from most public amusements, as immoral, and they refused to illuminate their houses or garland their portals in honor of national triumphs.

Thus we have religious and social motives with the people, and a political motive with statesmen. It follows that the periods of persecution often came under those emperors who had the highest conception of duty.

542. The Attitude of the Government. — The first century, except for the horrors in Rome under Nero, afforded no persecution until its very close. In 95 there was a persecution, not very severe, and lasting only a few months. Under Trajan we see spasmodic local persecutions arising from popular hatred, but not instigated by the government. Hadrian and Antonine Pius strove to repress popular outbreaks against the Christian Aurelius, in the latter part of his reign, permitted a persecu-

¹ These are the words of George Burton Adams. For the jealousy of Trajan toward associations, see Munro, *Source Book*, 232, 233. Some scholars, however, deny that the Church was persecuted as a secret society; see Hardy 90-91 and 195.

tion. On the whole, during the second century, the Christians were legally subject to punishment, but there were only a few enforcements of the law against them, and those were local,¹ not general.

The third century was an age of anarchy in government, and, as we shall see, of decline in prosperity. The few able rulers strove strenuously to restore society to its ancient order; and this century accordingly was an age of definitely planned, imperial persecution. Says George Burton Adams: "There was really no alternative for men like Decius,² and Valerian,² and Diocletian.³ Christianity was a vast organized defiance of law." No return to earlier Roman conditions, such as the reformers hoped for, could be accomplished unless this sect was overcome.

But by this time Christianity was too strong. It had come to count nobles and rulers in its ranks. At the opening of the fourth century, the shrewd Constantine saw the advantage he might gain by enlisting it upon his side in the civil wars. Accordingly Christianity became a favored religion, and the era of persecution by the pagans ceased forever.

543. Summary. — (1) It is possible to understand how some of the best emperors could persecute the Church. (2) The persecution was not of such a character as to endanger a vital faith. (3) It did give rise to multitudes of heroic martyrdoms of strong men and weak maidens, which make a glorious page in human history, and which by their effect upon contemporaries justify the saying, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."⁴ (4) The moral results of Christianity in the first three centuries were most apparent in the social life of the lower classes in the cities. The effect upon legislation and government was to begin in the fourth century A.D.

¹ This does not detract from the heroism of those noble men and women who chose to die in torture rather than deny their faith. On the slight nature of the persecution before Decius, 249 A.D., see Lecky, I, 443-445; Curteis, *Roman Empire*, 20-30.

² § 494.

³ § 549.

⁴ Special report: stories of famous early martyrs; the persecutions of Decius and of Diocletian.

FOR FURTHER READING ON THE PERSECUTIONS. — Consult Munro, 167-172, for extracts from the Christian Tertullian (early third century). The *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 1, contains other source material. There are a few excellent pages on the persecution by good emperors in Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (essay on "Marcus Aurelius"), 359-363. The causes and extent of persecution are summarized in Ramsay, ch. xv; chs. x-xiv give its history in the first two centuries. The attitude of the imperial government is discussed in Watson's *Aurelius*, ch. vii, and Capes' *Antonines*, ch. vi. Lengthy treatments will be found in Hardy's little volume, *Christianity and the Roman Government* (about two hundred pages) and in Lecky's *European Morals*, I, 398-468, and a valuable brief statement in Curteis' *Roman Empire*, 20-30. See also Church's *To the Lions*, Farrar's *Darkness and Dawn*, and Newman's *Callista* (novels).

IV. THE GENERAL DECLINE IN THE THIRD CENTURY.¹

544. In general, the third century of the Empire, from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian (180-284), is a period of decline. The political anarchy of the period has been treated briefly in §§ 493-495. There was a similar falling away in the *defense of the frontiers*, in *material prosperity*, and in *literary activity*. These features will now be noted in some detail.

545. Renewal of Barbarian Attacks. — For the first two centuries the task of the legions was an easy one, but in the reign of the peaceful Marcus Aurelius the torrent of barbarian invasion began again to beat upon the ramparts of civilization. The Moorish tribes were on the move in Africa; the Parthians, whom Trajan had humbled, again menaced the Euphrates; and Tartars, Slavs, Finns, and Germans burst upon the Danube. Aurelius gave the years of his reign to campaigns on the frontier.²

¹ Most of the topics in this chapter have been treated (in Division III) only to about 200 A.D. In some cases — imperial organization, lists of emperors, and Christianity — it was more convenient to cover the three centuries.

² Chapters of the *Thoughts* were composed, as the date lines show, in camp in the mountains of Bohemia or Moravia against the Marcomanni (Markmen) and Quadi.

For the time, indeed, Rome beat off the attack; but from this date she stood always on the defensive, with exhaustless swarms of fresh enemies surging about her defenses; and after the great and prosperous reigns of Septimius and Alexander Severus (§ 495) they began to burst through for destructive raids.

Early in the third century the Parthian Empire gave way to a new Persian kingdom under the Sassanidae kings. This Persian power for a time seemed the great danger to the Roman world. In 250 and 260 its armies poured across the Euphrates. The emperor Valerian was defeated and taken prisoner, and Antioch was captured. New German tribes, too, — the mightier foe, as events were to prove, — appeared on the European frontier. The *Alemanni* crossed the Rhine and maintained themselves in Gaul for two years (236–238). In the disorders of the fifties, bands of *Franks* swept over Gaul and Spain. The *Goths* seized the province of Dacia, and raided the eastern European provinces. In the sixties, Gothic fleets, of five hundred sail, issuing from the Black Sea, ravaged the Mediterranean coasts, sacking Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta.

Claudius II and Aurelian, however, restored the old frontiers, except for Dacia, and chastised the barbarians on all sides. The worst of the evil was confined to the middle third of the century;¹ but a fatal blow had been struck at the military fame of Rome.

546. Decline of Population and of Material Prosperity. — By the irony of fate, the reign of the best of emperors marks also another great calamity. In the year 166 a new Asiatic plague swept from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, carrying off, we are told, half the population of the empire.

From Aurelius to Aurelian, at brief intervals, the pestilence returned, desolating wide regions and demoralizing industry.

¹ Read a few pages in Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, 44–71, if accessible.

Those who recovered from the disease often showed a weakened energy, and the vitality of society was fatally lowered. Even vigorous young societies take a long time to recover from a single blow of this kind.¹ To the Roman Empire, the disaster was the more deadly because *population had already become stationary*, if it were not indeed on the decline.

The reasons for this previous falling off in population are not altogether clear. The widespread slave system was no doubt one cause. A high standard of comfort and a dislike for large families, as in modern France, was another. But these seem insufficient. It is hardly possible to charge the evil to immorality, since the victory of Christianity does not seem to have checked it afterward. Whatever the cause, the fact of the decline is beyond question; and so the gaps left by pestilence remained unfilled. "Year by year, the human harvest was bad." The fatal disease of the later Empire was want of men.² There followed a decline in material prosperity and in tax-paying power.

547. Decay in Literature.—Great names in poetry, history, and science cease. Philosophy and theology become a dreary waste of controversy. We have multitudes of "Apologies" for Christianity from the Church Fathers (*Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and *Origen*),³ and volume upon volume against them from the New Platonists, like *Plotinus* and his disciple *Porphyry* (Asiatics). Works on Christian doctrine and practice were written also by *St. Clement* (of Alexandria) and *St. Cyprian* (of Carthage).

The one advance is in Roman law (§ 500). This is the age of the great jurists, of whom *Ulpian* is the most famous. But even this progress is confined to the early part of the century, closing with the reign of Alexander Severus.

¹ It is said to have taken a century for England to recover from the effects of the Black Death in the fourteenth century.

² Read Seeley's *Roman Imperialism*, 53-64.

³ These three writers were all citizens of Africa.

REFERENCES for the Empire of the first three centuries. — Sources : Augustus' *Monumentum Ancyranum* ("The Deeds of Augustus") is important for the reign of the first emperor ; it is a long inscription found on the walls of a temple in *Ancyra*, copied from a tablet set up by Augustus at Rome ; a translation is given in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, V. Tacitus covers the early period of the Empire. Suetonius gives us the *Lives* of the first twelve Caesars. Some other sources are referred to in footnotes on special subjects, and Munro's *Source Book* contains much good material.

Modern authorities : General Survey : Mommsen's great *History* closes with Julius Caesar. Capes' *Early Empire* and *The Age of the Antonines* (Epochs) and Bury's *Roman Empire* (Student's Series) to 180 A.D., fill the period between Mommsen and Gibbon. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (chs. iv-xii) remains the great guide for the third century. Pelham covers the whole period in brief. The third century is not attractive, and writers on the Early Empire show a disposition to stop with the Antonines, while treatments of the later period usually begin with Diocletian. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I, 5-16, has an excellent summary from Augustus to Diocletian.

On Society : chapters in the works mentioned above, and the special references in footnote on pages 424, 440.

On Christianity : all the authorities above and the references in footnote on page 449 and *References* on page 454.

On Architecture : see footnote, page 434.

On Literature : see footnote, page 438.

REVIEW EXERCISES. — 1. Reread carefully §§ 478-495, so as to get a clear idea of the relation of the different emperors to the great movements treated in the present chapter. If the teacher thinks it desirable, a catchword review of the narrative in those sections may be prepared at this point. 2. Add largely to the list of terms for rapid drill. 3. Add to the table of dates the following : 31 B.C., 9 A.D., 14, 69, 180.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY: DIOCLETIAN TO THEODOSIUS.

(*The Story of the Emperors.*¹)

I. DIOCLETIAN AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

(*A Centralized, Despotic Empire.*)

548. The Needs of the Empire. — We have seen that the third century was a period of grave disorder. The throne was the sport of the legions and the prize of successful military adventurers. The usefulness of the Empire, however, was not over. Claudius II and Aurelian (§ 495) repulsed the perils from without, which the anarchy in government had encouraged, and then came *Diocletian* and *Constantine* to end the internal disorder itself (§§ 549 ff.).

That disorder had arisen in the main from two causes.

a. The machinery of government was too simple. The emperor had too much to do. He could not ward off Persians on the Euphrates and Germans on the Rhine, and also supervise closely the government of the forty provinces into which the empire had come to be divided. Moreover, some single provinces were so important that their governors, especially if also victorious generals, were almost the equals of the

¹ The fourth century, like the first three, is treated in two chapters — one for narrative and one for a topical study. For convenience, however, the character of the reorganized government is discussed in the first chapter, in connection with the reign of its creator *Diocletian*, and the victory of Christianity in connection with the reign of its champion *Constantine*.

emperor in power. For the past century there had averaged a rebellion of a governor for nearly every year.

b. The succession to the throne was uncertain (§ 499). Sometimes the emperor named his successor; sometimes the Senate elected its own choice. Sometimes the new ruler was the creature of the praetorians, sometimes the favorite of one of the frontier armies. Finally the legions had ceased to wait for the throne to become vacant, and made vacancies at will. The result had been the century of "barrack emperors."

549. Diocletian (284-305 A.D.), a stern Illyrian soldier and the grandson of a slave, was himself one of these barrack emperors. He was the last and greatest of them, and he made them well-nigh impossible thereafter. Seizing the scepter with a strong hand, he established secure and victorious peace on all the frontiers, and ruled firmly for twenty-one years. Toward the close of his reign he was induced to carry on the *most terrible and thorough of all the persecutions of the Christians*.¹ His greatest work was his reorganization of the system of government (§§ 550 ff.).

550. The System of "Partnership Emperors" and Caesars; the Four Prefectures. — Diocletian introduced a system of "partnership emperors." He chose as a colleague *Maximian*, a rough soldier but an able man and a faithful friend. Each of the two assumed the same titles and dignity; each was Emperor Caesar Augustus. The two *Augusti* divided the empire, Diocletian taking the East and giving to Maximian the West. Each then divided his half into two parts, keeping one under his own direct control, and intrusting the government of the other to a chosen heir with the title of *Caesar*. The two emperors kept their own capitals in the central and more settled provinces of the empire, — Diocletian at Nicomedia in Asia Minor, and Maximian at Milan in North Italy. To the Caesars were assigned the more turbulent and exposed provinces of the

¹ Special report.

extreme East and the extreme West, with the duty of guarding the frontiers against Persians and Germans.

Thus the empire was marked off into four great sections, called *prefectures*, and each prefecture was put under the immediate supervision of one of the four rulers. This made closer oversight possible. At the same time, in great measure, it did away with the danger of military adventurers seizing the throne. Thereafter there were usually certain men especially pointed out for the succession. This was not so definitely arranged, it is true, as to prevent disputes, and in future more than one war took place for the crown; but the number of possible claimants was greatly limited and the evil was lessened.

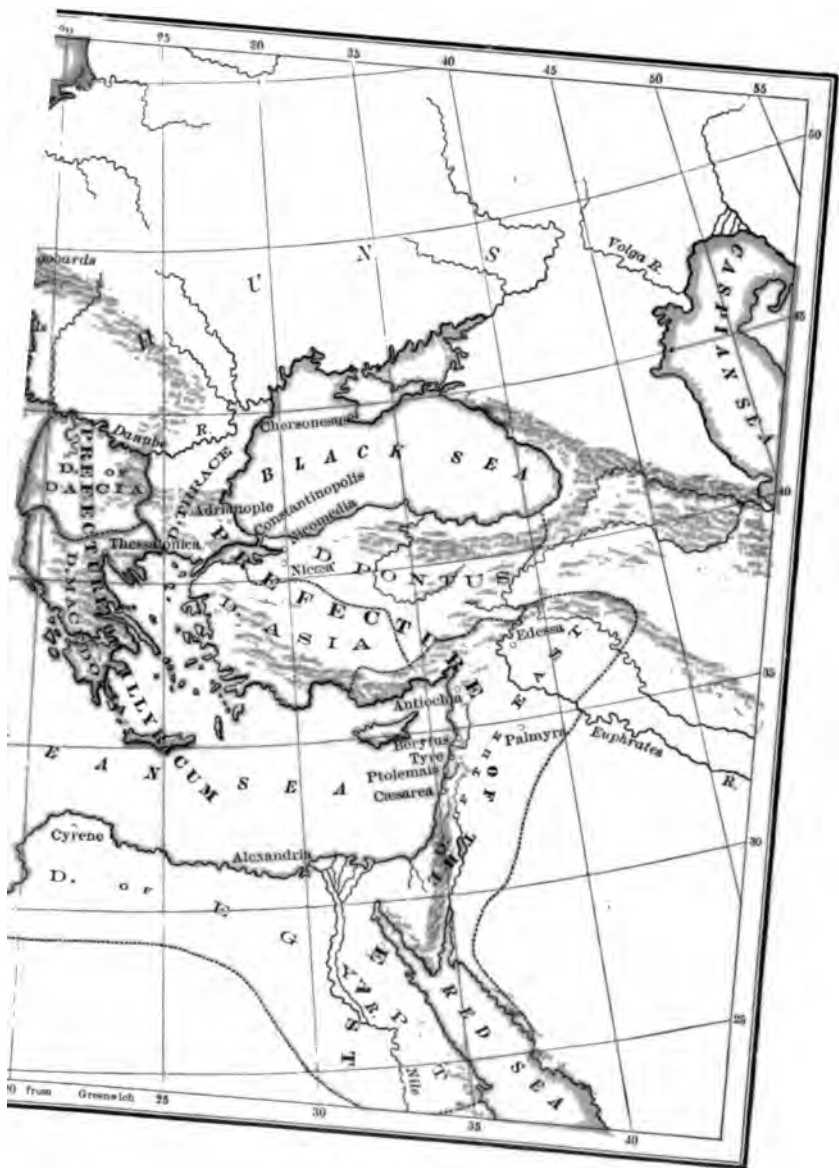
551. Nature of this System: not a Division of the Empire.— This arrangement, however, was *not a partition of the empire*. It was only a division of the burden of administration. The power of each emperor in theory extended over the whole empire. Edicts in any part were published under their joint names. It was intended that the rulers should act in harmony, and for much of the following century they did so. *There were not two empires or four. There was only one.* In fact, though equal in dignity, the two emperors were usually not equal in power. Thus, throughout his reign, Diocletian's strong will ruled his colleague.

552. A Complex Hierarchy.— The attempt of Diocletian to prevent disputes about the succession was only partially successful, but the other faults of the government (§ 548 *a*) he corrected more completely. The division of duties between four chief rulers was only the beginning of his reform. Below the Augustus or the Caesar, in each prefecture, appeared a series of officials in regular grades, as in an army. That is, the administration was organized into a systematic *hierarchy*, each officer under the immediate direction of the one just above him.

Before the time of Diocletian the forty provincial governors had stood directly below the emperor, who had to supervise









|

them all himself.¹ Now the *provinces* were subdivided so as to make about a hundred and twenty. These were grouped into thirteen *dioceses*, each under a *vicar*. The dioceses were grouped into the four *prefectures*, each under its *prefect*, who was subject to a Caesar or Augustus in person. A prefect had under him three or five vicars; a vicar had under him several provincial governors. Each officer sifted all business that came to him from his subordinates, sending on to his superior only the more important matters.

553. Table of Prefectures and Dioceses. — The following table shows more clearly to the eye the grouping of these units of government:—

	<i>Prefectures</i>	<i>Dioceses</i>			
THE EAST.	East	East	15	provinces.	} Countless municipalities.
		Egypt	6	"	
		Asia	11	"	
		Pontus	11	"	
	Thrace	6	"		
Illyricum	Macedonia and Greece	6	"	
		Dacia	5	"	
THE WEST.	Italy	Italy	17	"	
		Africa	6	"	
		Illyria	7	"	
	Gaul	Spain	7	"	
		The Gauls	17	"	
		Britain	5	"	

554. Separation of Civil and Military Duties; Other Military Reforms. — The provincial governors were now of too little importance to rebel successfully against the emperor, but another measure guarded still further against such internal disorder. The governors and vicars became merely *civil officials*. All military command was intrusted to other officers, who were

¹ For an illustration of the minute oversight attempted by industrious emperors, see once more the correspondence of Trajan with Pliny, referred to in §§ 527 and 540.

responsible, not to the vicars, but directly to the emperor. Thus the civil and military powers watched and checked each other.¹

At the same time, still more careful precaution was taken against military adventurers. The powerful legions were broken up into *small regiments*, which had less corps spirit and were less able to act in concert against the central authority.

555. Development of a Highly Organized Administration.— Most of these reforms were meant to divide duties and to fix responsibility precisely. One more change was aimed at the same end. In the Early Empire the friends or servants of the emperor were often given great power in the administration, but in an irregular and varying manner. Hadrian (§ 497, note) had made these irregular assistants into regular officers and advisers. But now each such officer became the head of an extensive department of government,² organized into a hierarchy of many ranks; and, along with this change at court, went also the multiplication of subordinate officials throughout the provinces.³

556. Despotism.— To secure for the emperor's person greater reverence, Diocletian adopted *the forms of monarchy*. The Republican cloak of Augustus was cast aside, and the Principate gave way to an open despotism. At last, absolutism was avowed as a policy, and adorned with its characteristic trappings. The emperor assumed a diadem of gems and robes of silk and gold. He dazzled the multitude by the oriental magnificence of his court, and fenced himself round,

¹ Cf. § 63 for the use of a similar device in a ruder way.

² Imperial Rome developed her machinery of government out of the offices of the emperor's household. The chief of the attendants in the emperor's chamber became the *Great Chamberlain*, the head of an important branch of the administration. See Wilson's *The State*, 135, 136. In like manner, the great administrative officers of medieval kingdoms were developed from the household officers of the kings.

³ The heads of departments exercised great control over the emperor's knowledge of the empire and had much influence upon his plans. In like manner they themselves were influenced by their subordinates.

even from his nearest associates, with minute ceremonial and armies of functionaries. When subjects were allowed to approach him at all they were obliged, in place of the old Republican greeting, to prostrate themselves servilely at his feet.

At this time the Senate of Rome — the last of the old Republican influences — ceased to have part in the management of the empire. It became thenceforth only a city council, just as the officers of the Republic had long before become mere city officials (cf. §§ 473, 496, 497).

557. Summary; a Centralized Despotism. — Like the reforms which had preserved the declining society of Caesar's day (§ 458), the changes introduced by Diocletian were in the direction of absolutism. The medicine had to be strengthened; soon its virtue would be exhausted, and only the poison would be left.

The government became a centralized despotism, a vast, highly complex machine. For a time its new strength warded off foreign foes, and it even stimulated society into fresh life. But the cost of the various courts and of the immense body of officials pressed upon the masses with crushing weight, and the omnipotence and omnipresence of the central government oppressed the minds of men. Patriotism died; enterprise disappeared.¹

To this despotic organization we owe thanks, however, for putting off the catastrophe in Western Europe for two centuries more. In this time, *Christianity* won its battle over paganism, and *Roman law* took on a system (§ 613) that enabled it to live even under the barbarian conquest (§§ 582 ff.).

¹ It is desirable for students to discuss in class more fully some of these forms of government of which the text has to treat. Absolutism refers to the *source of political power*: i.e., in a system of absolutism, supreme political power is in the hands of one person. "Centralization" refers to the *kind of administration*. A centralized administration is one carried on by a body of officials of many grades, all *appointed from above*. Thus *absolutism and centralization do not necessarily go together*. A government may come from the people, and yet rule through a centralized administration, as in France to-day. It may be absolute, and yet allow much freedom to local agencies, as in Turkey, or in Russia in past centuries. But absolutism is likely to develop centralized agencies, as Russia has been doing rapidly of late.

Under a great genius, like Napoleon the First, a centralized government may for a time produce rapid benefits. But the system always decays, and it *does nothing to educate the people politically*. Local self-government is often provokingly slow and faulty, but it is *surer in the long run*.

II. CONSTANTINE AND THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

558. From Diocletian to Constantine, 305-312. — In 305, Diocletian laid down his power, to retire to private life,¹ persuading his colleague Maximian to do the same. The two Caesars became emperors, — *Galerius* in the East and *Constantius* in the West. Each appointed a Caesar as an assistant and successor. But Constantius died in a few months, before the



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE TO-DAY. — This arch was erected at Rome to commemorate the victory at the Milvian Bridge.

position of the new Caesars was firmly established, and this misfortune plunged the empire into new strife. For eight years civil war raged between six claimants for the throne. Then, in 312, *Constantine*, son of Constantius, by the victory of

¹ When pressed to assume the government again during the disorders that followed, Diocletian wrote from his rural retreat: "Could you come here and see the vegetables that I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no more talk to me of empire."

the *Milvian Bridge* (near Rome), established himself as emperor in the West. The next year, *Licinius*, the ally of Constantine in the civil war, became emperor in the East.

559. Constantine the Great, 312-337.— After a few years of joint rule, the two emperors quarreled, and a new civil war made Constantine sole master. For fourteen years more he reigned as sole emperor. But though he abandoned the system of "partnership emperors" during his own life, yet in all other respects he preserved the reforms of Diocletian. Indeed, he perfected them, standing to Diocletian somewhat as the first Augustus stood to Julius Caesar. He was a far-sighted, broad-minded, unscrupulous statesman, and his work, with that of Diocletian, enabled the Empire to withstand unbroken the storms of another hundred and fifty years and preserved a great part of it for ten centuries more.

Constantine definitely removed the capital of the Empire from Rome. He established it at Byzantium, which he rebuilt with great magnificence, and which took from him its new name, — *Constantinople*, "Constantine's city." For this removal there were several wise reasons, political, military, economic, and perhaps religious. (1) The turbulent Roman populace still clung to the *name* of the old Republic, and an eastern city would afford a more peaceful home for the Oriental monarchy now established. (2) Lying between the Danube and the Euphrates, Constantinople was a more convenient center than Rome from which to look to the protection of the frontiers. (It must be understood that the Persians were still thought the chief danger to the empire.) (3) Constantinople was admirably situated to become a great center of commerce: thus she could support a large population by her own industries far better than Rome, which had little means of producing wealth. (4) It is often said also that Constantine wished a capital which he could make Christian more easily than was possible with Rome, attached as the Roman people were to the old gods connected with the glories of the city.

This last consideration introduces us to the most important part of Constantine's work (§ 560).

560. Constantine favors the Church: Motives. — Happily for the world, Constantine put an end forever to the persecutions against Christians, and established Christianity as the most favored religion of the empire. This was the leading event

of the fourth century, overtopping even the political reorganization.¹

The immediate occasion of the victory of Christianity was the shrewd statesmanship of Constantine during the civil wars. The Christians still were less than one tenth the population of the empire, but they were the strongest force within it. They were energetic and enthusiastic; they were massed in the great cities, which held the keys to political power; and they were admirably organized for rapid, united action.

It is not likely that Constantine gave much thought to the truth of Christian doctrine,² and we know that he did not practice Christian virtues. But he was wise enough to recognize the good policy of allying this rising power to himself against his rivals. He may have seen, also, in a broader and unselfish way, the folly of trying to restore the old pagan world, and have felt it desirable to bring about harmony between the government and this new power within the empire, so as to utilize its strength instead of always combating it.³

561. Steps in the Victory of Christianity. — At the decisive battle of the Milvian Bridge (§ 558), Constantine's standard bore the Christian symbol of the cross. The next year (313), at his western capital Milan, he issued the famous decree known as the *Edict of Milan*: "We grant to the Christians and to all others free choice to follow the mode of worship they may wish, in order that whatsoever divinity and celestial

¹ The victory of Christianity just at this time enabled it to conquer also the barbarians, who were soon to conquer the empire. If they had not been converted before they became conquerors, it would have become almost impossible to convert them all. This is what Freeman means (*Chief Periods*, 67) when he calls the conversion of the Roman Empire the "leading fact in all history from that time onward," because, "where Rome led, all must follow."

² Constantine's father, however, had been favorably inclined toward the Christians, and had tried to protect them in his prefecture (Gaul and Britain) during the persecution of Diocletian.

³ For further reading on the "conversion of Constantine," see Carr, ch. iv; Uhlhorn, 420-444, or the large church histories, if accessible, like Schaff, III, 11-37, and Alzog, I, 463-473.

power may exist may be propitious to us and to all who live under our government.”

This edict established *religious toleration*. At a later time Constantine showed many favors to the Church, granting money for its buildings, and exempting the clergy from taxation (cf. § 518). But it is not correct to say that he made Christianity the state religion. At the most he seems to have given it an especially favored place among the religions of the empire.

Constantine himself continued to make the public sacrifices to the pagan gods; but, partly as a result of the favor he showed the Church, both court and people passed over rapidly to the new religion.

The struggle between Constantine and Licinius for sole power (§ 559) was also in part a decisive conflict between Christianity and paganism. The followers of the old faiths rallied around Licinius, and before the final battle that general is said to have addressed his soldiers with these words (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, II, 5):—

“These are our country's gods, and these we honor with a worship derived from our remote ancestors. But he who leads the army opposed to us has proven false to the religion of his fathers and has adopted atheistic sentiments, honoring, in his infatuation, some strange and unheard-of deity, with whose despicable standard he now disgraces the army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms . . . not so much against us as against the gods he has forsaken. *However, the present occasion shall decide . . . between our gods and those our adversaries profess to honor.* For either it will declare the victory to be ours, and so most justly evince that our gods are the true helpers and saviours; or else if the god of Constantine, who comes we know not whence, shall prove superior to our deities . . . let no one henceforth doubt what god he ought to worship.”

Whether or not Licinius used such words, many of his followers were influenced by these feelings. Accordingly, the victory of Constantine was accepted as a verdict in favor of Christianity, and before the end of the century Christianity became the state religion.¹

¹ On the privileges and powers of the clergy, see Robinson's *Readings*, I, 23-26.

III. THE EMPIRE FROM THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE END OF THE UNITED EMPIRE—CONSTANTINE TO THEODOSIUS (337–395).

562. From Constantine to Julian ; the Last Attempt to restore Paganism. — Constantine divided the empire at his death between his three sons, Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius. These princes, in true oriental fashion, massacred many relatives whose ambition they feared, and then warred among themselves. After thirteen years, Constantius became sole emperor. He proved, however, an inefficient ruler, and the realm was invaded repeatedly by Persians and Germans.

Finally the Alemanni, a German people, broke into Gaul and seemed about to become masters of that province. This peril summoned *Julian*, a cousin of Constantius, from his studies at Athens. The youthful philosopher was given command of the imperial armies in Gaul. He defeated the Alemanni in a great battle at *Strasburg*, and drove them again beyond the Rhine. The enthusiastic army, against his will, saluted him emperor, and soon afterward, on the death of Constantius, he succeeded to the throne.

Julian would have preferred to live the quiet life of a student, but he made a strong ruler. He spent his energy, however, in conflict with two forces, both of which were to prove victorious,—the barbarians and the church. This reign saw the last attempt to restore paganism. Julian had been brought up in the Christian faith (so that he is sometimes called “Julian the Apostate”); but his studies had inspired in him a love for the pagan Greek philosophy, and he was filled with disgust at the crimes and vices of his cousins’ “Christian” court. He established the worship of the old gods as the religion of the state, rebuilt the ruined temples, and restored the pagan emblems to the standards of the armies. He wrote also, with considerable ability, against Christian doctrines. He did not try, however, to use violence against the church, and, except in the court, his efforts had little result.

Indeed, he had little time to work in, for after two years (361-363) he fell in a victorious battle in a brilliant campaign against the Persians, and his successor restored Christianity as the worship of the empire.¹

563. From Julian to Theodosius: the Last Attempt at "Partnership Emperors."—On Julian's death, one of his officers, *Jovian*, was chosen emperor in the camp; and when he died, a few months later, the officers elected the vigorous *Valentinian* to succeed him. Valentinian restored the system of "partnership emperors." He kept the West under his own control and assigned the East to his brother *Valens*.

Valentinian (364-375) was harsh and cruel,² but an able soldier. The Alemanni, who had again broken across the Rhine, were repulsed, and other German tribes were chastised. He was succeeded in the West by his son *Gratian* (375-383). In the East, Valens was proving himself weak as well as cruel. The Goths, a German people, were allowed (376 A.D.) to cross the Danube, to find homes as subjects within the empire (§ 589). Enraged by the deceit of imperial officials, these barbarians soon rose in rebellion, and defeated and slew Valens in the battle of *Adrianople* (378 A.D.).

In the West, Gratian had in name associated his half-brother, *Valentinian II*, in the government; but Valentinian was a mere child, and now, in the great danger of the empire, Gratian gave the throne of the invaded East to *Theodosius*, an experienced general. Theodosius (379-395) pacified the Goths and restored order. On the death of Gratian, he succeeded to the real authority in the West also, although the young Valentinian was allowed to keep the name of emperor until his death in 392. During the remaining three years of his life

¹ According to a legend of later growth, when Julian felt the Persian arrow which gave him a mortal wound, he cried out (addressing Christ), "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" He lived two days in much pain, and spent the hours in talking with his friends about the immortality of the soul.

² Special report: anecdotes of Valentinian.

Theodosius was sole emperor, even in name. *This was the last real union of the whole empire under one ruler.*

Theodosius prohibited pagan worship, on pain of death. This ardent support of Christianity makes more striking a remarkable penance to which a bishop of the church subjected him. The Goths had been admitted into the army, especially in the East. Many quarrels took place between them and the inhabitants of the great cities, and at last a number of Gothic officers were massacred by the citizens of Thessalonica. In rage Theodosius gave orders for a terrible punishment. By his command the Gothic army in the guilty city surrounded the theater where the great body of inhabitants were assembled for the games, and killed men, women, and children without mercy. At the time Theodosius was at the western capital, Milan. When next he attended church, the bishop *Ambrose* sternly forbade him to enter, stained as he was with innocent blood. The emperor obeyed the priest. He withdrew humbly and accepted the penance which *Ambrose* imposed, and then, some months later, was received again to the services.

564. Final Division of the Empire. — On the death of Theodosius, the empire was again divided between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. More truly than any previous division, this was a real separation. After 395 there was "The Empire in the East" and "The Empire in the West." The two were still *one* in theory, but in practice they grew apart and even became hostile powers.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Pelham, 551-571; Gardner's *Julian*; Hodgkin's *Dynasty of Theodosius*; Robinson's *Readings in European History*, I, 21-33.

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

(*A Topical Study.*)

I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

565. Organization: One "Catholic" Church. — As the church extended its sway, it adopted in its government the territorial divisions of the empire. Its chief officers, too, in a measure corresponded to the grades of the civil state.

The early Christian missionaries to a province naturally went first to the chief city there. Thus the capital of a province became the seat of the first church in the district. From this church, as a mother society, churches spread to the other cities of the province, and from each city there sprouted outlying parishes. The head of the church in each city was a *bishop* (overseer), with supervision over the lower clergy and the rural churches of the neighborhood.¹ Gradually the bishop of the mother church in the capital city came to exercise great authority over the other bishops of the province. He became known as *archbishop* or *metropolitan*; and it became customary for him to summon the other bishops to a central council.

The next step was to exalt one of these metropolitans in a civil diocese above the others. This lot fell usually to the metropolitan of the chief city of the diocese. Thus, over much of the empire, the diocese, also, became an ecclesiastical unit, and its chief metropolitan was known as *patriarch*.

¹ At the head of each parish was a *priest*. Below the priests were officers known as deacons and subdeacons, with special care of the poor. Then there were also the "minor" orders — acolyte, exorcist, reader, doorkeeper. Special report: the life and work of a bishop in the early Christian Empire.

By degrees, this process toward a monarchic, centralized government was carried still further. The patriarchs of a few great centers were exalted above the others. Finally all the East became divided between the four patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, while all the West came under the authority of the bishop of Rome.¹

This unity of organization, with its tendency toward a single head, helped to develop the idea of a single "Catholic" (all-embracing) church, which should rule the whole world.² After 300, this idea is never lost sight of.

566. Growth of a Body of Doctrine; the Nicene Creed and the Arian Heresy. — The first Christians did not concern themselves with fine distinctions in doctrine. By degrees, however, the church came to contain the educated classes and men trained in the philosophical schools. These scholars brought with them into the church their philosophical thought; and the simple teachings of Christ were expanded and modified by them into an elaborate system of theology.

Thus, as Christianity borrowed the admirable organization of its government from Rome, so it drew the refinement of its doctrine from Greece. Before this Semitic faith could become the faith of Europe, as Freeman says, "its dogmas had to be defined by the subtlety of the Greek intellect, and its political organization had to be wrought into form by the undying genius of Roman rule."

But when the leaders of the church tried to state just what they believed about difficult points, they found that they could not all agree, and some violent disputes arose. In such cases the views of the majority finally prevailed as the orthodox doctrine, and the views of the minority became heresy. Most of the early heresies arose from different opinions about the exact nature of Christ.

¹ These eastern cities were nearly enough equal in importance to be rivals; but there was no city in the West that could rival Rome. This fact accounts in large measure for the authority of the bishop of Rome over so large an area. In the West the term diocese never had an ecclesiastical meaning corresponding to its civil use, but was applied to smaller units.

² See Robinson's *Readings*, I, 19-21, for a third century statement.

This was the case with the great *Arian heresy*. Arius, a priest of Alexandria, taught that, while Christ was the divine Son of God, He was not equal to the Father. Athanasius, of the same city, asserted that Christ was not only divine and the Son of God, but that He and the Father were absolutely equal in all respects, "of the same substance" and "co-eternal." The struggle waxed fierce and divided Christendom into opposing camps. But the Emperor Constantine desired union in the church. If it split into hostile fragments, his reasons for favoring it would be gone. Accordingly, in 325, he summoned all the principal clergy of the empire to a great council at Nicaea,¹ in Asia Minor, and ordered them to come to agreement.

Arius and Athanasius in person led the fierce debate. In the end the majority sided with Athanasius; and his opinion, summed up in the *Nicene Creed*, became the orthodox creed of Christendom. Arianism was condemned, and Arius and his followers were excluded from the church and persecuted. This heresy was to play an important part, however, in later history. Its disciples converted some of the barbarian peoples, who brought back the faith with them into the empire when they conquered it (§§ 590-595, 606).²

567. Persecution by the Church. — Diocletian's persecution was the last which the church had to endure. In 312, as we saw, Christianity secured perfect toleration for its worship, and, soon after, it was given an especially favored place among the religions of the empire. Almost at once it began itself to use violence to stamp out other religions. The Emperor Gratian (§ 563) permitted orthodox Christians to prevent the worship of those Christian sects which church councils

¹ This was the first council representing the whole church.

² Special reports: the careers of Arius and Athanasius after the Council of Nicaea; other early heresies, especially that of the *Gnostics* and that of the *Manichaeans*, and the church councils that dealt with them. (The sect of *Manichaeans* arose in the East and was influenced by the Persian religion with its two powers of good and evil; § 61. According to this heresy, God was not all-powerful, but the devil existed and worked as an independent power.)

declared heretical; and the great Theodosius forbade all pagan worship (§ 563).¹ Paganism did survive for a century more, in out-of-the-way places,² but Christianity had now become the sole legal religion. Heathen temples and idols were destroyed; the philosophical schools were broken up;³ and adherents of



HALL OF THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN: now the Church of St. Mary of the Angels.

the old faiths were put to death. This deplorable policy was opposed in vain by some of the greatest of the Fathers, as by *Augustine* and *Chrysostom* (§ 579).

In centuries to come this persecution by the church dwarfed into insignificance even the terrible persecutions it had suffered. The motive, too,

¹ See various decrees in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 23, 26-27.

² Hence the name *paganus*, from a Latin word meaning *rustics*. From a like fact the Christian Germans at a later time came to describe the remaining adherents of the old worship as *heathens* (heath-dwellers).

³ Special report: the story of the pure and noble *Hypatia*, of Alexandria. Read Kingsley's novel, *Hypatia*. See a terrible five-page summary of early persecutions by the Christians in Lecky, *European Morals*, II, 194-198.

differed widely from that of the old imperial persecution. It was not political. In general, each persecuting sect since has justified its action on the ground that belief in its particular faith was necessary to salvation. Therefore it seemed right and merciful to torture the bodies of heretics in order to save their souls and to protect the souls of others. Under cover of such theory, there now began a dark and bloody chapter in human history — to last over twelve hundred years.

568. Effect of the Conversion of the Empire. — The conversion of the empire produced less improvement *politically* than we should have expected. In general the church fell in with the despotic tendencies of the times, so far as human government was concerned. But upon other institutions its purifying influence was marked. It mitigated slavery; it made suicide¹ a crime; it built up a vast and beneficent system of charity;² and it deserves almost sole credit for the rapid abolition of the gladiatorial games.³ The deeper results, in the hearts of individual men and women, history cannot trace directly.

But no event of this kind can work in one direction only. The pagan world was converted at first more in form than in spirit, and paganism reacted upon Christianity. The victory was in part a compromise. The pagan Empire became Christian, but the Christian church became, to some degree, imperial and pagan. When it conquered the barbarians, soon afterward, it became to some degree barbarian. The gain enormously exceeded the loss; but there did take place a sweeping change from the earlier Christianity.

FOR FURTHER READING on the church in the fourth century: Carr's *The Church and the Empire*, 27-139; Fisher's *History of the Christian Church*; Lecky's *European Morals*, II; Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church*; Newman's *Arians*. The canons and creeds are given in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 2; other valuable source extracts are found in Robinson's *Readings in European History*, I, chs. ii, iv.

¹ Most of the great pagans looked upon suicide as perfectly excusable (though Socrates had condemned it as cowardly), and its practice had been growing frightfully common.

² Read Lecky, *European Morals*, II, 79-98.

³ *Ib.*, 86-38.

II. SOCIETY IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

569. Growing Exhaustion of the Empire. — The three quarters of a century after the reunion of the empire under Constantine were marked by a fair degree of outward prosperity. But the secret forces that were sapping the strength of society continued to work, and early in the coming century the empire was to crumble under barbarian attacks. These inroads were no more formidable than those which had so often been rebuffed. Apparently they were weaker. The barbarians, then, are not to be considered as the chief cause of the "Fall." The causes were internal. The Roman Empire was overthrown from without by an ordinary attack, *because it had grown weak within.*

This weakness was not due, in any marked degree at least, to decline in the army. The army kept its superb organization, and to the last was so strong in its discipline and its pride that it was ready to face any odds unflinchingly.¹ But more and more it became impossible to find men to fill the legions, or money to pay them. Dearth of men and of money was the cause of the fall of the state. The empire had become a shell.²

570. The Classes of Society. — The Roman society of the fourth and fifth centuries differed widely from that of the first three centuries. At the top was the emperor to direct the machinery of government. At the bottom were the peasantry and artisans to produce food and wealth wherewith to pay taxes. Between these extremes were two aristocracies, — an

¹ Read Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*, 288-291.

² The older writers explained the decay on moral grounds. Recent scholars are at one in recognizing, first, that the moral decay of Roman society has been greatly exaggerated, and, secondly, that the immediate causes of decline were political and economic. On the exaggeration of the moral decline, read Dill, *Roman Society*, bks. ii and iii (especially pp. 115-131 and 227-228); Seeley, *Roman Imperialism*, especially 54-64; and Adams, *Civilization*, 79-81. Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, Lecture II, gives graphic statement of the older but unhistorical view. If read, it should be corrected by Dill's treatment of the same authorities.

imperial aristocracy for the empire at large, and a local aristocracy in as many sections as there were cities (§§ 571, 572).

571. The senatorial nobility, the higher aristocracy, now included many nobles who never sat in the Senate either at Rome or at the new capital Constantinople. It had swallowed up the old senatorial class of Rome, and most of the knights. It was "a nobility of office": that is, a family lost its rank, unless from time to time it furnished officials to the empire.¹

A noble of this class possessed great honor and some important privileges. He was a citizen of the whole empire, not of one municipality alone, and he did not have to pay *local* taxes. He bore, however, heavy imperial burdens. He might be called upon at any moment for ruinous expenses at the capital, in fulfilling some imperial command,² or he might be required to assume some costly office at his own expense, on a distant frontier. But only a few individuals were actually ruined by such duties, and the lot of the great majority was enviable.

572. The Curials.³—Below the imperial nobility was the local nobility. Each city had its senate, or curia. The curials were not drafted into the armies, as the lower classes might be, nor were they subject to bodily punishment. They managed the finances of their city, and to some degree still (§§ 500, 501) they controlled its other local affairs. Those curials who rose to the high magistracies, however, had to bear large expense in providing shows and festivals for their fellow townsmen, and all curials had costly duties in supplying the poor with corn.

More crushing still to this local nobility were the imperial burdens. The chief imperial tax was the land tax. The needs of the Empire caused the amount to be increased steadily, while the ability of the people to pay steadily decreased. The curials

¹ The principle seems to have been not unlike that of the modern Russian nobility. Advanced students may refer to Leroy-Beaulieu's *Tsars and the Russians*, I, bk. vi.

² Read Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*, 249, or Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, 37-42.

³ There is an admirable account in Dill, 250-262.

were made the collectors of this tax in their city, and were held personally responsible for any deficit.

This duty was so undesirable that the number of curials tended to fall away. To secure the revenue, the emperors tried to prevent this decrease. The curials were made a hereditary class and were bound to their office. They were forbidden to become clergy, soldiers, or lawyers; they were not allowed to move from city to city, or even to travel without special permission.

A place in the senate of his city had once been the highest ambition of a wealthy middle-class citizen; but in the fourth century it had become almost an act of heroism to assume the duty.¹ Indeed, as the position grew more and more unendurable, desperate attempts were made to escape at any sacrifice. Of course the desirable escape was into the imperial nobility, but this was possible only to a few. Others, despite the law, sought refuge in the artisan guilds, in the church, — or even in serfdom, in a servile marriage, or in flight to the barbarians.²

573. The Middle Class. — Between the curials and the laborers came a small middle class of traders, small landowners, and professional men. When any one of these acquired a certain amount of land, he was compelled by law to become a curial; but the general drift was for them to sink rather than rise.

574. The Artisans were grouped in guilds, or colleges, each with its own organization. Each member was bound to his guild, as the curial to his office.

575. The Peasantry had become serfs.³ That is, they were bound to their labor on the soil, and changed masters with the land they tilled.

¹ A story is told that in a Spanish municipality a public-spirited man voluntarily offered himself for a vacancy in the curia, and that his fellow-citizens erected a statue in his honor.

² See Robinson's *Readings*, I, 29.

³ Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 161-163; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, I, 28-32, and III, 418-421; Dill, *Roman Society*, 262-266; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, ch. ii. The teacher will see the need of guarding the students against thinking of serfdom as a result of the barbarian conquests and of the later feudalism.

In the latter days of the Republic, the system of great estates which had blighted Italy earlier (§§ 396–398), began to curse province after province outside Italy. Free labor disappeared before slave labor; grain culture declined; and large areas of land ceased to be tilled.

To remedy this state of affairs in part, the emperors introduced a new system. After successful wars, they gave large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as *coloni*, or serfs. The purpose was to secure a hereditary class of agricultural laborers, and so keep up the food supply. The *coloni* were really given *not to the landlord, but to the land*.

They were not personal property, as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate*. They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it. They had some rights which slaves did not have. They could contract a legal marriage, and each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a fixed rent in labor and in produce.

Augustus began this system on a small scale, and it soon became a regular practice to dispose thus of vanquished tribes. This made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to maintain himself. That class sank into serfs; but it had been on the high road to extinction anyway. On the other hand, the slaves rose into serfs, until nearly all cultivators of the soil were of this order.

This institution of *coloni* was to last for hundreds of years, under the name of serfdom, and it was to help change the ancient slave organization of labor into the modern free organization. From the point of view of the slave, it was an immense gain. At the moment, however, it was one more factor in killing out the old middle class and in widening the gap between the nobles and the small cultivators.

In the fourth century, too, the lot of the *coloni* had become miserable. They were crushed by imperial taxes, in addition to the rent due their landlord; and in Diocletian's time, in Gaul, they rose in desperate revolt against the upper classes, to plunder, murder, and torture. This was a terrible forerunner of the peasant-risings during the Middle Ages.

576. The Approach of a Caste System.— Thus society was crystallizing into castes. Not only had the peasantry become serfs, attached from generation to generation to the same plot of ground: the principle of serfdom was being applied to all classes. The artisan was bound to his hereditary gild, and the curial and the noble each to his hereditary order. Freedom of movement seemed lost. In its industries and its social relations as well as in government, the Empire was becoming despotic and Oriental.

577. Crushing Taxation.— The Empire was “a great tax-gathering and barbarian-fighting machine.” It collected taxes *in order* to fight barbarians. But the time came when the provincials began to dread the tax-collector more than the Goth. This was partly because of the decrease in ability to pay, and partly because the complex organization cost more and more. Says Goldwin Smith: “The earth swarmed with the consuming hierarchy of extortion, so that it was said that they who received taxes were more than they who paid them.” What made the burden more crushing was that the taxes were no longer spent (in any large measure) in aiding industry. They went to support the machinery of government and the luxury of the court. Moreover, the wealthiest classes succeeded in shifting the burden largely upon those least able to pay.

Thus, heavy as the taxation was, it produced too little. It yielded less and less. The revenues of the government shrank up. The empire suffered from a lack of wealth as well as from a lack of men.

578. Peaceful Infusion of Barbarians before the Conquest.— The only measure that helped fill up the gaps in population was the introduction of barbarians from without. This took place peacefully on a large scale; but so far as preserving the Empire was concerned, it was a source of weakness rather than of strength.

Not only was the Roman army mostly made up of Germans; whole provinces were settled mainly by them before their

kinsmen from without, in the fifth century, began in earnest to break over the Rhine. Conquered tribes had been settled, hundreds of thousands at a time, in frontier provinces, and friendly tribes had been admitted, to make their homes in depopulated districts. Thus as slaves, soldiers, coloni, subjects, the German world had been filtering into the Roman world, *until a large part of the empire was peacefully Germanized*. Even the imperial officers were largely Germans.

This infusion of new blood helped to renew the decaying population and to check the decline of material prosperity. The Germans within the empire, of course, took on Roman civilization and customs, in large measure; but at the same time, they kept a friendly feeling for their kinsmen and they retained some of their old customs and ideas. *The barrier between the Empire and its assailants melted away imperceptibly*. All this lessened the agony of the barbarian conquest, but it helped to make it possible.

FOR FURTHER READING on the internal decay and the causes of the "Fall." — Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*, ch. ii. ("Landed Aristocracy and Beginnings of Serfdom"), and ch. iii. ("Taxation in the Fourth Century"); Oman's *Dark Ages*, chs. i, ii; Seeley's *Imperialism*, Lecture III; Adams' *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 76-88 (especially good). Advanced students may consult Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, I, 25-36; Dill's *Roman Society* (the best one work), bks. ii, iii; Taylor's *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, chs. ii-v; Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders*, II, 532-613, if accessible, and his article on "The Fall of the Roman Empire" in the *Contemporary Review*, January, 1898; (Mr. Hodgkin in this article does not even refer to moral causes.) Hodgkin's *Dynasty of Theodosius*, ch. ii, contains some valuable pages on Roman Society.

III. LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

579. Authors and Works: Theological Character of the Literature. — The great names in literature in the fourth century were almost all names of churchmen, and the writings were nearly all theological. In other lines, as in the third century, the period was one of intellectual decay. There were no mo

poets, and no new discoveries in science. Even the old science and literature were neglected. The following table makes this apparent. (The most important names are italicized.)

a. *The chief pagan writers were:—*

Amnianus, an Asiatic Greek soldier, the author of a spirited continuation of Tacitus' history ;

Eutropius, a soldier and the author of a summary of Roman history ;

Julian (the emperor), whose chief works were his *Memoirs* and a "Refutation" of Christianity.

b. *Many Christian writers produced a flood of theological and argumentative works. Among them were:—*

Ambrose (Saint), a Gallic lawyer, and afterward bishop of Milan (the bishop who disciplined the Emperor Theodosius) ; the author of many letters, sermons, and hymns ;

Anthony (Saint), an Egyptian hermit ;

Arius and *Athanasius* (§ 535) ;

Augustine (Saint), bishop of Hippo in Africa, author of many letters, commentaries, sermons, theological works ; probably the most widely known are his *Confessions* and *The City of God* ;

Basil (Saint) ;

Chrysostom (Saint), a famous orator ;

Eusebius, a bishop and the author of an ecclesiastical history ;

Jerome (Saint), a Syrian hermit, who translated the Bible into Latin (the *Vulgate*) and wrote controversial works ;

Martin (Saint), soldier, monk, and bishop of Tours, who established the first monastery in Gaul (famous for its beautiful manuscripts) ;

Ulfilas, a Gothic hostage, who became bishop and missionary among his people, converting them to *Arianism* ; he arranged a Gothic alphabet and translated the Bible into Gothic (the oldest literary work in a Teutonic language ; a copy in silver letters upon scarlet parchment is preserved in the library of Upsala University).

580. Unfavorable Attitude of the Christians toward Pagan Learning.—One cause of the rapid intellectual decline of the fourth century is that many Christians were hostile to pagan science and literature, while for a long time the Christian world produced little to take their place. The pagan poetry, beautiful as it was, was filled with stories of the old gods, and

these stories were often immoral. These facts explain in part why the Christians feared contamination from pagan literature.¹ The contempt for pagan science has less excuse, and its result was particularly unfortunate.

For instance, the spherical form of the earth was well known to the Greeks (§ 240); but the early Christians demolished the idea by theological arguments. "It is impossible," said St. Augustine, "there should be *inhabitants* on the other side of the earth, since no such race is recorded in Scripture among the descendants of Adam." Many argued in like tone that Scripture gave no warrant for believing the earth round, and that therefore it could not be so. "Besides," some of them added, "if it were round, how could all men see Christ at his coming?"

Even St. Jerome, an ardent scholar during most of his life, came at one time under the influence of this hostile feeling so far as to rejoice at the growing neglect of Plato and to warn Christians against pagan writers. In 398, a council of the church officially cautioned bishops against reading any books except religious ones; and the prevalent feeling was forcefully expressed a little earlier (350 A.D.) in a writing known as the "Apostolical Constitutions":—

"Refrain from all the writings of the heathens; . . . For if thou wilt explore history, thou hast the Books of the Kings; or seekest thou for words of wisdom and eloquence, thou hast the Prophets, Job, and the Book of Proverbs, wherein thou shalt find a more perfect knowledge of all eloquence and wisdom, for they are the voice of the Lord, the only wise God. Or dost thou long for tuneful strains, thou hast the Psalms; or to explore the origin of things, thou hast the Book of Genesis; or for customs and observances, thou hast the excellent law of the Lord God. Wherefore abstain scrupulously from all strange and devilish books."

The Christians did not usually attend the public schools until the time of Constantine, and soon after that time they began to break up the old philosophical schools. The com-

¹ The attitude was somewhat like that of the Puritans of the seventeenth century toward the plays of Shakspeare and his fellow-dramatists. But in the third and fourth centuries the result was more disastrous, because then *all* literature and science were pagan.

plete extinction of these schools did not come until the barbarian invasions of the next century added to their difficulties; but many of the greatest of them had already been destroyed or replaced by schools of a much lower character for theological purposes only. The church was soon to become the mother and the sole protector of a new learning; but it has to bear part of the blame for the loss of the old.¹

581. Other and Deeper Causes of the Decay of Learning. — But this attitude of the Christians was not the main cause for the decay of learning. A deeper and more far-reaching cause lay in the general decline of the Roman world which we have discussed (§§ 569–577). That world, for the time at least, was exhausted. It had been growing weaker year by year, in government, in industry, in population, as well as in literature and science. Now it was to be torn down and rebuilt by a more vigorous people.

REVIEW EXERCISE FOR PART V.

1. Add the dates 284, 325, 378, to the list.
2. Extend list of terms and names for fact drill.
3. Memorize a characterization of the centuries of the Empire; *i. e.* —
First and second centuries: good government, — happy, peaceful, prosperous.
Third century: general decline, — material, political, and intellectual.
Fourth century: revival of imperial power; victory of Christianity.
Fifth and sixth centuries (in advance): barbarian invasions and conquests.
4. Review the growth of the Christian church through the whole period.
5. Review briefly the movement in literature and science.

¹ See Laurie, *Rise of Universities*, 19–27; or Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, 62–64. Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 1–47, gives an interesting treatment of early Christian culture somewhat different from that presented in this volume.

PART VI.

ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE.

The settlement of the Teutonic tribes was not merely the introduction of a new set of ideas and institutions, . . . it was also the introduction of fresh blood and youthful mind — the muscle and brain which in the future were to do the larger share of the world's work.—GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

Before entering upon this final portion of Ancient History, it will be well to reread carefully the summaries in §§ 1-3, 65-67, 191, 226, and 252-254.

CHAPTER I.

THE TEUTONS.

582. Early Home of the Germans, and the Different Germanic Peoples. — The Teutons (Germans) came into our story first at the time of Marius (§ 434). At frequent intervals during the five centuries since that first invasion they had been beating fiercely upon the frontiers, and they had sent great swarms of their numbers, as prisoners and as peaceful colonists, to dwell within the empire. Now at last they were to break in as conquerors and rulers, introducing one of the great eras in history.

The Rhine and the Danube had long separated the barbaric German world from the Roman world. Between the Danube and the Baltic, north and south, and between the Rhine and the Vistula, east and west, roamed many tribes known to themselves by no one name, but all called Germans by the Romans. In the fifth century the more important groups were the Goths,

Burgundians, Vandals, Alemanni, Lombards, Franks, and Saxons. The Norsemen were to appear later.

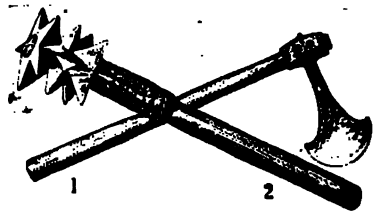
583. Stage of Culture. — As opposed to the civilized Romans, the Germans had a strong family likeness; but among them-



A DOLMEN OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

selves they showed wide differences.¹ The distant tribes were savage and unorganized. Those nearer the Empire had taken on more civilization and had moved toward a stronger political union, under the rule of kings; but in general they seem to have been little, if at all, above the level of the better North

American Indians. They had no cities, but their important villages were surrounded by palisades, like the Iroquois villages. They lived chiefly by hunting and fishing, and what little agriculture they had was managed by women or slaves. They had no true alphabet (except the Gothic, invented by Ulfilas, § 579) and no literature, except simple ballads.² They had no money, and their trade was barter. Skins or rude cloths formed their clothing, but the nobler warriors possessed chain mail and wore helmets crested with plumes, horns, dragons, and other strange devices.



BATTLE-AX AND MACE. — Arms of Teutonic chieftains in an early period.

¹ Read Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*, 301, for illustrations.

² Special topic: the Runes.

584. Character.—Tacitus says of the Germans, as a whole:—

“They have stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labor. Thirst and heat overcome them, but from the nature of their soil and climate they are proof against cold and hunger.”—*Germania*, iv.

The usual marks of savagery were found among them. They were fierce, quarrelsome, hospitable. Their cold, damp forests had helped to make them excessive drunkards and immoderate eaters, and when not engaged in war they spent day after day in sleep or gluttony. They were desperate gamblers, too, and, when other wealth was gone, they would stake even their liberty upon the throw of the dice.

At the same time, they do seem to have possessed some peculiar traits not common in savage races. Women were revered. Tacitus (§ 526) dwells upon the excellence of their family life. “The married state,” he says, “is a life of affection, and it is kept pure.” They revered truth and fidelity. Their grim joy in fighting rose to fierce delight in battle, and sometimes to a “Baersark” rage that knew no peril and made men insensible to wounds. In particular, they possessed a proud spirit of individual liberty (in contrast with the Roman devotion to the State), a “high, stern sense of manhood and the worth of man,” which was to influence profoundly later European history.

Another quality is especially important. The Germans resembled the Hebrews in a serious, earnest, imaginative temperament, which has made their Christianity differ widely from that of the clear-minded, sunnier peoples of Southern Europe. They felt the solemn mystery of life, with its shortness of days, its sorrows, and unsatisfied longings; and this inspired in them, not unmanly despair nor light recklessness, but a heroism tinged with melancholy. In the *Song of Beowulf* (an old poem that has come down to us from the German forests) the chieftain, about to go out to an almost hopeless encounter

with a terrible dragon that had been destroying his people, exclaims:—

“Each man must abide the end of his life work; let him that may work, work his doomed deeds ere night come.”

And, again, as he sits by the dragon mound, victorious, but dying:—

“These fifty winters have I ruled this folk; no folk-king of folk-kings about me—not any one of them—dare in the war-strife welcome my onset! Time’s change and chances I have abided; held my own fairly; sought not to snare men; oath never sware I falsely against right. So, for all this, may I glad be at heart now, sick though I sit here, wounded with death-wounds!”

The same trait of mingled gloom and heroism is seen in a striking feature of their religion (at least as it finally developed in Iceland). This was the belief in the “Twilight of the Gods.” Heroes who had fought a good fight on earth were to reap their reward hereafter in fighting beside the gods, the powers of Light and Warmth, against the evil giants of Cold and Darkness; but in the end the gods and heroes were all to perish before the powers of evil. With these Teutons, says John Richard Green, “life was built, not on the hope of a hereafter, but on the proud self-consciousness of noble souls.”

A story connected with the conversion of the Germans in Britain, after they had conquered that island, illustrates the same trait. The pagan king of Northumbria sat among his chieftains, and the missionaries had just spoken. Then arose an aged chief:—“O king, what is this life of man? Is it not as a sparrow’s flight through the hall when one sits at meat of an evening in wintertide? Within is light and warmth and song; without, cold, darkness, and icy rain. Then the sparrow flies in at one door, tarries a moment in the warmth, and, flying forth from the other door, vanishes again into the dark. Such, O king, seems the life of man; and if this new teaching can tell us aught certain of the time before and after, let us follow it.”

585. Religion.—The old German religion was a rude polytheism, based on nature worship. The chief place was held by the worship of *Woden*, the war god. From him the noble

families all claimed descent. *Thor*, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms and of the air. *Freya* was the deity of joy and fruitfulness.¹

The Franks and Saxons when they broke into the empire (§§ 596, 597) were still heathen. All the other tribes that settled in the empire in the fifth century had just become converts to *Arian* Christianity, through the labors of Arian exiles. (Cf. *Ulfilas* among the Goths, § 579.)

586. Political Organization.—Tacitus shows the Germans, organized in three political units, — village, canton, and tribe. The village was originally no doubt the home of a clan. The village and the tribe each had its popular Assembly with its hereditary chief. The tribal chief, or king, was surrounded by his council of smaller chiefs. To quote Tacitus:—

“ In the election of kings they have regard to birth ; in that of generals to valor. Their kings have not an absolute or unlimited power ; and their generals command less through the force of authority than of example. If they are daring, adventurous, and conspicuous in action, they procure obedience from the admiration they inspire.” — *Germania*, 7.

“ On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult ; on those of greater importance, the whole community ; yet with this circumstance, that what is referred to the decision of the people is first discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, unless upon some sudden emergency, on stated days, either at the new or full moon. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on this occasion a coercive power. Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard ; and gain attention rather from *their ability to persuade, than their authority to command*. If a proposal displeas the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur ; if it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins ; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms. In the same assemblies, chiefs are also elected to administer justice through

¹ Compare with Greek deities, § 88. These Teutonic gods live still in our names for the days of the week. Woden's day, Thor's day, and Freya's day are easily recognized in their modern dress. Tuesday and Saturday take their names from two obscure gods, *Tiw* and *Saetere*, or the latter perhaps from the Latin *Saturn*, while the remaining two days are the Moon's day and the Sun's day.

the cantons and districts. A hundred companions, chosen from the people, attend upon each of them, to assist them as well with their advice as their authority."¹ — *Ib.* 11, 12.

587. The "Companions." — One peculiar institution must be noted. A great chief was surrounded by a band of "companions," who lived in his household, ate at his table, and fought at his side. To them the chief gave food, weapons, and plunder; for the honor and safety of their "lord" they devoted their energies and lives. The element of *personal loyalty* in this relation of "companion" and lord was to influence the development of later European feudalism. In Germany itself the class of companions seems to have been made up largely of outlaws or adventurers skilled in arms. It grew in importance, however, after the invasions, and finally developed into the nobility of later Europe (§ 642 *b*).

588. The Charm of the South. — The sunny south, with the wonders and riches of its strange civilization, fascinated these savages with a potent spell. For five hundred years they had been striving to enter in and possess it. The pressure of fiercer barbarians behind them and of their own increasing population had produced certain periods of special effort, and sometimes they had burst in for brief periods of plunder. Always hitherto they had been driven out again by some Marius, Caesar, Aurelius, Aurelian, Diocletian, or Julian. All this time, however, they were learning to unite into larger confederations, and to act together in their attacks. Now, about the year 400, in the exhaustion of the empire, they began at last to come in to stay.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Sources: our two chief authorities for the early Germans are Caesar and Tacitus. Caesar drew his knowledge largely from the Gauls, and his treatment is provokingly brief (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*, bk. iv, chs. 1-3; and vi, chs. 21-24). Tacitus,

¹ Cf. the early Greek political organization, §§ 82-84.

In his *Germania*, treats them at length, but less as a skilled observer than as a moralist — to contrast their barbaric simplicity and virtue with the vices of Roman civilization. Guernsey Jones' *Source Extracts — Civilization in the Middle Ages* — contains twenty pages of extracts from the *Germania* and longer extracts are given in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, VI, No. 3. One of these should be accessible to every student.

Modern accounts : the three most readable treatments are the opening pages of Green's *English People*, Taine's *English Literature* (bk. i, ch. 1, sections 1-3), and Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*, 1-16 ("The Forest Children"). The last is idealized. There are briefer valuable and scholarly accounts in Hodgkin's *Theodosius* (close of chapter ii), and in Henderson's *Short History of Germany*, I, 1-11.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. ix, gives a famous discussion. Kingsley protests indignantly against Gibbon's view of the stage of Teutonic culture ; but see Adams' *Civilization*, 7, 8.

CHAPTER II.

THE WANDERING OF THE PEOPLES—FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES. — (376-565 A.D.)

How can a man draw a picture of that which has no shape; or tell the order of absolute disorder? It is all . . . like the working of an ant-heap; like the insects devouring each other in a drop of water. Teuton tribes, Slavonic tribes, Tartar tribes, Roman generals, empresses, bishops, courtiers, adventurers, appear for a moment out of the crowd,—dim phantoms . . . and then vanish, proving their humanity only by leaving behind them one more stain of blood. — CHARLES KINGSLEY.

I. THE TEUTONS BREAK OVER THE BARRIERS.

A. THE DANUBE (376-378 A.D.).

589. Admission of the West Goths into the Empire; Battle of Adrianople.—The event which we now recognize as the first step in the victory of the Teutons seemed at the time only a continuation of an old policy of the Empire. Many tribes had been admitted within the boundaries as allies (§ 578) and had proven faithful defenders of the frontiers. In 376, such a measure was repeated on a vast scale.

The story has been told briefly in § 563. The whole people of the West Goths (*Visigoths*) appeared on the Danube fleeing from the more terrible Huns—wild, nomadic horsemen from Tartary. Valens, emperor of the East, granted the prayers of the fugitives, allowed them to cross the Danube, and gave them lands south of the river. They were to give up their arms, while Roman agents were to supply them food until the harvest. These agents embezzled the imperial funds and furnished vile and insufficient food, while at the same time, for bribes, they allowed the barbarians to keep their arms.



The Goths rose and marched on Constantinople. At *Adrianople* (378 A.D.) Valens was defeated and slain. This battle marks the beginning of the Teutonic conquest. The Goths ravaged the land up to the walls of the capital, but they could not storm a great city. The new emperor, Theodosius the Great, finally pacified them, and they remained peaceful settlers for nearly twenty years.

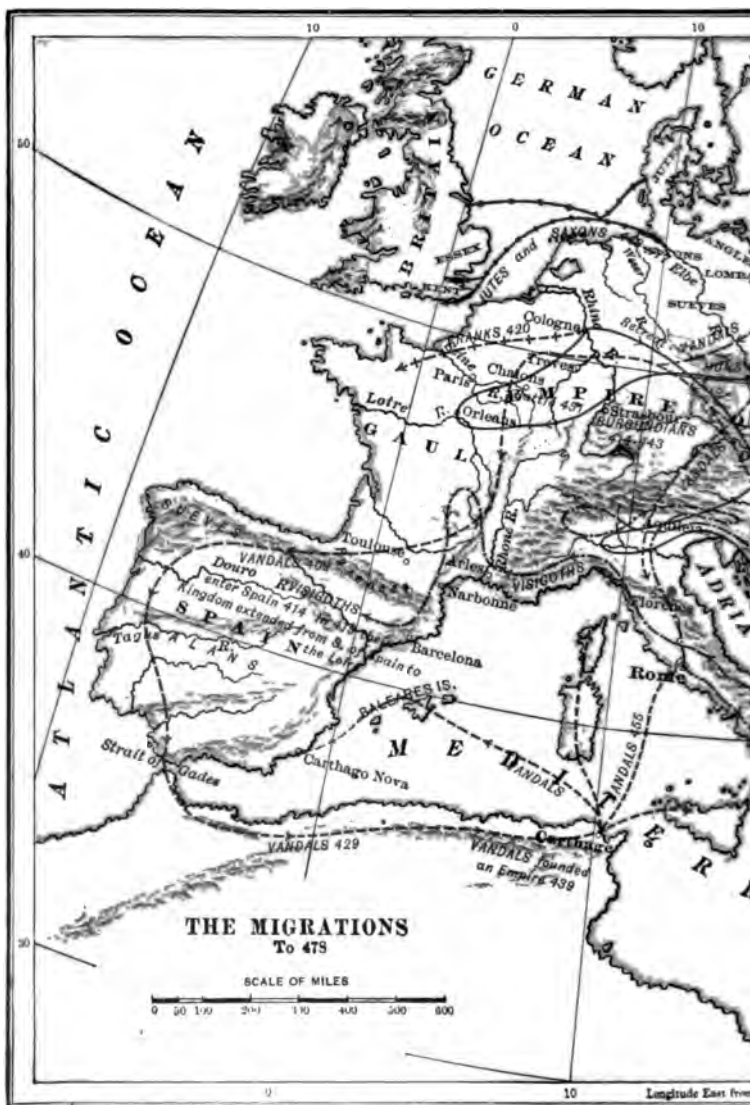
590. Alaric in Greece, Illyria, and Italy.—In 395, Theodosius died, and at once masses of the Goths rose under an ambitious young chieftain, *Alaric*, whom they soon made king of their nation. Alaric led his host into Greece. For a heavy ransom, he spared Athens, but he sacked Corinth, Argos, Sparta, and all the Peloponnesus. He was trapped there by the gigantic Vandal *Stilicho*, a general of Honorius, emperor of the West (§ 564); but finally the Goth either bought or maneuvered his way out, with all his plunder.

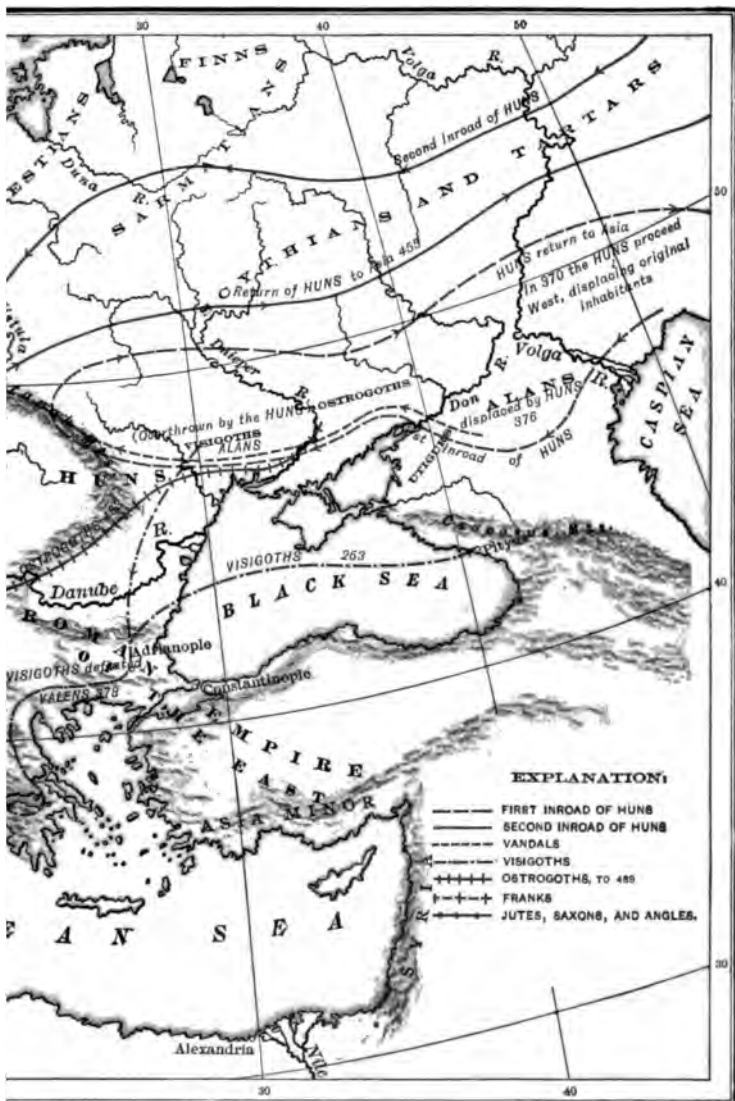
Arcadius, the terrified emperor of the East, then gave him a commission as “imperial lieutenant” in Illyria and Greece; and “there he staid, somewhere about the head of the Adriatic, poised like an eagle in mid air, watching Rome on one side and Byzant on the other, uncertain for a while on which quarry he should swoop.” In 402, he made up his mind for Rome. Stilicho, the Roman shield, beat him off in two battles; and he drew back for a few years more into Illyria.

591. The Sack of Rome, 410 A.D.—Meanwhile Stilicho turned upon and destroyed a more savage horde of two hundred thousand wild Germans, who had poured down through the Alps under *Rudogast* and were besieging Florence. Soon afterward Honorius, very possibly with good reason, suspected Stilicho of plotting to seize the throne, and had him murdered. The deed was signal enough for Alaric to try Italy once more. The weak Honorius hid himself in his impregnable fortress of Ravenna, defended by its marshes, and left the Goths free to work their will. Alaric captured Rome; and then for five days and nights that proud city was given up to



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sack (410 A.D.)¹ — just 800 years after its capture by the Gauls (§ 327).

592. The Visigothic Kingdom in Spain. — Alaric then led his host south, intending to cross to Africa by way of Sicily; but he died² on the way, and was succeeded by his brother *Ataulf* (Adolph). Alaric had not been a mere destructive barbarian. He had great respect for Roman civilization and the Roman name, and when he captured Rome he ordered (an order not well obeyed) that the lives of the citizens should be spared and the treasures of the temples be left unmolested. Ataulf felt even more strongly the spell of Roman civilization. Said he: —

“It was at first my wish to destroy the Roman name, and erect in its place a Gothic empire, taking to myself the place and the powers of Caesar Augustus. But when experience taught me that the untamable barbarism of the Goths would not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law, . . . I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the restorer of that Roman power which it was beyond my power to replace.”

Meantime other Teutonic tribes had broken across the Rhine and were ravaging Gaul and Spain (§§ 593 ff.). Ataulf married the sister of the emperor and accepted a commission as his lieutenant to conquer these new invaders. He led his Goths out of Italy (which was what Honorius cared most for), conquered the Vandals who had seized Spain, and set up a Gothic kingdom there (414-419 A.D.). *This was the first permanent Teutonic state within the old empire.*

The Visigothic kingdom at first included much also of south Gaul; but that territory was to be lost in less than a century to the Franks (§ 619).

¹ The Romans had believed Rome the “Eternal City,” and the world was thrown into unspeakable consternation by its fall. The pagans explained it as a punishment for the desertion of the old gods. This view was important enough so that St. Augustine (§ 579) wrote his *City of God* to refute it and to show that the true “Eternal City” was not of this world. Extracts from this work are given in Robinson’s *Readings*, ch. iii. Dill’s *Roman Life in the Last Century of the Empire*, 303-314, has a good treatment of the moral effect of the capture of Rome.

² Special report: story of Alaric’s burial.

The kingdom in Spain lasted three hundred years, to the Mohammedan conquest (§ 655), and, centuries later, its fragments grew together again into the Spain of modern times.

B. THE RHINE.

593. The Bursting of the Barrier. — For nearly forty years after the departure of the West Goths, Italy had peace, but meantime all the rest of the West was lost. Even before the sack of Rome the Rhine frontier had given way. Clouds of Germans had long been massing on that river. After Alaric's first attack upon Italy, some of the Roman troops were withdrawn from the Rhine to strengthen that land; and, in 406, the barbarians forced a passage. Then, with little opposition, they spread themselves over Gaul and Spain. The leading peoples of the invasion were the *Burgundians* and the *Vandals*.

594. The Burgundians settled in Southeastern Gaul, where their name has always remained. A little later, under their king, *Gundobald*, they produced the *earliest written code of Teutonic law*. Like the Goths, too, they soon came to regard themselves, in a vague way, as living under the authority of the Empire. A Burgundian king, thanking the emperor for the title Patrician, writes:—

“My people is yours, and to rule them delights me less than to serve you. . . . Our ancestors have always preferred what an emperor gave to all their fathers could bequeath. In ruling our nation, we hold ourselves but your lieutenants: you, whose divinely appointed sway no barrier bounds, whose beams shine from the Bosphorus into distant Gaul, employ us to administer the remoter regions of your empire; your world is our Fatherland.”

595. The Vandal Kingdom in Africa. — The Vandals settled first in Spain. In 414 (§ 591), they were attacked by the West Goths. The struggle was long and stern; but, in 427, the Vandals withdrew, *crossing into Africa*. There, after ten years of fighting, they set up a new Teutonic kingdom with its capital at Carthage.

These Vandals were the most untamable of all the Teutonic peoples, and the word “Vandalism” has become a synonym

for wanton destructiveness. Seated at Carthage, they became pirates and terrorized the Mediterranean. They ravaged much of Sicily, and, in 455, under their king *Geiseric*, they invaded Italy and sacked Rome in a way that made Alaric's capture seem merciful. For fourteen days the barbarians ravaged the ancient capital, loading their ships with the spoils which Rome had plundered from all the world. At last Carthage was avenged, and Scipio's foreboding (§ 390) had come true.

To the infinite loss of the world, much of this plunder was engulfed in the Mediterranean in a storm which destroyed a large part of the fleet on its way back to Africa. The Vandal kingdom lasted about a century longer, until it was overthrown by Belisarius, general of the Eastern Emperor Justinian (§ 612). At that time Africa was again reunited to the Empire.

596. The Franks and Romans in North Gaul.— Another German people, the Franks, had long had homes on both sides of the lower Rhine, from Cologne to the sea. They had been "allies" of Rome; but now they began to add to their territory by spreading themselves slowly westward over North Gaul. In the end they proved the most important of all the Teutonic invaders, but their real advance was not to begin until toward the close of the century (§§ 616 ff.).

Meantime, in northwestern Gaul, a semblance of Roman authority was kept up by Roman generals, who were really independent sovereigns.

597. The Angles and Saxons in Britain.— In 408, the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain to defend Italy against Alaric, and, to the dismay of the inhabitants, that island was abandoned by the imperial government. For many years, in the latter part of Roman rule, fierce Saxon pirates had been cruelly harassing the eastern coasts, swooping down in their swift barks to burn, slay, and plunder; then sacrificing to Woden on the shore a tenth of their captives, and vanishing as swiftly as they came.¹

¹ Church's *Count of the Saxon Shore* is a readable novel dealing with this period of England's history.

The civilized, peaceful Britons were now left to defend themselves against these terrible German marauders as well as against the untamed Celts beyond the northern wall (§§ 485, 488). In despair, they finally called in the German raiders to beat off the other foe, and these dangerous protectors soon began to seize the land for themselves.

The chief invading tribes were the *Jutes* from the Danish peninsula (Jutland) and the *Saxons* and *Angles* (English) from its base. The Jutes made the first permanent settlement, about the middle of the century (449 A.D.), in southeastern Britain. The Saxons occupied the southern shore, and the Angles the eastern, carving out numerous petty states in a long series of cruel campaigns. Gradually these little units were welded into larger kingdoms, until there appeared seven prominent Teutonic states: *Kent*, the kingdom of the Jutes; *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Wessex* (kingdoms of the South Saxons, East Saxons, and West Saxons); and the English kingdoms of *East Anglia*, *Northumbria*, and *Mercia*. We sometimes call the group of seven kingdoms the *Heptarchy*.

This conquest, unlike that of Gaul and Spain, was very slow. The inhabitants soon rallied and waged a gallant defense. It took the Germans a century and a half (until about 600) to extend their sway over the eastern half of the island.

II. THE HUNS.

598. New Barbarian Races.—The Roman world had long since come in contact with *Celts* (Gauls and Britons) in western Europe and with *Germans* in the central parts. In the southeast, beyond the Danube and the Goths, there had appeared also a new people, the *Slavs*, who were soon to play, east of the Adriatic, the part played by the Teutons on the west. Though barbarians, these three races, Celts, Germans, and Slavs, all showed some capacity for civilization. All of them, too, spoke languages allied in some measure to the Greek and Roman.

But somewhat before 400, as we have noted (§§ 563, 589), there appeared behind the Germans and Slavs a confused mass of ruder and more savage peoples, *Huns*, *Tartars*, *Finns*, *Avars*, pressing into Europe from the steppes of Asia. We call these invaders *Turanians*. They

seem to have belonged to different stocks from the European peoples, and to have resembled the ancient Scythians (§ 62). The pressure of these savages is said to have been one cause why the Teutons dashed so frantically upon the Roman barriers about the beginning of the fifth century. Now they themselves were to break in (§ 599).¹

599. The Hunnish Invasion; the Rallying of the West.— While the Teutons were busy setting up kingdoms in the crumbling Empire, they and the Romans were threatened for a moment with common ruin. *Attila*, king of the Huns, had built up a vast military power, reaching from central Asia into central Europe. It was his boast that grass never grew again where his horse's hoof had trod. Now, in the middle of the fifth century, his terrible hordes rolled resistlessly into Gaul.

Happily the peoples of the West realized their danger and laid aside all small rivalries to meet it. Theodoric, the hero-king of the Visigoths, brought up his hosts from Spain to fight under the Roman banner. Burgundian and Frank rallied from the corners of Gaul, and *Aëtius*,² "the Last of the Romans," marshaled all these allies and the last great Roman army of the West against the countless Hunnish swarms reënforced by Tartar, Slav, Finn, and even by tributary German peoples.

600. Battle of Chalons.— The fate of the world hung trembling in the balance, while the great "battle of the nations" was fought out at *Chalons* (451 A.D.). United though they were, the forces of civilization seemed insignificant before the innumerable hosts of the Asiatics. Theodoric fell gallantly, sword in hand. But at last the victory was won by the generalship of the hero *Aëtius*. *Attila* is said to have lost three hundred thousand men (greatly exaggerated numbers, no doubt); and with spent force his invasion rolled away to Italy and the East.

¹ Caution: the student must remember that the Slavs were not a branch of the Germans, but a distinct race. (From them came the modern Russians, Bulgarians, Poles, Bohemians, Servians.) In like manner, the Huns must be kept distinct from both Teutons and Slavs.

² Despite his Romanized name, *Aëtius* was a German; much of his youth had been spent among the Huns.

“That is the Hunnenschlacht; ‘a battle,’ as Jornandes¹ calls it, ‘atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax.’ Antiquity, he says, tells of nothing like it. No man who had lost that sight could say that he had seen aught worth seeing. A fight gigantic, supernatural in vastness and horror, and in the legends which still hang about the place. You may see one of them in Von Kaulbach’s immortal design—the ghosts of the Huns and the ghosts of the Germans rising from their graves on the battle-night in every year, to fight it over again in the clouds, while the country far and wide trembles at their ghostly hurrah.”—KINGSLEY, *Roman and Teuton*, 88.

“It was the perpetual question of history, the struggle told long ago by Herodotus, the struggle between Europe and Asia, the struggle between cosmos and chaos—the struggle between Aëtius and Attila. For Aëtius was the man who now stood in the breach, and sounded the Roman trumpet to call the nations to do battle for the hopes of humanity and defend the cause of reason against the champions of brute force. The menace of that monstrous host which was preparing to pass the Rhine was to exterminate the civilization that had grown up for centuries . . . and to paralyze the beginnings of Teutonic life. . . .

“But the interests of the Teutons were more vitally concerned at this crisis than [even] the interests of the empire. . . . Their nascent civilization would have been crushed under the yoke of that servitude which blights, and they would not have been able to learn longer at the feet of Rome the arts of peace and culture.”—BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, I, 176.

601. Attila before Rome; Pope Leo.—Attila turned upon defenseless Rome; but the great Pope Leo journeyed to the camp, and by his intercession turned the Hun from his prey.² There may have been other causes to assist Leo. One ancient writer hints that Attila’s army was wasting under Italian fever; and no doubt it was sadly harassed by the forces of Aëtius hanging upon its rear.

At all events, Attila withdrew from Italy and died shortly after. Then his empire fell to pieces, and the Teutons of Germany regained their freedom in another great battle, at *Netad*.

¹ A bishop and historian who wrote about a century after Chalons. A better spelling of the name is *Jordanes*.

² See Robinsou’s *Readings*, I, 49-51, for two ancient accounts.

One curious result followed Attila's invasion of Italy. To escape the Huns, some of the ancient Veneti (§ 261) of north-east Italy took refuge among swampy islands at the head of the Adriatic, and so began a settlement destined to grow into the great republic of Venice.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — 1. A glimpse of Hun life (see Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, I, 213-223, and Robinson's *Readings*, 35-36, 47-49). 2. Attila's pretexts (see Bury, I, 175). 3. Aëtius.

III. ITALY IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

A. FROM ALARIC TO ODOVAKER.

602. The Empire in the West from the Division under the Sons of Theodosius to the Reunion with the East. — Early in the fifth century, as we have seen, Africa and all the provinces of the Empire west of Italy were abandoned to the Germans. The "Empire in the West" was restricted in actual power to Italy. It had its capital at Ravenna, amid the impenetrable swamps of the northeast; and there the line of "emperors in the West" lasted, after the division of the Empire between the sons of Theodosius, until Romulus Augustulus, in 476 (§ 604). During all this period of eighty years the real power was held by German generals whose ability supported the tottering throne. Until 455, however, this fact was much less clear than it was after that date (§§ 603, 604).

603. Story of the Emperors, 395-455. — The reign of *Honorius* (395-423), son of Theodosius the Great, has been referred to several times in the account of the Invasions. His great general *Stilicho the Vandal*, who had long held Alaric in check and who destroyed the hordes of *Radogast* (§§ 590, 591), was at last murdered by Honorius, lest he should grow too powerful. Then Alaric's Goths ravaged Italy and sacked Rome (410 A.D.). At the same time Britain was abandoned, and now Spain, with most of Gaul, was lost to Burgundians, Franks, Vandals, and Goths (§§ 592-596). Through the regard of Alaric's successor, *Ataulf*, for Roman civilization, Italy was freed from her invaders, and for forty years rested in comparative peace.

On the death of Honorius, Theodosius II, Emperor in the East, gave the western throne to *Valentinian III*, son of a daughter of Theodosius the Great. Valentinian, a weak and wicked prince, reigned from 425 to 455. Africa was lost to the Vandals, and German tribes began to establish themselves in Britain (§§ 595, 597). Such part of the Empire as was saved owed its preservation to Aëtius, an imperial general, who for many years upheld Roman authority in much of Gaul against the German peoples, and who finally united these Germans to repulse Attila at Chalons (§§ 599-601). Aëtius expected to marry his son to the daughter of the emperor, and so secure the throne for his family; but Valentinian, jealous of his great protector, murdered him. Soon afterward Valentinian was himself murdered by a Roman senator *Maximus*, whose home he had outraged.

Maximus seized the throne and compelled Eudoxia, the widow of his victim, to marry him. Eudoxia invited Geiseric, king of the Vandals, to avenge her. The Vandals captured Rome (§ 595), and Maximus was slain in his flight, after a three months' reign.

604. Italy: Story of the Rulers from the Sack of Rome by Geiseric to the Reunion of Italy with the Empire in the East, 455-476.— After the Vandal raid, power in Italy fell to *Count Rikimer*, a German general, who in sixteen years (456-472) set up and deposed four puppet emperors. That is, at last *Rikimer did successfully what Honorius and Valentinian had suspected Stilicho and Aëtius of planning to do.*

Then *Orestes*, another general of the Empire, advanced a step beyond the policy of Rikimer. He deposed the reigning prince and set *his own son* upon the throne, while he himself ruled as the real power for four years, until he was overthrown and slain by *Odovaker*, yet another German officer in the imperial service.

Odovaker took another step in advance in the attack upon the Empire in the West. He dethroned the boy, *Romulus Augustus the Little*, the son of Orestes (476 A.D.), and sent him to live in luxurious imprisonment in a villa near Naples; Odovaker then ruled *without even the form of an Emperor in Italy*. He did not, however, dare call himself king of Italy. Instead, he claimed to represent the distant emperor at Constantinople. At his command, the Senate of Rome sent to *Zeno* (then em-

peror in the East) the diadem and royal robes, urging that the West did not need a separate emperor. They asked, therefore, that Zeno receive the "diocese" of Italy as part of his dominion, and intrust its government to Odovaker as his lieutenant.¹

Thus, in name, Italy became a province of the Greek Empire,² and, after 476,³ there was no emperor in the West for more than three hundred years. Odovaker's power really rested upon the support of German tribes who made up the Roman army in the peninsula. Of one of these tribes (the Heruli) he was king. But with the native Italians his authority, in theory, came from his position as the representative of the emperor at Constantinople.

Odovaker tried to reconcile his German and his Roman subjects. He gathered about him Roman philosophers and statesmen, established good order, and ruled firmly for many years, until he was overthrown by a powerful German people whose king was to carry his work still further (§ 605).

B. THE KINGDOM OF THE EAST GOTHS IN ITALY.

605. The Ostrogoths before they entered Italy. — When the West Goths sought refuge south of the Danube in 376 (§ 593), an eastern division of the same race had submitted to the

¹ Cf. like commissions to Goths, Burgundians, and Franks (§§ 590, 592, 594, 630).

² For this name, see § 610.

³ The year 476 is sometimes said to have seen the "Fall of the Empire." The act of Odovaker in that year, however, is simply a continuation of the policy of Aëtius, Rikimer, and Orestes, and that policy was to be carried still further by Theodoric (§ 605). Probably the name of the boy-emperor who lost the throne in 476 has had much to do with exaggerating the importance of the date. It was very tempting to say that the history of Rome and that of the Empire came to an end, with a ruler who bore the name of the founder of the city and the founder of the Empire. The date, however, has no more significance than 378, 410, or 493. It is one of a series. The student may consult Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. iii, or Freeman's review of that book in his *Essays*, 3d Series, or Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, Preface, and bk. iii, ch. v.

Huns. On the death of Attila, these East Goths (Ostrogoths) recovered their independence. Soon afterward they forced their way into the provinces of the Eastern Empire south of the Danube. There they dwelt for thirty years, sometimes as allies of the Empire, sometimes as enemies.

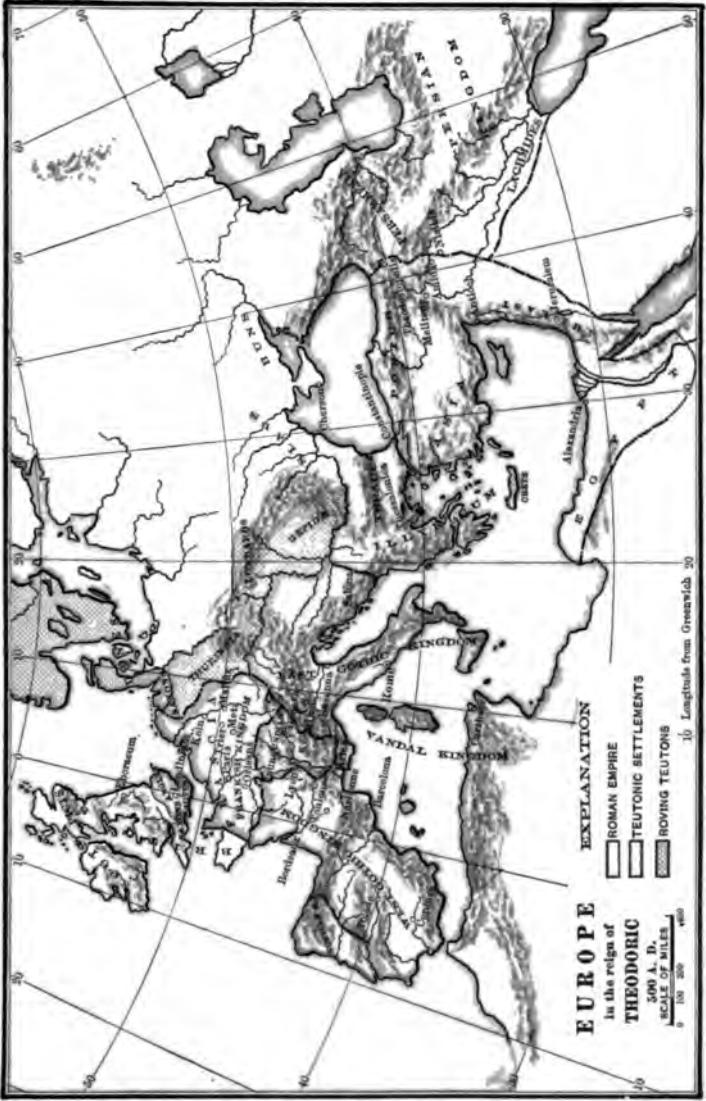
Their young king, *Theodoric*,¹ was brought up at the imperial court as a hostage. He had felt the charm of Roman civilization and adopted its culture; but, with it all, he remained a typical Teutonic hero — of gigantic stature and romantic temper, a matchless warrior, impetuous in strife and wise in counsel — the kingliest figure of all the centuries of the invasions.

606. The Conquest of Italy. — In 489, Theodoric asked leave from Zeno to reconquer Italy for the Empire. Both Theodoric and Odovaker had been growing too powerful to please the Emperor, who would have been glad to destroy either barbarian by the other. Accordingly, with magnificent ceremonial he appointed Theodoric “patrician,” and gave the desired commission.

Odovaker made a gallant resistance for four years. Theodoric beat him at Verona in a great battle, and then besieged him in the fortress of Ravenna. Odovaker finally surrendered on terms, but soon after was murdered at a banquet, on some suspicion, by Theodoric’s own hand, — the one sad blot on the great Goth’s fame.

607. “Theodoric the Civilizer,” 493–526 A.D. — Then began a Gothic kingdom in Italy, like the Teutonic states in Spain and Burgundy, and one that deserved a better fate than was to befall it. The Ostrogoths had come in *as a nation*, with women and children. They took a third of the lands of Italy, but all the rights of the Roman population were respected scrupulously. Goth and Roman lived in harmony side by side, *each under his own law*. Cities were rebuilt and new ones

¹ This Theodoric must not be confused with Theodoric the West Goth, § 599. Students will enjoy and profit by Hodgkin’s *Theodoric the Goth*.





founded, with a new period of architectural splendor. The land was subdivided into small estates. Agriculture revived, and Italy once more raised her own food. Theodoric's long reign was peaceful, prosperous, and happy, and the peninsula began to recover her former greatness.



CHURCH OF SAN VITALE AT RAVENNA (time of Theodoric the Great).

608. The "Empire" of Theodoric. — The power of Theodoric extended, indeed, far beyond Italy. He organized an alliance reaching over all the Teutonic states of the West. His wife

was a Frankish princess; the Burgundian and Visigothic kings were his sons-in-law; his sister was married to the king of the Vandals. All these peoples recognized a certain preëminence in "Theodoric the Great." It seemed as though he were about to reunite the West into a great Teutonic empire, and, by three centuries, anticipate Charles the Great (§§ 671-674).

609. Weak Points in the Gothic State. — After all, however, the Goths were strangers ruling a Roman population vastly larger than themselves. More serious still, they were Arians.



SEPULCHER OF THEODORIC THE GREAT AT RAVENNA.

Theodoric had given perfect freedom to the orthodox Christians; but the more zealous of these found it unbearable to be ruled by heretics. Theodoric's last years were darkened by plots among the Romans to bring in the orthodox Eastern power; and the night after his death, so it was told, a holy hermit saw his soul flung down the crater of Stromboli.

A strong successor perhaps could yet have maintained the state. But Theodoric left only a daughter; the Goths at once fell into factions among themselves; and soon the kingdom was attacked and destroyed by the Empire (§ 612).

C. REVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

610. The "Greek" or Byzantine Empire. — The Latin parts of the empire had now crumbled away and fallen to the German invaders. There was left the empire east of the Adriatic. This part had always been essentially Greek in culture (§§ 400, 516); and though it called itself Roman for the next ten centuries, we commonly speak of it as the *Greek Empire* or the *Byzantine Empire*. Separated from the West, it rapidly grew more and more Oriental in character. It preserved Greek learning, and warded off Persian and Arabian conquest, but for several centuries it did not otherwise greatly influence Western Europe.

611. Slav Invasions in the East. — When Theodoric led his Goths into Italy, he left the line of the Danube open to the Slavs (§ 598). That people had been filtering into the East, as the Teutons had into the West, as slaves, coloni, and mercenaries. Now, in 493, in a period of weak rulers, came their first real invasion. Then, for a generation, successive hordes poured in, penetrating as far as Greece. Even the neighborhood of Constantinople was saved only by a Long Wall which protected the narrow tongue of land, seventy-eight miles across, on which the capital stood.

612. Justinian the Great: Restoration of the Empire. — Happily, before it was too late, another strong emperor arose at Constantinople. *Justinian* (527–565 A.D.) renewed the old frontier of the Danube, saved Europe from a threatened Persian conquest, and then turned to restore the imperial power in the West.

He reconquered Africa, the Mediterranean islands, and part of Spain; and of course he caught eagerly at the conditions in Italy, after the death of Theodoric, to regain that land and the ancient Roman capital. His generals, *Belisarius* and *Narses*, were victorious there also, but only after a dreadful twenty years' war that destroyed at once the Gothic race and the rising greatness of the peninsula. Rome itself was sacked

once more (by the Gothic king, Totila, 546 A.D.), and left for eleven days absolutely uninhabited.¹

613. The Justinian Code. — Justinian is best remembered for his work in bringing about the codification of the Roman law. In the course of centuries that law had become an intolerable maze. Julius Caesar had planned to codify it; but the need had grown vastly more pressing since his time. A beginning of the work had been made by *Theodosius II*, emperor of the East, and the *Theodosian Code* was published in 438.² Now, a century later, under Justinian, the great task was completed. A commission of able lawyers put the whole body of the law into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly.³

This benefited not only the empire: it made easier the preservation of Roman law and its adoption by the nations of Europe in after times (cf. § 557). The reconquest of Italy by Justinian established the Code in that land. Thence, in later centuries, it spread over the West, and became the foundation of all modern legal study in continental Europe, and the basis of nearly all codes of law now in existence.

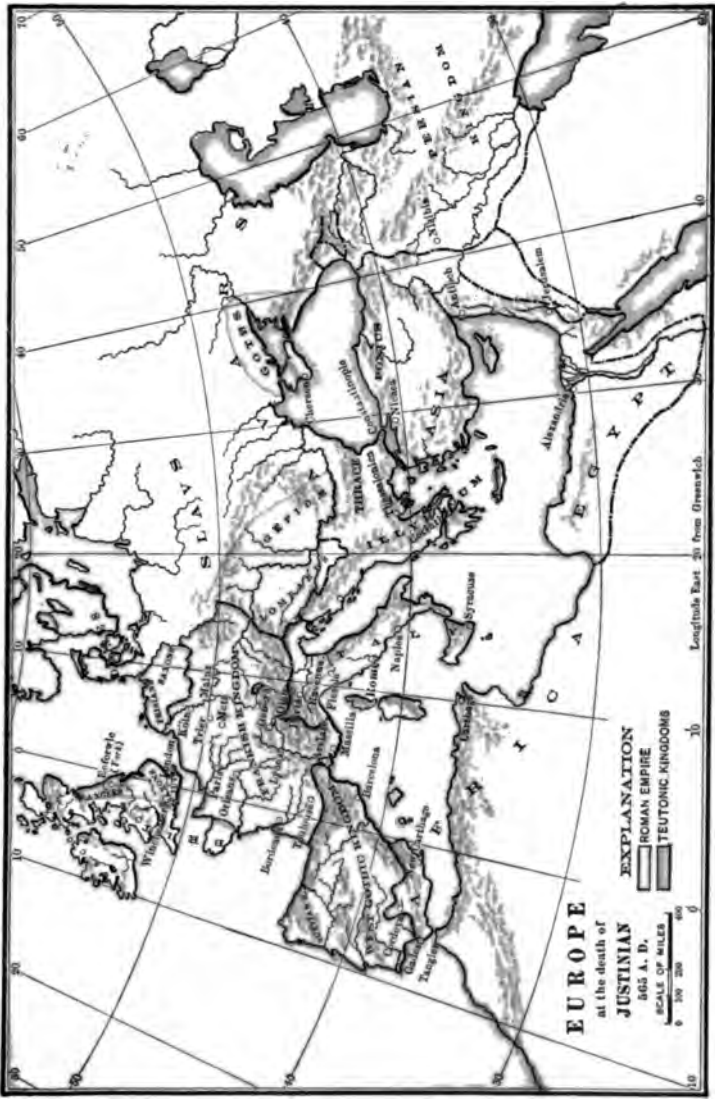
Says Ihne (*Early Rome*, 2), "Every one of us is benefited directly or indirectly by this legacy of the Roman people—a legacy as valuable as the literary and artistic models which we owe to the great writers and sculptors of Greece." And Woodrow Wilson declares (*The State*, 158) that Roman Law "has furnished Europe with many, *if not most*, of her principles of private right."⁴

¹ Read the story of this struggle in Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*. On Justinian's work in general, see Oman's *Dark Ages*, chs. v, vi.

² Extracts are given in Robinson's *Readings*, ch. ii. Theodosius II was a grandson of Theodosius the Great.

³ The work comprised the *Code*, or laws proper, the *Digest*, based upon the multitudinous "opinions" of the great lawyers of the past, and the *Institutes*, a kind of text-book upon the principles of Roman law.

⁴ Cf. § 535. English and American law is always regarded, properly, as having a very distinct origin; but Roman law profoundly affected legal development even in England, and so in the United States, while the law of Louisiana came very directly from it through the French code. Wilson's *The State*, 142-161, gives an excellent account of the growth of Roman Law and a full bibliography for advanced students. A good treatment of Justinian's work is given in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, bk. iv, ch. iii.



never full. The earth drinks up the blood; the bones decay into the fruitful soil; the very names and memories of whole tribes are washed away. And the result of an immigration which may be counted by hundreds of thousands is—that all the land is waste.”

—KINGSLEY, *Roman and Teuton*, 58.

IV. THE FRANKS.

616. Preëminence among the Teutonic Conquerors.—The early conquests of the Franks in North Gaul have been referred to (§ 596). Their real advance began a little before the year 500,—almost at the time of the rise of the East Goths. This was some eighty years later than the making of the Vandal, Burgundian, and Visigothic kingdoms, and as much earlier than the Lombard kingdom.

To the Franks fell the work of consolidating the Teutonic states into a mighty empire. Their final success was due, in the main, to two causes.

a. They did not *migrate* to distant lands, but only *expanded* from their original home. Their state, therefore, kept a large unmixed Teutonic element, while the other conquering nations lost themselves in the Roman populations among whom they settled.

b. When they adopted Christianity, it was the *orthodox* form instead of Arianism. This gained them support in their wars with the other Teutons (§§ 618, 619, etc.).

617. Clovis; Early Conquests.—Until nearly 500, the Franks were pagans. Nor were they a nation: they were split into petty divisions, without a common king. The founder of their greatness was *Clovis* (Clodowig, Louis). In 481, at the age of fifteen, he became king of a petty tribe near the mouth of the Rhine. In 486, he attacked the Roman possessions in North Gaul, and, after a victory at *Soissons*, added them to his kingdom. Ten years later he conquered the Alemanni, who had invaded Gaul, in a great battle near *Strasburg*, and made tributary their territory beyond the Rhine.

618. The Conversion of Clovis to Catholic Christianity.¹—The real importance of the battle of Strasburg lies in this—that it was the *occasion for the conversion of Clovis*. His wife, *Clotilda*, was a Burgundian princess, but, unlike most of her nation, she was a devout Catholic. In a crisis in the battle, Clovis had vowed to serve the God of Clotilda if He would grant victory. In consequence, the king and three thousand of his warriors were baptized immediately afterward.

Clovis was influenced, no doubt, by keen political insight. In the coming struggles with the Arian Goths and Burgundians, it was to be of immense advantage to have the subject Roman populations on his side, as an orthodox sovereign, against their own hated heretic rulers. The conversion was a chief agency, therefore, in building up the great Frankish state.

Another result, not so easily foreseen, was equally important. *The rising Frankish kingdom came into intimate union with the rising bishops of Rome*. Thus this conversion was to prove a factor in building up the temporal power of the papacy (§§ 662 ff.).

619. Later Conquests of Clovis and his Sons; the Frankish Empire of the Seventh Century.—His conversion furnished Clovis with a pretext for new advances. Declaring it intolerable that those “Arian dogs” should possess the fairest provinces of Gaul, he attacked both Burgundians and Visigoths, driving the latter for the most part beyond the Pyrenees. Then, by a horrible series of bloody treacheries during the remainder of his thirty years’ reign, he got rid of the kings of the other tribes of the Franks, and consolidated that whole people under his sole rule. “Thus,” says the pious chronicler, Gregory of Tours, “did God daily deliver the enemies of Clovis into his hand, because he walked before His face with an

¹ Advanced students will enjoy looking up Gregory of Tours’ delightfully naïve account, ii, 30. Compare with the conversion of Constantine. Some extracts from Gregory are given in Robinson’s *Readings*, I, 51–55.

upright heart." The sons of Clovis completed the subjugation of Burgundy, and added Bavaria and Thuringia, as tributaries, to the Frankish state, — the last two on the German side of the Rhine, well beyond the borders of the old Roman world.

620. The Empire of the Franks under the Later Merovingians. — In fifty years, mainly through the cool intellect and ferocious energy of one brutal savage, a little Teutonic tribe had grown into the great Frankish state. That state included nearly the whole of modern France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany almost to the Elbe (except for the lands of the heathen Saxons toward the mouth of that river).

Such territory to-day would make the greatest power in Europe. In the sixth and seventh centuries its preëminence was even more marked. Gothic Spain was weakened by quarrels between Arian and Catholic; Italy was torn to shreds; Britain was in chaos (§ 621); non-Frankish Germany was filled with savage, unorganized tribes. *The only real rivals of the Frankish state were the Greek Empire and a new Mohammedan power just rising in Arabia (§§ 651 ff.), soon to contest Europe with both Greek and Frank.*

The family of Clovis is known, from one of his ancestors, as *Merovingian*. It kept the throne for over two centuries after Clovis' death. In the first half of the period the rulers were commonly men of ruthless energy. In the second half they became mere phantom kings, and all real authority was exercised by great nobles, who finally replaced the Merovingians with a new royal line (§ 663).

The two hundred years make a dismal story of greed, family hate, treachery, vice, brutality, and murder.¹ Few chapters in history are so unattractive. The empire was divided among the four sons of Clovis, according to Frankish custom. The fragments were reunited under one of these sons, by methods similar to those of Clovis himself. Then it was again divided;

¹ See Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, ch. vi.





After 507 the Kingdom of the West



small southern strip (Septimania).



and so on for long periods. Some sense of unity, however, was preserved; but the Franks themselves spread very little south of the Loire. North and South Gaul remained distinct from each other in blood and character (§§ 647, 649).

FOR FURTHER READING on the Franks through the time of Clovis, see especially Oman's *Dark Ages*, ch. iv, and Sergeant's *Franks*.

V. GROWTH OF THE TEUTONIC STATES IN BRITAIN.¹

621. Causes of the Slowness of the Teutonic Conquest.—Great provinces, like Gaul or Spain, fell to the Vandals or Franks after one or two battles with the Roman armies. The natives themselves made almost no resistance in the field. But, as we have seen, in Britain, where there were no Roman armies, the Teutonic invaders in 150 years of incessant warfare conquered only half the island (§ 597).

Causes for this delay are to be found both in the nature of the invasion and in the condition of the island.

a. The Saxons at home were living in petty tribes, *under no common government*, and therefore they could make no great organized attack. *Coming by sea*, too, they necessarily came only in small bands. Moreover, they were still *pagans*, and, unlike the Franks, they were *untouched by Roman civilization*; therefore they spread ruthless destruction and provoked a more desperate resistance.

b. Britain was less completely Romanized than were the continental provinces: there was *more of forest and marsh*, and a *less extensive network of Roman roads*. Hence the natives found it easier to make repeated stands. The Britons, too, had not so completely laid aside military habits as had the Gauls.

622. Result: England preëminently a Teutonic State.—Because the conquest was so slow, it was thorough. Elsewhere

¹ Review § 597.

the invaders were soon absorbed by the larger native populations. *England alone, of all the Roman provinces seized by the Teutons, became strictly a Teutonic state.* In the eastern half of the island, in particular, Roman political and legal institutions, the Roman language, Christianity, even Roman names for the most part, vanished, and the Romanized natives were slain, driven out, or enslaved.

623. Conversion to Christianity.—About the year 600, Christianity began to win its way among these heathen conquerors. In the north of England, the early missionaries came mainly from the old (Celtic) Christian church still surviving in western Britain and in Ireland,¹ long cut off from close connection with the rest of Christendom. The south, on the other hand, was converted by missionaries sent out directly by the pope of Rome;² and the rulers of the north were soon brought to accept this better organized form of Christianity. The victory of the Roman Church dates from the famous *Council of Whitby* in Northumbria, in 664 A.D.³

624. Three political results followed the conversion to Christianity:—

a. Warfare with the native Britons became milder and more like ordinary wars between rival states.

b. The ecclesiastical union of the island helped to create the later political union. The different states had a common Church Council before they had one king and one political Assembly.

c. The adoption of the same form of Christianity and the same church government as that on the Continent brought the island back into the general current of European politics.

¹ Special report: stories of the Celtic monks in northern England; see Green's *Short History of the English People*, and, especially, a translation of a *Life of St. Columban*, in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, II, No. 7.

² Special reports: anecdote of Pope Gregory and the English prisoners; story of the mission of Augustine to the king of Kent; Queen Bertha's work in aiding the missionary (cf. Clotilda in Gaul).

³ Special report: story of this Council.

FOR FURTHER READING ON THE CHAPTER. — The sources are not available except *Gregory of Tours* for the Franks, the first real history of the Middle Ages. If the whole work is not in the school library, the student at least will have the extracts in Robinson's *Readings*, I, ch. lii. That volume of *Readings*, 97-105, contains also Bede's account of the conversion of Britain.

Modern authorities: Hodgkin's *Theodoric*; Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*; Sheppard's *Fall of Rome*; Bradley's *Goths*; Curteis' *Roman Empire*, 48-54 and 95-209; Green's *English People*, opening chapters; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, chs. ii and iii; Freeman's *Historical Geography*, 87-110; Sergeant's *Franks*; Adams' *Civilization during the Middle Ages*; Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages*; Church's *Early Britain*; Oman's *Byzantine Empire*, chs. vi-vii; Emerson's *Introduction to the Middle Ages*. Church's *Count of the Saxon Shore* and Dahn's *Felicitas* (novels). Each member of the class should have access to the exceeding valuable articles by Lavissee reprinted in Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*, chs. iv, v, and vi ("Influence of the Migrations," "The Gerunans in the Empire," and "Faith and Morals of the Franks").

EXERCISE. — (1) Trace each barbarian people from the crossing of the barriers to the last mention in this period. (2) Trace the history of Gaul, Italy, and Spain, through the period, noting for each land what peoples left important elements in race or institutions. (In both exercises, the device of *catchwords* may be used with advantage; and students may be encouraged to prepare tables, showing, in separate columns, the peoples, events, leaders, dates, etc.) (3) List battles, with leaders and dates, for rapid "fact-drills." (4) The field is a good one for exercises calling for historical imagination (see page 196).

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE OF WESTERN EUROPE, 400-800.

(*The Dark Ages.*)

625. Plan of Treatment. — We have traced the movements of peoples and the growth of new states during the two centuries of invasions. During the next two centuries (600-800) the political story has to do with four great movements: (1) the continued *growth of the Frankish state*, until it included most of civilized Western Europe; (2) the *rise of the Mohammedans* in Asia and Africa, and their repulse from Europe by the Greek Empire on the East and by the Franks on the West; (3) the *growth of the papacy into a temporal power*,¹ partly because of its alliance with the Franks; and (4) the *rise of the Empire of Charlemagne*, out of this same alliance of the papacy and the Franks.

These political movements will be treated in the next chapter. But first, in order to understand them, we interrupt the story to survey briefly the condition into which the invasions plunged Western Europe for the whole four centuries, — (1) the chaos and misery; (2) the survival of some of the Roman civilization; and (3) the new institutions which were growing up. Such a survey is the subject of this chapter.

I. DESTRUCTION WITH THE GERMS OF PROGRESS.

A. THE DARK SIDE.

626. The Loss to Civilization. — After all allowances are made (§§ 628-632), the invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries remain the most terrible catastrophe that ever befell so great a civilized society. It took long to restore order. The seventh and eighth centuries, after the invasions themselves had ceased, are a dreary period of confusion, lawlessness, and ignorance, —

¹ The term "temporal" is used in contrast with "spiritual." The temporal power of the pope means his power as a prince, like kings and other potentates of this world, in contrast with his power in religious matters — matters not "temporal" but eternal.

the lowest point ever reached by European civilization. The whole four hundred years, from 400 to 800, are properly called the *Dark Ages*.¹

During these long centuries there was no tranquil leisure and therefore no study. There was little security and therefore little labor. While the Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life, the Latins were losing all but the rudiments,—and, for a time, they were losing faster than the Germans gained. Classical literature suddenly became extinct. The old Roman schools disappeared, or were represented only by new monastic schools with meager instruction.

627. New Causes for Decline in Culture. — Roman civilization, as we have noticed (§ 581), had been falling away for two centuries before the barbarian conquests began. The disorder and destruction connected with the two hundred years of invasions added tremendously to the decay; and then, when at last the invaders had settled down, two causes of decline were added to the old ones.

a. *The new ruling classes were grossly ignorant, and did not care for the old literature and science, even so far as it had survived. Few of the greatest nobles could read, or write their names.*

b. *More and more the language of every-day speech grew away from the literary language in which the remains of the old knowledge was preserved. This process had begun long before; but, until the coming of the Teutons, a man who spoke the usual language in Gaul or Spain could also, without much difficulty, understand the Latin if he heard it. The coming of the barbarians hastened the change in the spoken language. The old inflections were disregarded; words were corrupted in form; new Teutonic words were added.² The language of*

¹ Read Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, ch. II (close) and ch. III.

² The many different dialects which were springing up in the different parts of Gaul, Burgundy, Spain, Italy, were finally to grow into French, Spanish, and Italian. These languages — mingled of Teutonic and Roman elements — are called *Romance languages*.

learning was left so far from the spoken language that it became "dead." It could be acquired only by special study, and was known only to the clergy. Even by them it was known very imperfectly.

At the same time the old Roman civilization, in many obscure ways, did survive. The causes of the survival we will now notice.

B. PRESERVATION OF SOME ROMAN CIVILIZATION.

628. The Barbarian Conquests accomplished by Small Numbers.

— We must not suppose that the invasions greatly changed the character of the population in Western Europe (outside of Britain). The forces which occupied the western Roman world in the fifth century were far smaller than had been driven back in rout many times before. The highest estimate for the whole Burgundian nation is eighty thousand. The Vaudals counted no more. The Visigoths, when they conquered Spain, hardly exceeded thirty thousand warriors. Clovis commanded less than six thousand men when he annexed Roman Gaul.

629. The conquests (outside Britain) were attended with little warfare. — When the Roman legions had been beaten in the field, the struggle was over. Those legions and their commanders were mainly German. The provincials were largely so; and in any case they had come to be indifferent to a change of masters.

630. Reverence of the Conquerors for Roman Civilization. — The barbarians felt a wholesome reverence for the Roman Empire and for all connected with it. This important fact has been illustrated repeatedly in the preceding pages. Even Clovis was delighted when the emperor at Constantinople sent him an appointment as consul and as a lieutenant of the Empire.

The Germans were awed by the marvelous devices, the massive structures, the stately pomp, of the civilization they had conquered. The mood is best shown by the exclamation

of a Gothic king when first he visited Constantinople: "Without doubt the emperor is a god on earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood."

631. The Influence of the Old Populations.—The Germans already within the Empire in the year 400 had been largely Romanized. The new invaders settled among populations ten, twenty, or fifty times their own numbers. At first the Teutons were the rulers and the bulk of the large landlords. *They formed the government and the aristocratic forces in rural society.* But the towns, so far as they survived at all, with their varied industries, remained Roman. For a long time, too, the old population furnished most of the clergy. From them, also, came the secretaries of the conquering lords and many confidential officers. Gradually these various forces secured the adoption of many customs of the old civilization by the conquerors. The influence of the church in this respect was so important that it demands a separate section (§ 632).

632. The Church and the Barbarians.—The barbarian converts to Christianity understood its teachings of love, purity, and gentleness very imperfectly, and adopted them still less fully. The church suffered a lowering of religious spirit,—although the superstition of the ignorant age gave it, perhaps, increased power. Christianity raised the new nations, but in the effort it was dragged down part way to their level. More emphasis was placed on ceremonies and forms. The clergy, especially the higher clergy, became often merely ambitious and worldly lords, preachers of a coarse and superficial religion, men who allied themselves to the schemes of wicked rulers, lived vicious lives, and were unable to understand the services they mumbled.

All this was to be expected. The church as a whole could not be a great deal better than the people of the time,—who had to furnish the clergy and the flocks. The danger is that the student will overrate the degradation. In spite of it, *the church was the salt that kept the world sweet for later times.* In the wildest disorder of the sixth and seventh centuries

there were found priests, monks, and bishops inspired with zeal for righteousness and love for men, and there were found also in all ranks of society some willing followers of such teachers. The church, as a whole, protected the weak and stood for peace, industry, and right living.

Moreover the church was an institution with its own government. The rulers of the land did not greatly interfere with it. Therefore it kept up the old forms and habits and the principles of the Roman law more than any other part of Western society.

The church of those centuries is sometimes accused of putting *all* stress upon forms and of neglecting totally the duty of man to man. The charge is bitterly unjust. Many sermons of the seventh century place peculiar emphasis upon good works. "It is not enough," says the good Bishop St. Eloy, to his flock, in a fervent exhortation, — "It is not enough, most dearly beloved, for you to have received the name of Christians if you do not do Christian works. . . ."

"Come, therefore, frequently to church; humbly seek the patronage of the saints; keep the Lord's day in reverence of the resurrection without any servile work; celebrate the festivals of the saints with devout feeling; love your neighbors as yourselves; what you would desire to be done to you by others, that do you to others; what you would not have done to you, do to no one; before all things have charity, for charity covereth a multitude of sins; be hospitable, humble, casting your care upon God, for he careth for you; visit the sick; seek out the captives; receive strangers; feed the hungry; clothe the naked; set at naught soothsayers and magicians; let your weights and measures be fair, your balance just, your bushel and your pint honest. . . ."¹

633. Summary. — Thus the destruction of civilization was less than at first we should expect. The conquerors were few;

¹ This sermon is printed at some length by Maitland (*Dark Ages*, 109 ff.). Curiously enough, garbled extracts from just this sermon led many historians (Robertson, Hallam, etc.) to deny any religion of good works to this age. Advanced students may like to compare Robertson's treatment (*History of Charles V*, note xi, of the "Proofs and Illustrations," with Maitland's refutation. Guizot (*Civilization in France*, II, 322, 327) gives some good illustrations of the homely and practical preaching of the day and its intensely religious character.

there was little actual fighting; the old population and the church kept on living in many respects in the old ways. Most important of all, the barbarian conquerors did not *wish* to destroy the civilization: they wished to possess it. Much, of course, they did destroy. Part they ruined in the wanton mood of children, — as in the story of the warrior who dashed his battle-ax at the beautiful mosaic floor to see whether the swan swimming there were alive. More was lost because they did not understand its use. But much survived; and much more which at the time *seemed* ruined was sooner or later to be recovered by the Teutons themselves, — so that

“almost, if not quite, every achievement of the Greeks and the Romans in thought, science, law, and the practical arts is now a part of our civilization — either among the tools of our daily life or in the forgotten foundation-stones which have disappeared from sight because we have built some more complete structure upon them.”¹

This complete recovery, however, was a matter of some centuries later, beyond the period of this volume. At present we will observe some of the important ideas and institutions which survived at the time or which arose then from the mingling of Roman and Teutonic elements (§§ 634–645).

II. SOME SURVIVALS AND NEW INSTITUTIONS.

A. THE IDEA OF ONE UNIVERSAL EMPIRE.

634. The idea of the Roman Empire as the one legitimate universal government survived. We can see now that the Empire had passed away in the West before the year 500. But men of that day did not see it. They could not believe that the dominion of the “Eternal City” was dead; and therefore it did not altogether die. For three hundred years it lived on, *in the minds of men*, until Charlemagne made it again external fact (§ 673). To understand the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, it is needful to remember this truth.

¹ Read Adams' *Civilization*, 9, 10. Cf. § 253 of this book.

“Teutonic kings ruled in the West, but nowhere (except in England) had they become national sovereigns in the eyes of the people of the land. They were simply the chiefs of their own peoples (Goths, Franks, etc.) reigning in the midst of a Roman population *who looked to the Caesar of New Rome* [Constantinople] as their lawful sovereign.”—Condensed from FREEMAN.

B. MONASTICISM.

The survival of the church has been already noticed, with some reference to its service in preserving and upbuilding society. The growth of the papacy will be noted in §§ 658 ff. At present we will study only one institution, which grew up in the church during the Dark Ages.

635. Eastern Hermits and Western Monks.—The eastern Church gave rise early to a class of hermits, who strove each to save his own soul by tormenting his body and by secluding himself from the world.¹ The persecutions in the third century augmented the numbers of these fugitives from society, until the Egyptian and Syrian deserts swarmed with tens of thousands of them. In some cases they came to unite into small bodies with common rules of life. In the latter part of the fourth century this idea of religious communities was transplanted to the West, and the long anarchy following the invasions gave peculiar inducements to such a life.

Thus arose *monasticism*, one of the most powerful medieval² institutions. The fundamental causes were: (1) the longing for a life of quiet religious devotion, and (2) the conditions which made quiet living impossible except through some such withdrawal from society.

European monasticism differed widely from its model in

¹ Kingsley's *Hermits* gives an account of the most extravagant cases of this movement.

² The in-pouring of the Teutons between 376 and 476 is sometimes said to close Ancient History. Those who speak in this way divide history into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, and give the name Medieval to the period from about 400 to about 1500 A.D. This book follows a different classification (§ 3), but it sometimes uses the expressions *Medieval* and *Middle Age* as descriptive terms for the period to which they are commonly applied.

the East. The monks in the West did believe that holy living lay, in part, in crushing natural instincts and affections; but they never paralleled the excesses of the hermits of the East. Even within their quiet walls, they wisely sought escape from temptation, not in idleness, but in active and incessant work. Their very motto was, "To work is to pray": the old proverb of Satan and idle hands strikes a keynote in western monasticism.

636. Growth and Organization. — The growth of many a rich monastery was a romantic story of humble beginnings, lofty enthusiasm, and noble service. A body of enthusiasts, uniting for mutual religious aid, would raise a few rude buildings in a pestilential marsh or in a wilderness. Gradually their numbers grew; the marsh was drained, or the desert became a garden through their toil; the first plain structures gave way to massive and stately towers; lords or kings gave the monastery lands; fugitive slaves and serfs tilled them; perhaps villages or towns sprang up upon them, under the rule of the *abbot*.

Such was the growth of hundreds of early communities. Similar institutions for women afforded a much-needed refuge for great numbers of that sex in that troublous age. At first each monastery or nunnery was a rule unto itself. Finally the various communities became united in great brotherhoods. In particular, *St. Benedict*, in the sixth century, published and preached rules for a monastic life that were widely adopted. Two hundred years later, nearly all monks in Western Europe were Benedictines. The order at its height is said to have counted over forty thousand monasteries.

637. The Three Vows and the Monastic Life. — Each Benedictine took the three vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*. (1) He renounced all wealth for himself (though the monastery might become wealthy). (2) He renounced marriage. (3) He renounced his own will in all things, in favor of that of his superior in the monastery, — the abbot or prior. To all this was added the *obligation of work*.

During the Middle Ages, the monks were the most skillful and industrious tillers of the soil. They taught neighboring youth in their schools. They lovingly copied and illustrated manuscripts, and so preserved whatever learning was saved at the time in the West. They themselves produced whatever new literature Europe had for some centuries. In particular, they cared for the poor and suffering. For many centuries of disorder and violence the monasteries were to Western Europe the only almshouses, inns, asylums, hospitals, and schools.

638. Relation to the other Clergy.—A monastery, at first, was a religious association of *laymen*; but gradually the monks became the most zealous of missionaries and the most devoted of preachers. As they took up the duties of the clergy, there arose a long struggle between them and the bishops. The bishops desired to exercise authority over them as over other lower clergy; the monks insisted upon independence under their own abbots, and finally won it by grants from the popes. Because subject to *rule*, the monks became known as *regular* clergy, while the ordinary clergy were styled secular (“belonging to the world”).¹

C. DEVELOPMENT OF TEUTONIC LAW.

639. Codes.—When the barbarians entered the Empire, their law was simply unwritten custom. Much of it continued so, especially in England; but, under the influence of Roman ideas, the tribes on the continent soon began to put parts of their law in the form of written codes (cf. § 594). These codes throw interesting sidelights upon the times. Three points may be noted here (§§ 637-639).

¹ Good brief treatments of early monasticism will be found in Curtels and in Adams, a longer account in Guizot, II, or in the Church histories. Henderson's *Documents* gives the “Rule of St. Benedict.” Read Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, ch. ix, on the “Economic Services of the Monasteries.” Robinson's *Readings*, I, 86-93, gives source extracts illustrating some phases of the monastic attitude of mind.

640. Law was "personal." That is, a man carried his law with him wherever he went. It was felt that a Roman, a Goth, a Burgundian, even though all were members of the Frankish state, should each be judged by his own law. The barbarian codes tried to recognize this principle, and of course such a practice led to much confusion.¹

641. Compurgation ; Ordeal ; Judicial Combat. — When a man, in a trial, wished to prove himself innocent, or to prove another man guilty of some charge, he did not try to bring evidence of the fact. Proof consisted in an appeal to God to show the right. There were three kinds of such appeal.

a. The accused and accuser swore solemnly to their statements. Each was backed by his *compurgators*, — not witnesses, but persons who swore they believed that their man was telling the truth.² To swear falsely was to invite the divine vengeance, and stories are told of men who fell dead with the judicial lie on their lips. This form of trial was *compurgation*.

b. Sometimes the trial was by *ordeal*. The accused tried to clear himself by being thrown bound into water: if he floated he was innocent. Or he plunged his arm into boiling water, or carried red-hot iron a certain distance, or walked over burning plowshares; and if his flesh was uninjured, when examined some days later, he was declared innocent.³ All these

¹ In modern civilized countries, law is *territorial*, not *personal*. That is, all persons in a given country come under the same law, — the law of the land.

² The idea, and probably the practice itself, survives in the boy's incantation, "Cross my heart and hope to die," if his word is questioned. The value of a man as a compurgator depended upon his rank; a noble was worth several freemen. The number called for depended also upon the crime. According to one code, three compurgators of a given rank could free a man accused of murdering a serf; it took seven, if he were accused of killing a freeman; and eleven, if a noble.

³ For a brief description of these trials, see Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, 80-87. Such tests were sometimes made by deputy; hence our phrase, "to go through fire and water" for a friend. The byword, "he is in hot water," comes also from these trials; and so, too, the later test of witchcraft by throwing suspected old women into a pond, to sink or float.

ordeals were under the charge of the clergy, and were preceded by sacred exercises.

c. Among the nobles, the favorite method came to be the *trial by combat*,— a judicial duel which was prefaced by religious ceremonies and in which God was expected to “show the right.”

642. Offences were atoned for by money payments. Warriors were too valuable to be lightly sacrificed, and punishment by imprisonment was not in keeping with Teutonic custom. Practically all crimes had a money penalty, varying from a small amount for cutting off the joint of the little finger to the *wer-geld* (man-money), or payment for a man's life. It is significant that the fine for cutting off a man's right arm was about the same as for killing him outright. The *wer-geld* varied with the rank of the victim.¹

D. THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

643. The conquest, together with the influence of Roman ideas, modified the political institutions of the conquerors in many ways. Particular attention should be given to the changes in the three leading political elements,— the king, the council of chiefs, and the Assembly (§§ 586-587).

a. *The kings became more absolute.* (1) They secured large shares of confiscated land, so that they could reward their immediate followers and build up a strong personal following. (2) The Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state had its influence. (3) Their authority grew by custom, since, in the confusion of the times, all sorts of matters were necessarily left to their decision. From these

¹ Probably the best brief treatment of early Teutonic law is in Emerton's *Introduction*, 73-91; Henderson's *Documents* (314-319) gives a number of formulas for ordeals, and a more complete source treatment is found in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 4. Extracts from an early Frankish code are given in Henderson's *Documents*, 176-189.

three factors it came to pass that the former war chiefs became real sovereigns.¹

b. The old nobility of blood gave way to a new territorial nobility of office or service. The higher ranks came in part from the old class of "companions" of the king (§ 587), who were now rewarded with grants of land and intrusted with important powers as rulers² (counts and dukes).

c. The popular assemblies decreased in importance as the power of the kings and nobles grew. Such assemblies, however, did not at this time altogether disappear. In England they survived as occasional *Folk-moots*, and under the Frankish kings as *Mayfield* assemblies. They tended, however, to become gatherings of nobles and officials.

III. SUMMARY OF ROMAN AND TEUTONIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

The great streams of influence that were to make the modern world had now come in contact (§ 3). Let us sum up the elements of each.

644. The Roman Empire contributed:—

Indirectly:

- a.* The Greek intellectual and artistic conceptions, together with all the material gains that had been preserved from the older world.
- b.* Christianity and the organization of the church.

Directly:

- c.* A universal language—a common medium of learning and intercourse for centuries.

¹ Clovis was a fairly despotic king toward the end of his reign; a special report upon the vase of Soissons incident (told in all histories of France) will show how limited his power was at first, and also how, in war, a chief could increase his power.

² Thus were brought together (1) the Teutonic personal relation of "companion" and lord, (2) the holding of land, and (3) the exercise of political power. After the fall of Charlemagne's Empire, in a renewal of the Dark Ages through the ninth and tenth centuries, these elements were to furnish material out of which was built the *feudal system*. This peculiar organization of society, however, hardly began to appear within the period of this volume.

- d. Roman law.
- e. Municipal institutions.
- f. The idea and machinery of centralized administration.
- g. The conception of *one*, lasting, universal, supreme authority, to which the civilized world owed obedience.

Note that these elements were not all of them unmixed with evil. The fifth and sixth, also, were, to some degree, inharmonious.

645. The Teutons contributed:—

- a. Themselves (cf. theme sentence on page 485).
- b. A new sense of the value of the *individual*, as opposed to that of the state.¹
- c. *Loyalty to a lord*, as contrasted with loyalty to the state.
- d. A new chance for democracy — in the popular assemblies of different grades, some of which, in England, were to develop *representative* features.

It is not correct to say that the Teutons gave us representative government. *What they did was to give another chance to develop it.* The earlier peoples had lost their chances. Some peculiar features in later English history were to develop these Teutonic assemblies in that island into representative bodies.

- e. A system of *growing* law. The codification of the Roman law (§ 613) preserved it, but also fixed and crystallized it. Teutonic law was crude and unsystematic, but it contained possibility of growth. The importance of this has been felt mainly in the English "Common Law," which is of course the basis of our American legal system.

646. Influence of the Mixture upon Later European Civilization.— This *mingling* of forces has been felt ever since in European history. As has been before noted (§§ 65-67), Oriental civilization quickly became uniform; society crystallized; development ceased. European civilization began in Greece with diversity and freedom, and these factors were aided by geographical conditions over all Western Europe, with its small

¹ Christianity had much to do, no doubt, in strengthening this idea.

territorial divisions and indented coast. But after some centuries, the Roman Empire had begun to take on Oriental uniformity : society there, too, had crystallized (§ 576), and progress apparently had ceased. The mingling of the new elements contributed by the Teutons with the older Roman elements resulted in an interaction of opposing principles which has prevented later European society from becoming stagnant.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL EUROPE, 600-768.¹

I. THE FRANKS TO CHARLES MARTEL.

647. Rivalry of Neustria and Austrasia.—In the seventh century the dividing lines between the Frankish sub-kingdoms (§ 620) shifted from time to time; but on the whole there stand out four great sections. These were *Burgundy* and *Aquitaine* in the south, and the East Franks and West Franks (*Austrasia* and *Neustria*) in the north.

The first two were mainly Roman in blood; the last two were largely German. This was true especially of Austrasia. That province comprised the old home and the chief vigor of the Frankish race, little affected by Roman influences. Neustria, however, contained the early conquests of Clovis and his imperial capital, and it held a certain prestige over all the rest of the Frankish state.

The family contests among the rulers of the sub-kingdoms finally resolved themselves into a struggle for supremacy between these two states, Neustria and Austrasia. It was plain that south Gaul must fall to the victor.

648. The "Do-nothing Kings" and the Mayors of the Palace.—From 628 to 638, the whole Frankish empire was reunited under the vigorous *Dagobert*; but after that monarch's death the Merovingian line declined rapidly. The kings earned the name of "*Do-nothings*," and real power was exercised in each sub-kingdom by a *mayor of the palace*. Originally this officer was a chief domestic, the head of the royal household (cf. § 555); but, one by one, he had withdrawn all the powers

¹ Review § 625.



of government from the indolent kings. At first the office of mayor was filled by the king's appointment. As it grew more important, the nobles sometimes claimed the right to elect the holder; and in Austrasia the position finally became hereditary.

Soon after Dagobert's time, the rule of the mayors became so undisguised that men began to date events by the mayor's name rather than by the king's. Once a year, the long-haired king himself was carried forth in stately procession on his ox-cart, to be shown to the Assembly of the Mayfield. The rest of the time he lived retired on some obscure estate, in indolence and swinish pleasures that brought him to an early grave.¹

649. Pippin of Heristal: Testry. — The fifty years after Dagobert were filled with anarchy and civil war, and the Frankish state seemed about to fall to pieces. Indeed, Bavaria and Thuringia (purely German) and Aquitaine (the most purely Roman province) did break away into states practically independent under their native dukes.

But finally, at the battle of *Testry* (687 A.D.), the Austrasians under their mayor, *Pippin of Heristal*, established their supremacy over the West Franks. Austrasia at this moment had no separate king, and Pippin might now have set up an independent kingdom there; but instead he chose wisely to rule both kingdoms as mayor of Neustria, appointing a trusted friend mayor of Austrasia.

In appearance, Austrasia remained the less dignified state, but really it had given to the realm of the Franks a new line of rulers and a new infusion of German blood. *Testry stands for a second Teutonic conquest* of the more Romanized part of the Frankish state, and for a reunion of the two halves of the empire. Some of the great border dukedoms still remained almost independent; but *Pippin is rightly regarded as the second founder of the Frankish state.*

¹ Read Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, 13.

650. Charles Martel, Sole Mayor. — Pippin's son, Charles, went farther. He concentrated in his single person the offices of mayor of Austrasia, of Neustria, and of Burgundy, and brought back to subjection the great dukedoms of Bavaria and Thuringia. He established firm order, too, among the unruly chiefs of the German frontier, and partially restored Frankish authority over Aquitaine, which was now making a gallant fight for independence.

The crushing blows Charles dealt his rivals in these struggles won him the title of the Hammer (*Martel*), which he was soon to justify in a more critical conflict that saved Europe from Mohammedanism (§ 655). *Except for Pippin and Martel, there would have been no Christian power able to withstand the Arab onslaught.* The victory of Testry and the pounding by the Hammer of the Franks came none too soon.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, 8-45; Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, 82-88; Oman's *Dark Ages*, ch. xv; Sergeant's *Franks*; Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilisation*, ch. vi.

II. THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL.

651. Arabia before Mohammed. — About a century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a better man, out of less promising materials, created a mighty power in Arabia, — a region until then beyond the pale of history. This new power was destined, within the time spanned by one human life, to win Persia from the Zoroastrians, Asia and Africa from the Greek Empire, Spain from the Goths, and to contest the rest of Western Europe with the Franks. Checked in this attempt, it still maintained itself in Spain for eight hundred years, and in the fourteenth century it won Eastern Europe, where, though corrupt and decayed, it still maintains a foothold.

The best of the Arabian tribes were related to the Jews and the old Assyrians, but on the whole the peninsula contained a mongrel population. A few tribes near the Red Sea had

acquired some mechanical arts and some wealth, but the greater number were poor and ignorant. All were weak, dis-united, and idolatrous. The inspiring force that was to lift them to a higher life, and fuse them into a world-conquering nation, was the fiery enthusiasm of *Mohammed*.

652. Mohammed, to the Hegira. — This remarkable man never learned to read, but his speech was ready and forceful, and his manner pleasing and commanding. His youth had been modest, serious, and truthful, so that he had earned the surname of *the Faithful*. At twenty-five he became wealthy by marriage with his employer, the good widow Kadijah, and until forty he continued to live the life of an influential, respected merchant.

Mohammed had always been subject, however, to occasional periods of religious ecstasy (which may have been connected with a tendency to epilepsy); and now, upon a time as he watched and prayed in the desert, a wondrous vision revealed to him (he said) a higher religion, and enjoined upon him the mission of preaching it to his people. At first, Mohammed seems to have feared that this vision was a subtle temptation of the devil; but Kadijah's confidence convinced him that it came truly from heaven, and he entered upon his arduous task.

The better features of the new religion were drawn from Jewish and Christian sources, with which the merchant had become somewhat acquainted in his travels. Indeed Mohammed recognized Abraham, Moses, and Christ as true prophets, but claimed that he was to supersede them. His precepts were embodied in the sacred book of the *Koran*. The two essential elements of his religious teaching were belief in one God (*Allah*) and submission to His will (*Islam*) as revealed by His final prophet, Mohammed.

Mohammed's closest intimates accepted him at once; but beyond them, in the first twelve years of his preaching, he made few converts. Especially did his townfolk of Mecca, the chief city of Arabia, jeer his pretensions. The priests of the

old religion roused the people there against him, and finally he barely escaped with life from his home.

653. From the Hegira to the Death of Mohammed, 622-632 A.D.—This flight of the prophet from Mecca is *the Hegira*, the point from which the Mohammedan world reckons time, as Christendom does from the birth of Christ. The first year of the Mohammedan era corresponds to our year 622 A.D.

From this event dates a change in Mohammed's policy. Like his enemies, he also took up the sword. He now made converts rapidly, and soon recaptured Mecca, which became the sacred city of the faith. His fierce warriors were almost irresistible. They were inspired by religious devotion. They felt sure that to every man there was an appointed time of death which he could neither delay or hasten; and this high fatalism conquered fear. Indeed they rejoiced in death in battle, as the surest admission to the joys of Paradise.

"The sword," said Mohammed, "is the key of heaven. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer; whoso falls in battle, all his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk."

At the same time, they were comparatively mild in victory. Pagans, it is true, had to choose between the new teaching and death; but Jews and Christians were allowed to keep their faith on payment of tribute.

Moreover, Mohammed preached a political system as well as a religion. He became *not only prophet, but king*—supreme in all matters civil, military, and religious. This character descended to the Caliphs who followed him¹ and has marked the chief rulers of the Mohammedan world ever since.

Mohammed has been vehemently accused of resorting to fraud and deceit to advance his cause. To ascertain the exact truth of the matter is impossible. In the stress of conflict, and under the temptation of power, his character no doubt

¹ Caliph means "successor" of the Prophet.

suffered some decline. On the whole, however, he seems to have been earnest and sincere to the end, however much self-deluded. Certainly his rules restrained vice and set up higher standards of right than had ever been presented to the people for whom he made them. The religious enthusiasm he inspired created a mighty nation of devoted courage and strict morals, and, finally, of noble culture.

Just before his death, he sent ambassadors to demand the submission of the two great powers in the East,—the Greek Empire and Persia. According to the story, the Persian ruler answered the messenger, naturally enough: “Who are you to attack an empire? You, of all peoples the poorest, most disunited, most ignorant!” “What you say,” replied the Arabian, “*was* true. But now we are a new people. God has raised up among us a man, His prophet; and his religion has enlightened our minds, extinguished our hatreds, and made us a society of brothers.”

654. The Ninety Years of Conquest.—Mohammed lived only ten years after the Hegira, and his own sway nowhere reached beyond Arabia. Eighty years after his death, his followers stood victorious upon the Oxus, the Indus, the Black Sea, the Atlantic.¹ All the Asiatic empire of Alexander had fallen to them; all North Africa, beside; and already, drawing together the sweeping horns of its mighty crescent-form, this new power was trying to enter Europe from both east and west—by the narrow straits of the Hellespont and of Gibraltar.

655. The Attack upon Europe in the East: the Repulse at Constantinople.—The preservation of Europe from the first attacks lay with the Greek Empire. After Justinian that state had fallen again to decay, and, for a time, had seemed in danger of annihilation by Slavs from Europe and Persians from Asia. Now the Arabs conquered Persia, taking its ancient place as the champion of the Orient. They overran Syria and Asia Minor, also; and, in 672, they besieged

¹ Most of the wide realm so bounded—including the great historic peoples of the Iran plateau and of the Nile and Euphrates valleys—still belongs to the Mohammedan faith.

Constantinople itself. Their victory at this time (before the battle of Testry) would have left all Europe open to their triumphal march; but the heroism and generalship of *Constantine IV* saved the western world.

Happily, in the twenty years' anarchy that followed this emperor's death, the Saracens made no determined effort. In 717, they returned to the attack; but a new and vigorous ruler had just come to the throne at Constantinople. This was *Leo the Isaurian*, who was to begin another glorious line of Greek emperors. Leo had only five months after his accession in which to restore order and to prepare for the terrific onset of the Mohammedans; but once more the Asiatics were beaten back—after a twelve months' siege. *The most formidable menace to Europe wore itself away on the walls of the city of Constantinople.*¹

656. The Attack in the West: Repulse at Tours.—In 711, however, the Arabs entered Spain, and were soon masters of the kingdom, except for a few remote mountain fastnesses. Then, crossing the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire. Now, indeed, it “seemed that the crescent was about to round to the full.” But the danger united the Frankish state. The duke of Aquitaine (who had long led a revolt against Frankish supremacy) fled to Charles

¹ Arabian chroniclers themselves say that only thirty thousand survived of a host of one hundred and eighty thousand well-appointed warriors who began the siege. The Greek authorities made the Saracen numbers some three hundred thousand, and “by the time the story reached Western Europe these numbers had grown beyond all recognition.”

A chief weapon of the defense was the newly invented Greek fire, which was afterward to be used with terrible effect by the Mohammedans themselves. Six centuries later, Western Europe was still ignorant of its secret, and an old crusader who first saw it in a night battle described it as follows: “Its nature was in this wise, that it rushed forward as large round as a cask of verjuice, and the tail of the fire which issued from it was as big as a large-sized spear. It made such a noise in coming that it seemed as if it were a thunderbolt from heaven, and it looked like a dragon flying through the air. It cast such a brilliant light that in the camp we could see as clearly as if it were noonday.”—JOINVILLE, *St. Louis*.

Martel for aid; and in 732, in the plains near *Tours*, the "Hammer of the Franks" met the Arab host with his close array of mailed Austrasian infantry. From dawn to dark, on a Saturday in October, the gallant turbaned horsemen of the Saracens dashed recklessly, but in vain, against that stern wall of iron. That night the surviving Arabs stole in silent flight from their camp. They kept some hold upon a fringe of Aquitaine for a while, but Gaul was saved.

The battle of *Tours*, just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, is the high-water mark of the Saracen invasion. Only a few years afterward, the Mohammedan world, like Christendom, split into rival empires. The Caliph of the East built, for his capital, Bagdad on the Tigris, for centuries the richest and greatest city in the world; the Caliphate of the West established its capital at Cordova in Spain. The two states were bitter rivals, and, with this disunion, the critical danger to Western civilization for the time passed away. *The repulses at Constantinople and at Tours rank with Marathon, Salamis, Metaurus, and Chalons, in the long struggle between Asia and Europe.*

657. Later Mohammedanism.—The Arabs quickly adopted Greek culture, and, to some degree, extended it. In Persia and Spain they developed a noble literature. They had the most advanced schools and universities of the Middle Ages. From India they brought the "Arabic" notation. Algebra and alchemy (chemistry) are Arabic in origin as in name. The heavens retain evidence of their studies in a thick sprinkling of Arabic names (like *Aldebaran*), while numerous astronomical terms (azimuth, zenith, nadir, etc.) bear similar testimony. In material civilization, — in methods of agriculture, in growth of new varieties of fruits and flowers, in manufactures of cloths (muslins from Mosul, damasks from Damascus), in metal work — they infinitely surpassed Europe for four hundred years.

On the whole, however, the Arabs showed little real *creative* power; and at a later time political leadership fell to races

like the Turks,¹ much less capable of culture. Moreover, Mohammedanism sanctioned polygamy and slavery;² it left no room for the rise of woman; and, worst of all, since the Prophet's teachings were final, it *crystallized into a changeless system*, opposed to all improvement. Thus it was doomed to decay. Even at its best, Mohammedan civilization was marked by an Oriental character. It was despotic, uniform, stagnant,—sure to be outrun finally by the western world, which was ruder at first, but more progressive.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Curtius' *Roman Empire*, 210-227; Sullé, 98-126; Gilman's *Saracens*; Bury, II, bk. v, ch. vi; Oman's *Byzantine Empire*; Carlyle's essay on "Mohammed" (*Heroes and Hero-Worship*). Advanced students may consult Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*, Bury's Gibbon, ch. I, II, and Muir's *Mohammed*. A compact but somewhat more extended treatment of Saracenic culture than the one in this chapter may be found in Munro's *Medieval History*, ch. x.

Muir's *The Coran* gives translations of important passages; some translations are given in Guernsey Jones' *Source Extracts*, and longer ones in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 114-120.

III. THE PAPACY.

A. RISE TO ECCLESIASTICAL HEADSHIP.

658. Claim: the Doctrine of the "Petrine Supremacy." — In the fourth and fifth centuries the Christian church was divided between the great patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome (§ 565). In spite of the growing tendency to monarchic organization, no one of these bishops had been able to establish authority over all Christendom.

¹ The term *Saracen*, sometimes applied to any Mohammedan power, belongs strictly to the Arabs; in North Africa the Arabs mingled with the Berbers of *Mauritania*, and the race became known as *Moors* (afterward dominant in Spain); the Turks, who now for almost a thousand years have been the leading Mohammedan people, came in later from Northern Asia and are allied to the Tartars.

² These evils were among those which Mohammed found existing about him and which he accepted.

Claim to such supremacy, however, had been put forward by one of them,—the bishop of Rome.¹ The claim took this form: Christ had especially intrusted the government of his Church to Peter; Peter (according to tradition) had founded the first church at Rome; hence the bishops of Rome, as the successors of Peter, held spiritual sway over Christendom.

659. Advantages that helped to make this Claim Good.—To support her claim over all the West against her eastern rivals, Rome possessed many advantages in past history and in the events of the first Christian centuries.

a. From early times the bishops of Rome were readily allowed a certain precedence in dignity, even by the other patriarchs, because men so inevitably thought of Rome as the world-capital.

b. The Latin half of the Roman Empire, which would most naturally turn to Rome for leadership, contained no other church founded by an apostle. Nor did it contain any other great city, to become a possible rival of Rome. The other patriarchs were all east of the Adriatic.

c. As compared with the East, the West had few heresies and hair-splitting disputes over doctrines. This made it easier for a headship, once established, to maintain itself.

d. A long line of remarkable popes, by their moderation and

¹ *The Roman Catholic view of the early church differs widely from that given here. It holds that the church was monarchic in organization from the first and that the headship of Rome, in actual practice, dates from Peter. Scholarly presentations of the Catholic argument, together with collections of some of the historical evidence upon which it is based, are given in Kenrick's *Primacy of the Apostolic See* and in Rivington's *Roman Primacy*. Robinson's *Readings*, I, 62-73, has a good statement with valuable extracts from several of the early Fathers; see especially the argument of Pope Leo (pages 69-72). As early as the time of Valentinian III (§ 603), an imperial decree had commanded that all the church should recognize the headship of the pope. In the East, however, the church did not acquiesce in this decree. The bishop of Constantinople claimed an equal place. The name pope ("papa") was originally only a term of affectionate respect ("father") applied to any bishop. It did not become the official name of the bishops of Rome until 1085. Special reports: Leo the Great and Gregory the Great.*

statesmanship, helped to confirm the place of Rome as the representative of all the West. Not unfrequently, indeed, they were accepted as arbitrators in the disputes between eastern patriarchs.

e. The barbarian invasions strengthened the position of the pope in at least two ways. (1) The decline of the imperial power in the West lessened the danger of interference from Constantinople. (2) The churches in Spain and Gaul, in their dread of the Arian conquerors, turned to Rome for closer guidance.

f. Rome's own missionary labors did much to extend her power. It was through her that the Arian conquerors in the West were finally brought to the orthodox doctrine, and that the pagans in Teutonic England and in Germany were converted to Christianity. To these last, in particular, Rome was a mother church, to be obeyed implicitly.¹

680. Rome freed from Eastern Rivals; the "Great Schism."—The claims of Rome, however, carried no weight *in the East*; and, until about 700, even to many men of the West, her bishop appeared only one (though the most loved and respected one) among five great patriarchs. But the eighth century eliminated the other four patriarchs, so far as western Christendom was concerned. In quick succession, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell to the Saracens; and, soon afterward, remaining Christendom split into rival Latin and Greek churches, grouped respectively around Rome and Constantinople.

The schism, like the political division of the old Roman Empire into East and West, followed the lines of partition between the Latin and Greek cultures (§ 400). The split had begun to show very early, and it was assisted by the political differences of East and West. The occasion for actual sepa-

¹ Special report: the life and labors of Boniface, "Apostle to the Germans." See especially Robinson's *Readings*, I, 105-111, and Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*, ch. viii.

ration, however, was a religious dispute over the use of images in worship.

This is known as the "iconoclast" (image-breaking) question. A small but influential minority in the Greek Empire desired to abolish the use of images, which, they felt, the ignorant were apt to degrade from symbols into idols. The great reforming emperor, *Leo the Isaurian* (717-741), who had just saved what was left of Christendom from the Saracens (§ 634), put himself at the head of the movement, with all his despotic power. Finally, he ordered all images removed from the churches.¹ The West in general believed in their use as valuable aids to worship, and in Italy the pope forbade obedience to the order of the emperor. The result was the separation of Christendom into two halves, never since united.

Thus, *Rome was left the unquestioned head of the Latin church*. Other conditions, which we are now to trace, raised this headship into a real monarchy, temporal as well as spiritual, such as was never attained in the Greek church, where the patriarchs of Constantinople were overshadowed by the imperial will.

B. THE POPE BECOMES A TEMPORAL SOVEREIGN.

661. The Pope as a Civil Officer of the Greek Emperor.— While the Roman bishops were winning this spiritual rule over all the West, they were also becoming independent temporal princes (monarchs) over a small state in Italy.

This process begins with the Lombard invasion. In the break-up of Italy (§ 615), the imperial governor (exarch) at Ravenna was cut off from Rome and the strip of territory about it that still belonged to the Empire. From the time of

¹ In the East, Leo and his successors were temporarily successful. The monks and populace resisted them, however, and, before the year 800, the image-worshippers regained the throne in the person of the Empress Irene. Meantime the question had divided Christendom. The churches of Greece and Russia and the other Slav states of Southeastern Europe still belong to the Greek communion.

Constantine, all bishops had held considerable civil authority; and this new condition left the bishop of Rome the chief lieutenant of the Empire in his isolated district. At the same time, in the position that the pope claimed as spiritual head of Christendom, he called, in some matters, for submission from the emperor himself. Thus his double character of the emperor's servant and the emperor's superior could be easily confused; while the difficulty of communication left him in any case very nearly an independent sovereign.

662. This Virtual Independence avowed by Open Rebellion. — The emperor did not permit this growing independence without a struggle. One pope was dragged from the altar to a dungeon; another died a lonely exile in the Crimea; and only a threatened revolt in Italy saved another from a like fate in 701.

More and more the Roman population of Italy rallied round its great bishop against the disliked Greek power. When the Emperor Leo the Isaurian tried to extend imperial taxation in Italy, Pope Gregory sanctioned resistance. The imperial decree regarding images, we have noted, met with like reception. Plans were discussed in Italy for setting up a new emperor in Rome, or for a confederation of the peninsula under the pope. As the image-worship dispute grew violent, church councils, summoned by Pope Gregory II (730 A.D.) and by Gregory III (731 A.D.), excommunicated Leo. The emperor sent a fleet and army to seize Gregory and subdue Italy; but a storm wrecked the expedition and the rebellion succeeded.

After these events, Roman bishops assumed office without sanction¹ from the emperors; and, fifty years later, Pope Hadrian made the political separation more apparent by ceasing to date events by the reigns of the emperors.²

¹ Until this rebellion, the popes, though elected by the clergy and people of Rome, had waited like other bishops for confirmation by the emperor before entering on their office.

² Instead, he called a certain day "December 1, of the year 781 under the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Redeemer," and so began our method of counting time. He should have made the year 785. Owing to this error in calculation, we are now obliged to say that Christ was born 4 B.C.



663. Recognition and Protection of the New Sovereignty by the Franks. — The next step was to secure recognition for the new papal sovereignty. First, however, it was seriously threatened by the Lombards. The Lombard king Aistulf had seized the Exarchate of Ravenna in the north, and was bent upon seizing Rome also. Had he succeeded, Italy would have become one state with a united nation. This result was prevented by the opposition of the popes.

A Lombard master close at hand would have been more dangerous to the papal claims than a distant Greek master; and the popes appealed to the Franks for aid. It happened that the great Frankish mayors had need of papal sanction for their plans just then, and so the bargain was struck. The story demands that we return to Frankish history.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Church's *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, 106–110; Carr's *Church and Empire*, ch. xxiv; Adams' *Civilization*, ch. vi; Emerton's *Introduction*; Curteis; and the Church Histories, Catholic and Protestant.

IV. THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY.

(THE FRANKS FROM CHARLES THE HAMMER TO CHARLES THE GREAT.)

664. The Carolingian¹ Dynasty secures the Frankish Throne, with Papal Sanction. — Shortly after the victory at Tours, the "Do-nothing" king died. Charles Martel did not venture to take the title of king, but neither did he place any Merovingian upon the throne. He continued to rule, in his capacity as Mayor of the Palace, without any king at all. Before his death he secured the consent of the nobles to the division of his office between his sons Karlmann and Pippin.

These young mayors, less secure at first than their victorious father, thought it best to crown a Merovingian prince, in whose name they might govern, like their predecessors. Their first work was to continue the task of their father and

¹ For this name, see § 667, note. The student will do well to prepare for this topic and for the following chapter by rereading the earlier history of the Franks (§§ 616–620, 647–650, 656).

grandfather in restoring authority over Aquitaine and Bavaria. Then Karlmann entered a monastery,—as various other princes, English and Lombard, did in this age,—and Pippin began to think of taking to himself the name and dignity, as well as the labors, of royalty.

He felt, however, the need of powerful sanction in establishing a new royal line; and, in 750, he sent an embassy to the pope to ask whether this was “a good state of things in regard to the kings of the Franks.” The pope, who needed Pippin’s aid against Lombard encroachment, replied, “It seems better that he who has the power should be king rather than he who is falsely called so.” Thereupon the last Merovingian was sent to a monastery and Pippin assumed the crown.

665. Pippin saves and enlarges the Temporal Power of the Popes.—This brings us back to the story in Italy (§ 663). Shortly before the death of Martel, the Lombard king besieged the pope in Rome. The pope sent pressing requests to the Frankish ruler for aid. Since the time of Clovis, the Franks had kept up friendly relations with the Roman bishops, but Martel would not heed this summons. The Lombards were his allies against the Arabs, and his hands were full at home.

Pippin, however, now owed more to the papacy; and when the Lombards attacked Rome again (soon after Pippin’s coronation), Pope Stephen set out in person to beg aid at the Frankish court. During this visit he himself reconsecrated Pippin king of the Franks. In return, Pippin made two great expeditions into Italy, winning easy victories over the Lombards. The second time (756 A.D.) he reduced Lombardy to a tributary kingdom, and gave to the pope the territory that the Lombards had recently seized from the Exarchate of Ravenna.

666. Different Views as to the Nature of the Authority Conferred.—This grant is the famous “*Donation of Pippin*.” The exact terms are not known. Some writers hold that the pope was intended to be wholly sovereign in this territory. Others

maintain that Pippin stepped into the place of the Greek emperor, and simply intrusted to his lieutenant, the pope, somewhat larger domains.

Possibly, at the moment, neither party had any complete theory. In practice, the Frankish kings and the popes long remained close friends, and it was not until much later (when disputes arose) that a theory of the situation was needed. When that time did come, however, the absence of clear definition of powers in this grant was to entangle well-meaning men on opposite sides in hopeless quarrels for centuries. The greatest of the popes held to the first of the two views; the greatest of the successors of Pippin, to the second. The papal view at length prevailed. From this Donation there arose the principality of the Papal States — a strip of territory reaching across the peninsula from Rome to Ravenna.¹

In the attempts to sustain the papal claims there grew up a story of a supposed "Donation of Constantine the Great" in the fourth century. According to this imaginary "Donation," the emperor conferred upon the popes much wider domains than those granted by Pippin, and more extensive privileges. The legend was supported in the ninth century by a curious pious forgery, put forth under the name of the great Bishop Isidore of Spain. These forged *Decretals of Isidore* were accepted as authentic for many centuries.²

FOR FURTHER READING. — Emerson's *Introduction*, 151-177; Hodgkin's *Charles*, 44-82; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, 34-41; Sergeant's *Franks*. Henderson's *Documents* contains the "Donation of Constantine." Robinson's *Readings*, I, 120-124, gives an excellent source treatment of the relations of Pippin and the papacy.

¹ This papal kingdom lasted until 1870, when its last fragment was united to the new-born kingdom of Italy. Many Catholics hope still for its restoration. They believe that the pope cannot be free to direct kingdoms and rulers in moral questions as they think he should, unless he is independent politically. This he can be, only if he is himself a sovereign prince. No doubt some feeling of this kind began very early to inspire the popes in their march toward kingship.

² It is desirable to try to understand that such "forgeries" were not blamable in the same degree that they would be now, with our clearer view of the value of historical truth. They are very common in uncritical ages, and usually they portray what their authors believed to be true.

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

(Revival of the Western Empire.)

I. CHARACTER OF CHARLEMAGNE.

667. Charlemagne the Man.—In 768, Pippin, king of the Franks, was succeeded by his son Charles. This prince was to be known in history as *Charlemagne*, or Charles the Great (*Carolus Magnus*).¹ Charlemagne was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, and his work has profoundly influenced all later history. His friend and secretary, Einhard, has left us a description of him. He was a full-blooded German, —an Austrasian Frank — with yellow hair, fair skin, and large, keen, blue eyes. He was unusually tall, but exceedingly well proportioned and graceful, so that his great height did not at first strike the observer. His appearance was always manly and stately, and his countenance commonly was open and cheerful; but, when roused to anger, his eyes blazed with a fire that few men cared to stand before.

Riding, hunting, and swimming were his favorite sports, but he delighted in all forms of bodily exercise, and through most of his life he was amazingly strong and active. He was simple in his habits, and very temperate in eating and drinking. He was fond of the old German customs, and usually wore the ordinary dress of a Frankish noble, with sword at his side and a blue cloak flung over his shoulders; but

¹ The French form "Charlemagne" has won general acceptance, but the student must not think of Charles (Karl) as a Frenchman, or even as "king of France." He was "king of the Franks," and in history he was the predecessor of the later German kings and emperors rather than of French kings.

he was also fond of the Roman culture and strove to preserve and extend it among his people.

He spoke readily in Latin as well as in his native German ; and he understood Greek when it was spoken. Late in life he tried to learn to write, but was never able to do much more than sign his name. For the times, however, he was an educated man. At table, he liked to have some one read to him, and he was particularly fond of history. He called scholarly men about him from distant countries and delighted in their conversation, and he did much to encourage learning. After his death, legend magnified and mystified his fame, until he became the great hero of medieval story.¹

II. EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF TEUTONIC CIVILIZATION.

668. The Frankish state at the accession of Charlemagne had the same area as in the time of Dagobert, a hundred and thirty years before ; but meantime it had been more thoroughly united and had been absorbing more of the old Roman culture, so that it was now ready to advance once more.

The realm was still in peril, it is true, from Mohammedanism on one side, and, yet more, from barbarism on the other. The first Carolingians,² — the two Pippins, and the Hammerer, — had checked the invasion ; now, under this vigorous new prince, the Franks were to take the aggressive and roll back the peril on both sides.

669. *Character of the Wars of Charlemagne.* — The long reign of nearly fifty years (768–814) was filled with ceaseless border warfare, oftentimes two or more great campaigns to a season. At first glimpse, therefore, Charlemagne stands forth a warlike figure, like Caesar and Alexander. Like them he did extend by arms the area of civilized life. But though he planned

¹ Baldwin's *Story of Roland* gives some legends of Charlemagne's court.

² This name (from Karl, Carolus) is applied to all the rulers of this house from the time of its founder, Pippin of Heristal.

campaigns, he rarely took charge of them, and his warfare has little that is striking or romantic. It consisted generally in sending overwhelming forces into the enemy's country to besiege its strongholds and waste its fields. He warred not for glory or gain, but to crush threatening perils before they should become too strong. Charles was not chiefly fighter or general, but rather *statesman and ruler*.

670. The Winning of the Saxon Lands, to the Elbe, 772-804.—The most desperate struggle was with the heathen Saxons, who were threatening to treat the Frankish state as small bands of them had treated Britain some three centuries before. That fierce people still held the wilderness between the Rhine and the Elbe, near the North Sea. Protected by their marshes and trackless forests, these heathen kept up the contest against all the power of Charlemagne for more than thirty years. Repeatedly they were vanquished and baptized, — for Charles forced the tribes that submitted to accept Christianity on pain of death; but nine times, after such submission, they rebelled, massacring Frankish garrisons and returning to heathen freedom, — to their human sacrifices and the eating of the bodies of witches.

Charles's methods grew stern and cruel. The greatest blot on his fame is the "massacre at Verden," where forty-five hundred leaders of rebellion, who had been given up at his demand, were put to death. The embers of revolt still flamed out, however, and finally Charles transported whole Saxon tribes into Gaul, giving their homes to Frankish pioneers and garrisons.

Whatever we think of the methods, these wars were the most fruitful of the century. The long pounding of thirty years laid the foundation for modern Germany. Charlemagne completed the work that Caesar and Augustus began eight centuries before (§§ 454, 507). Now that the Roman world had been Germanized, it was time for Germany to be Romanized. Civilization and Christianity were extended from the Rhine to the Elbe. The district was planted with churches

and monasteries. Around them, towns grew up, so that these foundations proved more powerful than any army in holding the Saxon lands to the Frankish state. The Saxon campaigns began the armed colonization of the heathen East by the civilized Germans, — a movement which was to become one of the great marks of the later Middle Ages.

671. Spain, Italy, Bavaria. — Other foes engaged the attention the great king would have preferred to give to reconstruction. The *Saracens* were easily thrust back to the Ebro, so that a strip of north Spain became a Frankish mark.¹ The last vassal *Lombard* king, Desiderius, quarreled with the pope; and, after fruitless negotiation, Charles marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's grant to the pope, sent Desiderius to a monastery, and *crowned himself king of the Lombards*, at Pavia, with the ancient iron crown of Lombardy. *Bavaria*, always uncertain in its allegiance (§ 649), rebelled. Charlemagne subdued it thoroughly, sending its duke into a monastery and incorporated it into the Frankish state.²

672. Result: the Union of the German Peoples. — Thus, by expansion and consolidation, Visigoth, Lombard, Burgund, Frank, Bavarian, Allemand, Saxon, — all the surviving Germanic peoples, except those in the Scandinavian peninsula and in Britain, — *were united into a Christian Romano-Teutonic state.*³ This seems to have been the aim of Charlemagne. More than this he did not wish. He might easily have seized more of Spain or the provinces of the Greek Empire in south Italy. The Empire, indeed, gave him no little provocation.

¹ The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees in the pass of Roncesvalles, gave rise to the legend of the death of the hero Roland in battle with Saracens there. The details are fable, but the Song of Roland was the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages.

² Note the distinction: Lombardy remained a separate kingdom from that of the Franks, though the two states had the same king; Bavaria became part of the kingdom of the Franks, with no separate government.

³ The population was largely Roman still, but *politically* the different parts of the state were essentially Teutonic. In all its divisions, in Italy and south Gaul, as in Saxon-land, *the rule*, for the most part, *was in Teutonic hands.*

676. Theory of the Empire.—This act of Leo and Charles was not a partition of imperial duties, as between Diocletian and his colleague, nor a friendly division of territory, as between Arcadius and Honorius (§ 564). It was *in theory* the restoration of the seat of the one universal Empire to Rome. *In fact*, however, it created *two rival empires*, each calling itself *the Roman Empire*, and looking on the other as a usurpation.

Charlemagne is said commonly to have "revived" the Western Empire. This is essentially correct if we look at results. But in theory, and in the speech of men of his day, Charlemagne was the successor, not of Romulus Augustulus (§ 604), but of Constantine VI, just deposed at Constantinople. In course of time, to be sure, men had to recognize that there were two Empires, as there had come to be two branches of the Christian Church; but to the men of the West, *their Empire*, like their Church, remained the only legitimate one.

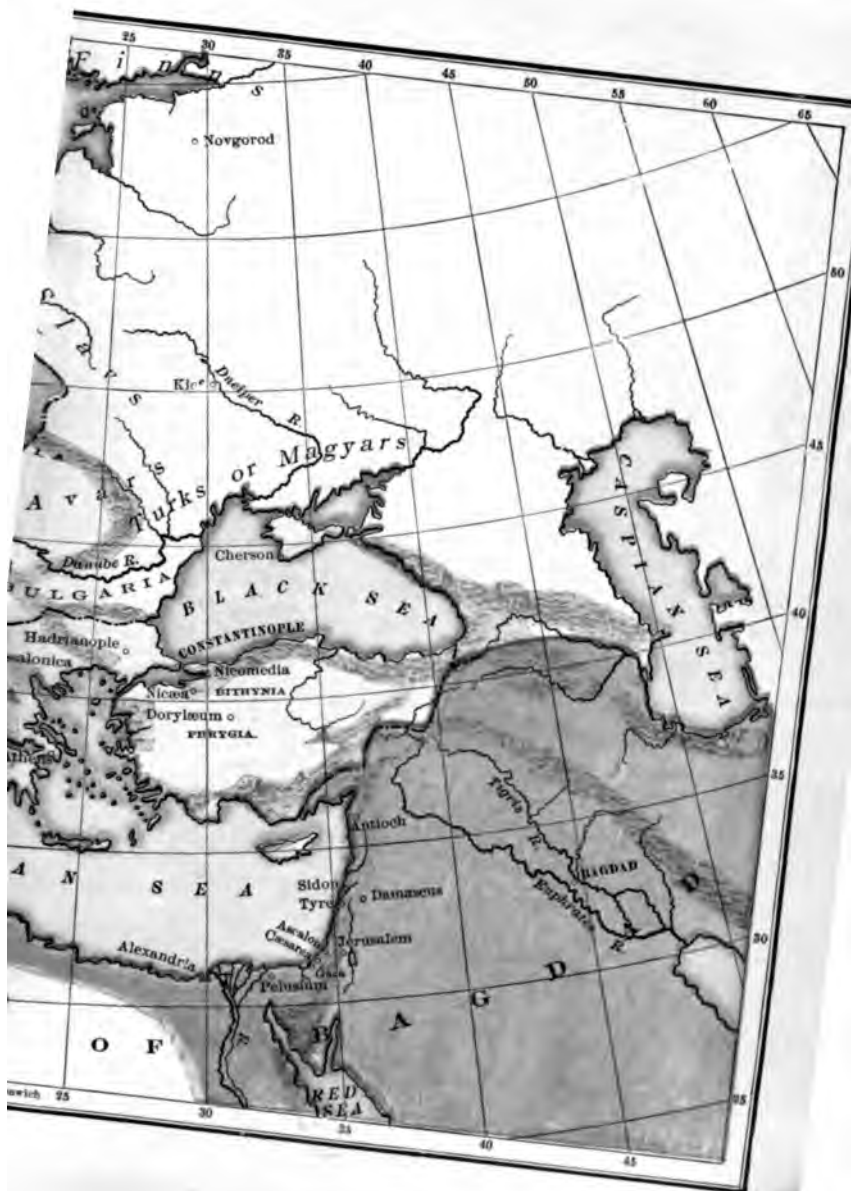
677. Western and Eastern Empires contrasted.—Neither Empire was really Roman. The Eastern grew more and more Oriental, until it ended in 1453 A.D., when the Turks captured Constantinople. The Western grew more and more Teutonic, until it ended in 1806, before which time its rulers had shrunk into little more than dukes of Austria. Both Empires continued to stand for civilization as against barbarism. The Eastern, however, was henceforth largely *passive*, and calls for little attention in European history; the *active and positive* forces were found in the Western. The Eastern Empire warded off from Europe inroads of Asiatic barbarism, and served as a *storehouse* of the old culture. The Western Empire *learned* from the Eastern some of its civilization, and *extended* Christianity and good order in Central Europe.

678. The Western Empire of Charlemagne and the Old Roman Empire contrasted.—The new Western Empire, too, while one in theory with the old Empire of Augustus and Constantine, differed from it almost as widely as from the Byzantine Empire. Two distinctions should be especially noted.

a. The new Empire was European, and even *Teutonic*, rather than Mediterranean, both in area and character. Charlemagne and his successors had to be *crowned* in Rome, but the German Rhine, not the Italian Tiber, was the real center of their state.



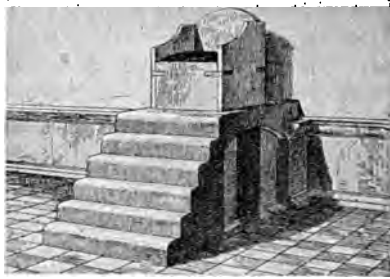






Aachen, not Rome, was the capital of the government. Greek and Oriental influences were almost wholly excluded; and Roman ideas, so far as they remained, were worked out by rulers of Teutonic blood.

b. The new Empire arose out of a union of the Papacy and the Frankish power. This union began in the coronation and the donation of Pippin, and was confirmed by the Christmas-day coronation of Charles. In later times the union was to be expressed in the name, The *Holy Roman Empire*. The Empire had its spiritual as well as its temporal head. The limits of authority between the two were not well defined, and in later times dissensions were to arise between them.



THRONE OF CHARLEMAGNE, at Aachen.

679. The Great Powers in 800 A.D.—Thus at the close of Ancient History the world is divided among four Great Powers—the two Christian Empires and the two rival Mohammedan Caliphates.¹

The Christian states were in some sense rivals. Each was bitterly hostile to its Mohammedan neighbor, and each in consequence was to some degree on friendly terms with the Mohammedan power bordering the other. *The only one of the four states that was to stand finally for progress was the Western Empire, with its fringes in the Teutonic states of Denmark and England.*

The revival of the Empire added to Charlemagne's dignity, but it did not directly add to his power or in any material way change the character of his government. With a brief survey of that government, we close our study.

¹ The Caliph Haroun al Raschid at Bagdad, the hero of the *Arabian Nights*, was Charlemagne's contemporary. In an exchange of courtesies, the Saracen sent to the Frankish king a white elephant and a curious water clock that struck the hours.

IV. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

680. General Poverty and Misery of the Times.—Because there was again a Roman Empire in the West, with a powerful ruler, we must not think that the glory and prosperity of the old Empire had been restored. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries more. In 800, the West was ignorant and poor. There was much barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen into neglect, and there was little communication between one district and another. Money was little heard of. Trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was a primitive kind of agriculture.

Perhaps this condition is best realized by looking at the revenues of Charlemagne himself. Great and powerful as he was, he was always pinched for money. There were no taxes, as we understand the word,—partly because there was no money to pay them with. Payment was made by service in person. The common freemen paid by serving in the ranks in war; the nobles paid by serving there, with their followers, and also by serving, without salary from the treasury, as officers in the administration. The treasury received some fines, and it was enriched somewhat by the “gifts” which were expected from the wealthy men of the realm; but its chief support came from the produce of the royal farms scattered through the kingdom. Charlemagne took the most minute care that these lands should be well tilled, and that each should pay him every egg and vegetable due. For the management of his estates he drew up regulations, from which we learn much about the conditions of the times.¹

681. Political Organization.—Five features of the government deserve attention,—the administration by *counts*; the watching of the counts by the *missi dominici*; the *king's own marvelous activity*; the issuing of *capitularies*; and *mayfields*.

¹ See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, III, No. 2, or *Robinson's Readings*, I, 137-139.

a. *The counts.* Under the Merovingians, large fragments of the kingdom fell under the rule of dukes who became almost independent sovereigns, and who usually passed on their authority to their sons. Pippin began to replace these hereditary dukes with appointed *counts*, more closely dependent upon the royal will. This practice was extended by Charlemagne.

Except on the frontier, no one count was given a large district; therefore the number of these officers was very great. On the frontiers, to watch the outside barbarians, the imperial officers were given large territories ("marks") and were known as *margraves*. To the counts and margraves was intrusted all ordinary business of government for their districts. They maintained order, administered justice, levied troops, and in all ways represented the king to the people.

b. *Missi dominici.* Like the old dukes, the counts tended to become identified with their localities as independent rulers, and to transmit their power to their sons. To oppose this tendency directly in those times was hardly possible. So, to keep the counts in order, Charlemagne introduced a new set of officers known as *missi dominici* ("king's messengers"). The empire was divided into districts, each containing the governments of several counts, and to each such district each year there was sent a pair of these commissioners, to examine the administration and to act, for the year, as the king's self,—overseeing the work of local counts, correcting injustice, holding popular assemblies, and reporting all to the king.¹ The commissioners were moved from one circuit to another, year after year, so that they should not establish too intimate relations with one set of counts. Usually, too, the pair of *missi* were made up of one layman and one bishop, so that the two might be the more ready to check each other.

c. *Charlemagne's personal activity.* This simple system worked wonderfully well in Charlemagne's lifetime, largely because

¹ Cf. § 63. Read Emerson's *Introduction*, 220, 221, and Adams' *Civilization*, 160-162. See also Charlemagne's instructions to the *missi*, in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 139-143.

of his own marvelous activity. Despite the terrible conditions of the roads, and the other hardships of travel in those times, the king was constantly on the move, journeying from end to end of his vast dominions and attending unweariedly to its wants. No commercial traveler of to-day travels more faithfully, and none dreams of meeting such hardships.

d. Capitularies. With the help of his chief advisers, the king drew up collections of laws to suit the needs of his people. These collections are known as capitularies.¹

e. Mayfields. To keep in closer touch with popular wishes and feelings in all parts of the kingdom, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. All freemen could attend and speak. Sometimes, especially when war was to be decided upon, this "mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times it was made up only of the great nobles and churchmen.

To these assemblies the capitularies were read; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. Law-making was in the hands of the king; and at the most, the assemblies could only bring to bear upon him the force of public opinion.

682. Relations to the Church.—In the lifetime of Charlemagne the popes secured little of the control they were afterward to exercise in the Empire. Charles himself promulgated religious regulations. He appointed all bishops or controlled their appointment, and he heard appeals from the bishops and archbishops. He also called special church councils, at which he presided in person. The decrees of these councils he sanctioned; and, in one case at least,² he declared doctrines false that had just been approved by the Pope.

683. Schools and Education.—Attention has already been called (§ 666) to Charlemagne's interest in learning. The difficulties in building up a better education were almost beyond our belief. There seemed no place to begin. Not only

¹ Special report upon the extracts in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, VI, No. 5, and in Robinson's *Readings*, I, ch. vii.

² Special report: the Council of Frankfort, 794 A.D.

the nobles, but even many of the better clergy were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor.

Charlemagne did much. He secured more learned men for the clergy. He brought about the opening of schools in many of the monasteries and at the seats of some of the bishops; and he urged that these schools should not only train the clergy but that they should teach all children to read, even those of serfs. Some of the schools established or revived at this time, as at Tours and Orleans, acquired much fame. For teachers, learned men were brought from Italy, where the Roman culture best survived. Charlemagne also established a famous "School of the Palace" for the young nobles of the court, and the scholar *Alcuin* was induced to come from England to direct it. The emperor himself, when time permitted, studied at the tasks of the boys.

With great zeal, too, he strove to secure a true copying of valuable manuscripts, and especially a correction of errors that had crept into the services of the church through careless copying or mis-writing.

684. The Place of Charlemagne's Empire in History.—In the seventh century there were four great forces contending for Western Europe,—the Greek Empire, the Saracens, the Franks, and the Papacy. By the year 800, the Carolingians had excluded two and had fused the other two into the revived Roman Empire.

For centuries more, this Roman Empire was to be one of the most important institutions in Europe. It embodied the Roman idea of universal centralized authority, and it served partly to counteract the Teutonic over-tendency to individualism. Barbarism and anarchy were again to break in, after the death of the great Charles; but the imperial idea to which he had given new life and new meaning was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against the forces of anarchy in behalf of order, peace, and progress.

685. The Place of Charlemagne.—For his lifetime, Charlemagne restored order to Europe. It is true he was ahead of

his age, and, after his death, his great design in many respects broke to pieces. It is true, too, that he built upon the work of his father and grandfather, and that he could not have accomplished much without them. But he towers above them, and above all other men from the fifth to the fifteenth century, — easily the greatest figure of a thousand years.

He stands for five great movements. He expanded the area of civilization, created one great Romano-Teutonic state, revived the Roman Empire in the West for the outward form of this state, reorganized the church and civil society, and brought about a revival of learning. Looking at this work as a whole, we may say he wrought wisely to combine the best elements of Roman and of Teutonic society into a new civilization. In his Empire the various streams of influence that we have traced in Ancient History were at last fused in one great current, — and Modern History was begun.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Good brief treatments of Charlemagne's work are given in Emerton, *Introduction*, 180-235; Adams, *Civilization*, 154-169; and Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, 110-137. Einhard's contemporary *Life of Charlemagne* is published in Harper's Half-Hour Series (30 cents), and extracts from this work and from the Capitularies are given in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 128-146. For longer modern studies, see Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, Mombert's *Charles the Great*, Cutt's *Charlemagne*, Mullinger's *Schools of Charles the Great*, West's *Alcuin*, Sergeant's *Franks*, Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*.

EXERCISES ON PART VI.

1. Topical and "catchword" reviews: (a) *The church* (see Part V also); (b) *The Franks*; (c) *The Empire*.

2. *Dates* to be added for events subsequent to the Teutonic invasions: 378, 410, 476, 622, 732, 800.

What events connected with the invasions can the student locate, in order, between 378 and 476? What events in the history of the Empire between 476 and 732? (Similar tests for other periods.)

3. *Battles*. Add to previous lists five battles for the period 378-800.

APPENDIX.

I. TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES.

[Until about 800, dates can only be estimated in round numbers.]

B.C.	GREECE.	B.C.	THE EAST.
		5000 . .	Civilization appears in Egypt and Chaldea.
		3800 . .	Sargon the Elder.
		2800 . .	The political center in Egypt moves up the river from Memphis to Thebes.
		2700 . .	A voluminous Chaldean literature (§ 45).
2500-1300	Mycenaean civilization on the coasts and islands of the Aegean (§ 74). Schliemann's Troy destroyed, 2500.	2400 . .	The political center in Chaldea moves up the river to Babylon.
		2234 . .	Beginning of the recorded astronomical observations at Babylon (§ 38).
		2000 . .	Chaldean rule extended over Syria. The Hyksos in Egypt. Abraham.
		1800 . .	Beginning of Assyria. The Hebrews enter Egypt.
		1600 . .	Expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.
		1500 . .	Egypt conquers Asia to the Tigris. Phoenician supremacy in the Aegean.

B.C.	B.C.
	1380 . . Rameses II.
	1320 . . Libyan attack upon Egypt. Hebrew Exo- dus. Assyria attains brief su- premacy over Chaldea. Hittite Empire in Syria.
1300-1000 Achaean civilization.	1280 . . The Hebrews enter Pales- tine.
1200 or 1100 The Trojan War.	1125 . . First Assyrian Empire.
	1055 . . David, king of the He- brews.
1000 . . Early Homeric poems. The Dorian invasion. Kingship at Athens lim- ited after the death of Codrus.	1000 . . Zoroaster.
1000-900 Greek colonization of the islands of the Aegean and the Asiatic coast.	975 (?) . The Hebrew state divided.
800-600. Wider Greek coloniza- tion.	850 (?) . Carthage founded.
776 . . First recorded Olympiad. (753 . . Legendary date for the founding of Rome.)	
752 . . Ten-year archons at Athens.	
	745 . . Second Assyrian Empire; Tiglath-Pileser II.
	730 . . Egypt conquered by Ethi- opia.
	722 . . Sargon II carries the Ten Tribes into Assyrian captivity.
700 . . King Pheidon at Argos.	672 . . Egypt conquered by As- syria.
682 . . Nine annual archons at Athens.	653 . . Egyptian revolt; Psam- metichus.
650-500. The Lyric Age.	640 . . Revolt of the Medes against Assyria.
	632 . . Scythian irruption.
	625 . . The Babylonian Empire.

B.C.		B.C.	
461 . .	Rupture between Sparta and Athens ; ostracism of Cimon.		
461-429 .	Leadership of Pericles.		
459 . .	The Athenian expedition to Egypt.		
458 . .	Long Walls at Athens.		
457 . .	Battle of Tanagra.		
454 . .	Athenian disaster in Egypt.	451-449 .	The Decemvirs ; the twelve tables ; second secession of the plebs ; the Valerian-Horatian Laws.
446 . .	Loss of Boeotia by Athens ; loss of Megaris.	445 . .	Intermarriage between the orders legalized.
445 . .	Thirty Years' Truce.	444 . .	Consular tribunes.
		443 . .	Censors.
438 . .	The Parthenon completed.		
431-404 .	Peloponnesian War.		
429 . .	Death of Pericles.		
415-413 .	The Sicilian expedition.		
411 . .	The "Four Hundred" at Athens.	409 . .	Plebeians attain the quaestorship.
408 . .	Arginusae.		
405 . .	Aegospotami.		
404 . .	Surrender of Athens ; the thirty tyrants.		
404-371 .	Supremacy of Sparta.		
403 . .	Thrasybulus frees Athens.		
401 . .	March of the Ten Thousand Greeks.	400 . .	Plebeians attain the consular tribuneship.
399 . .	Execution of Socrates.		
396 . .	Agesilaus invades Asia.		
395-387 .	The Corinthian War.		
394 . .	Cnidus.		
393 . .	Athens' Long Walls rebuilt.	390 . .	Gauls sack Rome.
387 . .	Peace of Antalcidas.	387 . .	The Tribes increased to twenty-five.
383-379 .	Sparta crushes the Chalcidic Confederacy.		

B.C.	B.C.
371 . . . Leuctra.	367 . . . The Licinian Laws.
371-362 . Theban leadership.	366 . . . Praetorship established.
371 . . . Megalopolis founded.	
362 . . . Battle of Mantinea.	358 . . . The Tribes increased to twenty-seven.
359-336 . Philip king of Macedon.	356 . . . Plebeians attain the dic- tatorship.
	351 . . . Plebeians attain the cen- sorship.
351 . . . First Philippic of Demos- thenes.	
348 . . . Death of Plato.	343-341 . First Samnite War.
345-337 . Timoleon the Liberator.	340-338 . The Latin War.
338 . . . Chaeronea.	337 . . . The plebeians attain the praetorship.
336-323 . Rule of Alexander the Great.	
334 . . . The Granicus.	
333 . . . Issus.	
332 . . . Siege of Tyre; Alexan- dria founded.	332 . . . The Tribes increased to twenty-nine.
331 . . . Arbela.	326-304 . Second Samnite War.
326 . . . Expedition of Nearchus.	
323-276 . Wars of the Succession.	
322 . . . Death of Aristotle.	321 . . . Caudine Forks.
	312 . . . Appius Claudius, censor.
301 . . . Ipsus.	300 . . . Plebeians become augurs and pontiffs.
	299 . . . The Tribes increased to thirty-three.
	298-290 . Third Samnite War.
	287 . . . Hortensian Law.
285-247 . Ptolemy Philadelphus.	
280 . . . The Achaean League.	280-275 . War between Rome and Pyrrhus; Rome ab- sorbs Greek Italy.
278 . . . The Gallic invasion.	266 . . . Conquest of the Gauls to the Rubicon.
	264-241 . First Punic War; most of Sicily becomes Roman.
245 . . . Aratus, general of the Achaean League.	

TEUTONIC AND ROMAN EUROPE.

A.D.

- 376 . . . The Visigoths admitted into the Empire.**
 378 . . . Adrianople.
 402 . . . Alaric invades Italy.
 406 . . . Vandals invade Gaul and Spain.
 410 . . . Alaric sacks Rome.
 414-419 . . . Visigoths settle in Spain.
 429 . . . Vandals invade Africa.
 449 . . . Saxons (Jutes) invade Britain.
 451 . . . Attila repulsed at Châlons.
 455 . . . Rome sacked by the Vandals.
 476 . . . Odovaker deposes Romulus Augustulus.
 486 . . . Clovis at Soissons.
 489-493 . . . Theodoric conquers Odovaker.
 493-553 . . . Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.
 496 . . . Clovis at Strasburg; accepts Catholic Christianity.
 [527-565 . . . Justinian I, emperor.]
 533-553 . . . Belisarius and Narses reconquer Italy and Africa for the
 Empire.
 568 . . . The Lombards enter Italy.
 590 . . . Gregory the Great becomes Pope.
 [610-641 . . . Heraclius, emperor, saves Europe from the Persians.]
 [622 . . . The Mohammedan Hegira.]
 628-638 . . . Dagobert.
 687 . . . Battle of Testry.
 711 . . . The Saracens enter Spain.
 [717 . . . Leo III, at Constantinople, repulses the main Saracenic
 invasion of Europe.]
 732 . . . Charles the Hammerer repulses the Spanish Mohammedans
 at Tours.
 751 . . . Pippin, king of the Franks.
 768 . . . Charlemagne, king of the Franks.
 [797 . . . Irene seizes the imperial throne at Constantinople.]
 800 . . . Charlemagne crowned emperor at Rome.
 814 . . . Death of Charlemagne.

II. A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following works are classified, first by subject, according to the general treatment in this text-book; and then, under each subject, in two groups. In the judgment of the writer, all high school libraries should contain Group I under each division, or an equivalent; and large high schools may, with advantage, possess Group II also. A reduction of from twenty to thirty per cent from the list price can usually be obtained. For a discussion of the value of the principal works, it is well to consult Charles Kendall Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature* (Harpers).

Works marked with a * should be present in more than one copy.

When a book belongs to a series, the name of the series, in quotation marks, is usually given in a parenthesis after the title. In the case of translations, the translator's name is sometimes given after the title, in parenthesis. When a work has been completely revised, two dates are given,—one for the original publication (in parenthesis) and one for the latest revision.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY. (See Introduction.)

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GROUP I.

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 * — *Dawn of Civilization*. \$7.50. Appleton 1896.
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 — *The Count of the Saxon Shore*. Fifth century A.D.
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 FARRAR (F. W.), *Darkness and Dawn*. Times of Nero.
 JAMES (G. P. R.), *Attila*.
 KINGSLEY (CHARLES), *Hypatia*. Fourth century A.D.
 NEWMAN (J. H.), *Callista*. A story of the persecutions.
 PATER (WALTER), *Marius the Epicurean*. Times of the Antonines.
 WALLACE, *Ben Hur*. Time of Christ.
 WARE (W.), *Zenobia*.
 — *Julian*.
 — *Aurelian*.

INDEX.

Pronunciation, except for the more familiar names and terms, is indicated by accentuation and division into syllables. As a rule, the simpler diacritical marks of Webster's *International Dictionary* are used. The soft aspirated guttural *g* of the German is represented by *g*, the guttural *ch* by *ch*, and the French *n* by *ñ*; italics are used to mark silent letters; \bar{u} and $\bar{e} = \bar{e}$; $\bar{r}i = i$; $\bar{e}u = \bar{u}$; $\bar{y} = i$; $\bar{y} = i$. In French words with an accent on the final syllable, that accent only is marked; but it should be understood that in such words the syllables as a rule receive nearly equal stress.

The index may be utilized for reviews upon "cross-topics," or topics that call for an arrangement different from that of the text. The most important subjects for such review are indicated in black italic.

The references are to sections, not to pages.

- Aachen** (äch'en), 678 *a*.
Abraham, 33, 46 *a*, 652; founder of Hebrew race, 52.
Absolute monarchy, in Egypt, 12; in Assyria, 42; character of Oriental, 66, 68 *c*; in Greek states, 82, 93, 95; in early Rome, 282, 292; new monarchy of Caesar, 456-458, 463; of Augustus, 473, 496-498; medicine of, renewed by Diocletian, 548, 556; nature of, 557; growth toward, in Teutonic states, 643 *a*; Mohammedan, 653; under Charlemagne, 681.
Absolutism, 557 note.
Abys-sin'i-a, 6; Abyssinians in Egypt, 6, 11 note.
Academy, at Athens, 182.
Ac-ar-nä'ni-a, 160, 242.
Ac-cä'di-ans, first inhabitants of Chaldea, 36; cuneiform writing, 37; language of, 38.
A-chäe'a, part of Athenian league, 165.
Achaea, Greece becomes Province of, 397 note.
Achaean culture, 75, 76-84; economic side of, 76-77; the tribe, 78-81; government, 82-84; overthrown by Dorians, 85-89.
Achaean League, 241, 242, 243-251; origin, 243; constitution, 244; first expansion beyond Achaea, 245; Aratus and, 246; growth, 247; freeing of Athens and Argos, 248; conflict with Sparta, 249; calls in Macedonia, 250; final decline, 251, 304, 397.
Achaeans, mythical origin of, 87 *b*. See Achaean culture.
Achaeus, fabled ancestor of Achaeans, 87 *b*.
A-chil'lēs, 77, 84, 188, 219.
Äc'o-lyt', 565 note.
A-cröp'o-lis, the central hill-fort about which grew Greek and Latin cities, 80, 266, 270.
Acropolis of Athens, 107, 118, 147, 182, 184, 190 note, 204; plan of, 180.
Ac'ti-um, battle of, 472, 473, 521 note.
Adrianople, battle of, 563, 589.
Adriatic Sea, the, Greek colonies on, 91; mentioned, 228, 257, 259, 590; a Roman sea, 367; divides Greek and Roman civilizations, 400; divides Greek and Latin Empires, 564, 610; divides Greek and Latin churches, 659 *b*, 660, 682; Venice founded on, 601.
Äe'dile, 345, 347, 405, 411.
Ae-gē'an Sea, 70, 71 *d*, 86, 129 *a* note, 134, 157, 158, 159, 165, 171, 184, 192, 194, 206; colonization of coasts,

References are to sections.

- 89-90; Persian fleet in, 137, 138, 156, 167; Confederacy of Rhodes in, 234.
- Ae-gi'na**, at war with Athens, 133 *b*, 165; gains prize of merit at Salamis, 149 *a*; mentioned, 147.
- Ae-gos-pōt'a-mi**, battle of, 200; Conon at, 206; mentioned, 201, 202, 205.
- Ae-mil'i-ā'nus**, 494.
- Ae-nē'as**, 451.
- Ae-nē'id**, 525.
- Ae-ō'li-ans**, 87 *b*.
- Āe'o-lus**, 87 *b*.
- Āe'qui-ans**, 260.
- Aeschylus** (ēs'ki-lus), 148 note, 183; quoted, 148, 189 *a*; portrait bust, 183.
- A-ē'ti-us**, 599, 600, 601, 603, 604.
- Ae-tō'li-an League**, 242, 251, 391 note, 394.
- Af-ghan-is-tān'**, in Persian Empire, 60; Alexander in, 222.
- Africa**, early civilization in, 6; circumnavigation of, 21 *e* and note; Phoenician sailors on coast of, 49; Greek colonies in, 91; Roman army sent to, 373, 383, 387; Jugurthine war in, 433; Caesar in, 461; Moors, 545; diocese of, 557; Vandals in, 595, 602, 603; reconquered by Justinian, 612; conquered by Mohammedans, 654.
- African desert**, the, boundary of Roman Empire, 506; Roman irrigation, 513.
- Ag-a-mēm'non**, king of Mycenae, 73 *b*, 84.
- Age of Pericles**, 168-191, 204.
- A-gēs-1-lā'us**, king of Sparta, 205.
- Ā'gis**, reforming king of Sparta, 249.
- Ag'o-ra**, in Athens, 181.
- Agrarian laws**, Solon's, 111; in Licinian Rogations, 322, 404 note; of Tiberius Gracchus, 422-425, 431; defined, 422 note; of Julius Caesar, 464.
- A-gric'o-la**, 485, 488, 510.
- Agriculture**, Egyptian, 12; Chaldean, 32 *a*, 40; Greek, 77; in Sparta, 98; in Athens, 105, 111; Italian, 256, 304, 350; decay, 404, 408; under the Empire, 514; Cato on, 523; in later Empire, 575; German, 583; revived in Italy under Theodoric, 607; in Charlemagne's Empire, 680.
- A-grip'pa**, minister of Augustus, 521 note; baths of, 519.
- Aistulf** (is'tulf), 663.
- Aix** (āks), 435.
- Ā'ar-ic**, 590, 591, 592, 603.
- Alba Longa**, 266, 270, 272.
- Al-caē'us**, 129 *a*.
- Al'chem-y**, 657.
- Al-ci-bi'a-dēs**, 197.
- Alc'man**, 129 *a*.
- Alcuin** (āl'kwīn), 683.
- Alemanni** (ä-lä-män'nē), 545, 562, 563, 582, 617.
- Alexander Se-vē'rus**, 494, 495, 545, 547.
- Alexander the Great**, 21 *c*, 21 *f*, 39, 60, 205; speech to army, 213; conquests of, 219-222; youth and character, 219; accession and restoration of order, 220; invades Asia as champion of Hellas, 220, 221; Persian campaigns, 60, 220, 221; capture of Tyre, 51, 221 *b*; in the far East, 222; results of work, 223-226; expanding views, 223; the many Alexandrias, 224; as Apollo, 224; significance of, 226; death, 226, 227; expansion of Greece under, 252, 253, 333, 373, 405; compared with Caesar, 467.
- Alexandria**, name of many Greek cities in Asia after Alexander, 224.
- Alexandria in Egypt**, 21 *f*, 240; founded, 221 *b*, 224; glory of, 232, 235; library at, 239; Caesar at, 461, note; Antony at, 472; under Roman Empire, 514; university at, 518; patriarchate of, 565.
- Alexandrian Age**, the, 235-240.
- Alexandrian Library**, 239.
- Alexandrian Museum**, 239.
- Algebra**, used by the Saracens, 657.
- Allia**, battle of the, 327.
- "Alles"** (*socii*), the Italian, 341, 412; treated like subjects, 413; but do not pay tribute, 415 note; war of

References are to sections.

- Rome with, 437; admitted to Roman citizenship, 438.
- Alphabet**, germs of, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, 16; invented by Phoenicians, 50; Greek, 74, 85; Cretan, 74 note; German, 583.
- Alps**, boundary of Italy, 255, 259, 368; crossed by Hannibal, 373; by Hasdrubal, 382; by Cimbri, 434; by Germans, 591.
- Ambrose**, bishop of Milan, 563, 579 *b*.
- Am-mi-ā'nus**, 579 *a*.
- Amphictionies**, 87 *c*, 90, 157 note, 270.
- Am-phic-ty-ōn'ic League**, the, 87 *c*.
- Am-phi-thē'a-ter**, 260, 521.
- Am'ten**, 12 and note.
- A-nāb'a-sis**, 185, 205 note.
- An-āc're-on**, 116, 129 *a*.
- An-āx-āg'o-ras**, 186, 191 *b*.
- An-āx-l-mān'der**, 130.
- An-āx-Im'1-nēs**, 130.
- Ancestor worship**, in Egypt, 18; in Chaldea and Assyria, 45; in Greece, 75, 78, 87 *c*; Roman, 278, 476.
- Ancient history**, definition of, 1; field covered, 3.
- An'cus Mar'ti-us**, 268.
- Angles**, 597.
- Animal worship**, in Egypt, 18.
- Anio River**, the, 307, 317.
- Annals**, early Roman, 267, 280 *a*.
- An-tāl'ci-das**, Peace of, 207.
- Anthony**, Saint, 579 *b*.
- An-tig'o-nus**, 227.
- Antioch**, 235; under Roman Empire, 514; captured by Persians, 545; patriarchate of, 565; falls before Mohammedans, 660.
- An-ti'o-chus**, of Syria, 392; war with Rome, 393.
- An-tō-nines**, the, 486-491, 492, 513.
- An-to-ni'nus**, Marcus Au-rē'l-i-us, 490, 512, 527, 529, 532, 534, 536, 538, 540, 542, 545, 546, 588; extracts from writings, 536.
- An-to-ni'nus**, Pius, 489, 510, 529, 542.
- An-tō'ni-us**, Marcus, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472.
- Antony, Mark**. See Antonius.
- A-pōl'lēs**, Greek painter, 237.
- Apennines**, the, 255, 257; Samnites in, 332; Roman State crosses, 368; crossed by Hannibal, 373.
- Aph-ro-dī'te**, 88.
- A-pōl'lo**, 88; temple of, at Delphi, 87 *c*; 117, 229 note; Belvidere, 229 and note, 237.
- "Apologies,"** of the Church Fathers, 547.
- "Apostolical Constitutions,"** the, 580.
- Applan**, 351 note, 527.
- Applan Way**, the, 343, 344.
- Appius Claudius**, the decemvir, 314, 316.
- Appius Claudius**, censor and senator, 333, 344, 346 *a*.
- Apse**, 521.
- Aqua Sextiæ** (ā'kwā sex'tī-æ), battle of, 435.
- Aqueduct at Nîmes** (nēm), 513.
- Aqueduct of Claudius**, 343 *b*.
- Aquitaine** (ā-kwī-tān'), 647, 649, 650, 656.
- A-rā'bi-a**, 52, 232; Arabians in Egypt, 11 note, 21 *b*; modern, in Chaldea, 32 *a*; language, 36 note; boundary of Roman Empire, 506; commerce, 513; Mohammedanism and, 651-653.
- Arabic notation**, 657.
- A-rā'tus**, general of Achaean League, 245-250; character and services, 246; enmity to Lydiads, 247; betrayal of Corinth, 250.
- Ar-bē'la**, battle of, 221 *c*.
- Ar-cā'di-a**, 208, 211, 247.
- Ar-cā'di-us**, 564, 590.
- Arch**, Egyptian, 15; Etruscan, 260; in Roman architecture, 520; triumphal, 521.
- Archbishops**, 565.
- Ar-chī'o-chus**, 129 *a*.
- Ar-chi-mē'dēs**, 240, 377 note.
- Architecture**, in Egypt, 15; in Chaldea and Assyria, 41; Oriental contrasted with European, 68 *b*; in Greece, 127; in Athens, 182; Roman, 520-522, 607; early Christian, 522.

References are to sections.

- Pericles, 164; marvelous activity, 165; loss of land empire, 166; truce with Sparta, 167; in peace, 168-191; three forms of greatness, 168; material strength, 169-171; relative power, 169; population, 170; revenue, 171; constitution of Pericles, 172-180; the empire, 179; intellectual and artistic development in, 181-191; Peloponnesian War, 98, 192-200; resources, 193; plague, 194; naval supremacy, 196; new leaders, 197; disaster in Sicily, 198; rule of the Four Hundred, 199; siege and surrender, 200, 201; rule of the Thirty, 204; Corinthian War against Sparta, 206-207; Long Walls rebuilt, 206; attempted surprise by Sparta, 208; new Athenian confederacy, 209; shelters Theban exiles, 209; joins Sparta against Thebes, 210, 211, 212; contest with Philip, 214, 216, 217; Chaeronea, 216; philosophic center in Alexandrian Age, 235, 238, 239; freed from Macedonian garrison by Aratus, 248; refuses to join Achaean League, 248 note; "ally" of Rome, 392; welcomes Mithridates, 441; center of learning under Roman Empire, 518; sacked by Goths, 545; Julian studies at, 562; spared by Alaric, 590.
- A'thos**, Mount, 137, 138; canal, 142.
- Atlantic**, 49, 506.
- At'ta-lids**, 234.
- At'ti-ca**, 184; products, 71 c; tribes of, 80, 104; Ionian, 86, 89, 90, 102; consolidation of, 101; cavalry of, 106; festivals, 116; invaded by Euboeans and Thebans, 118; metics, 120; demes, 121; poets, 129 a; mines, 141; Mardonius in, 150, 153; attempted invasion by Sparta, 161, 164; Spartan invasion, 166, 167; population, 170, 179; ravaged by Spartans, 193; plague, 194.
- Attic comedy**, 183.
- At'til-a**, 599, 600, 601, 603.
- Augurs**, 280, 281, 302 note, 324.
- Augustan Age**, the, 475, 525.
- Au'gus-tine**, missionary to Saxons in Britain, 623 note.
- Augustine, Saint**, 567, 579 b, 580, 591 note.
- Augustus**, 21 f, 232; appearance at Rome, 468; in triumvirate, 469, 470; at Philippi, 471; Actium, 472; Emperor, 473-476; master of Roman world, 473; character, 474; "Age" of, 475; worship of, 476; summary of reign, 478; and Assembly, 496; keeps Republican forms, 496; power, 497, 498; corrects frontiers, 507; and citizenship, 515; and universities, 518; mausoleum, 519; and Agrippa, 521 note; and Pollio, 533; compared to Constantine, 559; and coloni, 575; name a title for future emperors, 497.
- Au'ra-māz'da** (or A-hu'ra Māz'da), 62.
- Aurelian**, emperor, 494, 495, 509, 545, 546, 548, 588.
- Au-rē'li-us**, Marcus, see Antoninus.
- Aus'pic-es**, Roman, 280 b; 302 note, 321.
- Aus-trā'si-a**, 647, 649, 650.
- Autun** (ō-tūn'), 519.
- Avars**, 598, 673.
- Ā'ven-tine**, 271, 312.
- Bā'al**, 51, 358.
- Babylon**, 21 c, 205, 222, 225; capital, 32 c, 33; conquered by Assyria, 34; revolt, 34; New Babylonian Empire, 35, 55, 59 b, 60; library at, 38; astronomy in, 39; Hanging Gardens of, 41; legal code, 44, 46 b; character, 45; commerce, 49; Persian capture, 35, 56, 64, 132; influence on Persia, 61; Alexander's conquest, 221 c; Alexander dies at, 222.
- Bāc'tri-a**, 222, 231, 232.
- Bag'dad**, 656.
- Bal-bi'nus**, 494.
- Ballot**, in Roman Assemblies, 420.
- Baltic Sea**, 582; Phoenician sailors in, 49.
- Barbarian invasions**, Scythian, 34, 62; from the east, 132 and note; by the Gauls into Graeco-Oriental

References are to sections.

- world, 229; into Italy, 260, 327, 402; Cimbri and Teutones, 434, 435; frontiers of Roman Empire, 495, 503; in third century, 545; successful in fourth century, 589 ff. (see Germans); Huns repulsed, 599-601.
- Barbarians**, 87 a, 152. See Scythians, Gauls, Germans, Slavs, Huns, Avars.
- Barca family**, 370.
- "Barrack Emperors,"** 493-495, 496, 499, 548.
- Basil, Saint**, 579 b.
- Bā-si-leus'**, 93.
- Basileus archon**, 93, 522 note.
- Ba-sil'i-ca**, 522.
- Bavaria**, 619, 649, 671.
- Bel-l-sā'ri-us**, 595, 612.
- Bel-vi-dēre'**, Apollo, 229 note, 237.
- Benedict, Saint**, 636; the "rule" of, 636, 637 note.
- Benedictines**, the, 636, 637.
- Benefit of Clergy**, origin, 519 note.
- Ben-e-vēn'tum**, battle of, 333.
- Beowulf** (bē'ō-wulf or bā'ō-wūlf), 584.
- Berbers**, 11 note, 358.
- Berlin Papyrus**, 12, 24, 26.
- Bertha**, queen, 623 note.
- Bible**, the, translated into Greek (Old Testament), 239; into Latin, 579 b; into Gothic, 579 b.
- Bib'ū-lus**, 453.
- Bishops**, 565.
- Bi-thy'n'i-a**, 501.
- Black Death**, the, 546 note.
- Black Sea**, the, 49, 60, 70, 91, 140 note, 158, 506, 513, 525, 545.
- Bō-a-di-cē'a**, 511.
- Boe-ō'ti-a**, cities of, 101; poets of, 129 a, 129 b; struggle with Phocis, 133 b; Mardonius in, 150; under Athenian influence, 165; falls away from Athens, 166; Leuctra, 210.
- Boeotian league**, 207.
- Bohemia**, 507, 510, 545 note, 598 note.
- Bokhara** (boch-ā'ra), 64.
- Book of the Dead**, Egyptian, 22.
- Bordeaux** (bōr-dō'), 519.
- Bōs'pho-rus**, 91.
- Brās'i-das**, 197.
- Brēn'nus**, 327 note.
- Britain**, Phoenician sailors in, 49, 50; Caesar in, 454; Roman conquest of Southern, 481; conquest completed, 485, 508, 511; Hadrian's Wall in, 488; diocese of, 553; conversion, 584; abandoned by Roman Empire, 509, 597, 603; Teutonic invasions, 597, 603; gradual conquest, 621; a Teutonic state, 622; conversion to Christianity, 623; old Celtic church in North, 623; political results of conversion, 624.
- Bronze**, use of, by the ancients, 14 and note; supplied by Phoenicians, 50; pitcher of, from Mycenae, 73; weapons of, discovered at Troy, 73 a; dagger of, from Mycenae, 73 b; in Mycenaean civilization, 74; Etruscan, 260.
- Brū'tus** (Lucius Junius), first consul of Rome, 292 note, 351.
- Brutus** (Marcus), the Republican, 466, 471.
- Bulgaria**, 507.
- Bulgarians**, 598 note.
- Burgundians**, 582; in Gaul, 593, 594, 603; at Chalons, 599; numbers, 628; Arians, 618, 619; conquered by Clovis, 619.
- Burgundy**, 647.
- Bŷ'zān-tīne Empire**, 610-613, 660, 662, 676-679. See Roman Empire in the East.
- By-zān'ti-um**, 91, 155 note, 228, 559.
- Cē'diz**, founded by Phoenicians, 50.
- Cāē'li-an Hill**, the, 271.
- Caesar**, Caius Julius, 17; studied oratory at Rhodes, 235 note; Corinth rebuilt by, 397 note; military chief, 403, 431, 456; in hiding from Sulla, 443 note; appears as leader, 451; in Spain, 452; rise at Rome, 453-455; in Gaul, 454; rupture with Pompey, 455; five years' rule, 456-467; hope of subject nations, 457; crosses Rubicon, 459; campaign in Italy, 459; in Spain and Greece, 460; in Asia, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, 461; constructive work, 462-465; clemency, 462; form of his

References are to sections.

- government, 463, 497; reforms, 464; assassination of, 466; character, 467; frontiers, 506; and citizenship, 575; writings, 524; and Diocletian, 559, 588, 613; name a title for future rulers and assistants, 497, 550.
- Caesars**, the, 550.
- Caledonia**, 485.
- Calendar**, Egyptian, 17; Roman, 280 *a*, 464 and note.
- Cal-ig'ū-la**, 480, 482, 512.
- Caliphs**, the, 653.
- Cāl'li-as**, Peace of, 167.
- Cal-lic'ra-tēs**, 182.
- Cal-li'nus**, 129 *a*.
- Ca-mil'lus**, 326 note.
- Cam-pā'ni-a**, 290, 330, 333, 336.
- Campus Mar'tius** (mar'sh'us), 520.
- Cē'na-an**, 53.
- Can'næ**, battle of, 374, 376, 379, 381, 401.
- Canton**, German, 586; Latin, see Tribes.
- Capital**, from Karnak, 15; Doric, 127; Ionic, 127; Corinthian, 127.
- Cap'i-to-lin'e Hill**, the, 271, 451.
- Ca-pit'ū-lā'ries**, of Charlemagne, 681 *d*.
- Cap-pa-dō'ci-ans**, 64.
- Capri** (cū'prē), 479.
- Cap'ū-a**, 375, 380, 384 note, 419, 439, 464.
- Car-a-cāl'la**, 494, 495, 515; baths of, 519.
- Cā'ri-ans**, 64, 158.
- Ca-ri'nus**, 494.
- Car-o-lin'gi-ans**, 664 ff.; term explained, 668 note.
- Cār'o-lus Māg'nus**, 667. See Charlemagne.
- Cār'thage**, Phoenician colony, 50, 133 *a*; attacks Greeks in Sicily, 133 *a*, 143; defeated at Himera, 150, 218; held in check by Athenian name, 169; renews attacks on Sicily, 201; Punic wars mentioned, 230, 232, 258; attacked by Pyrrhus, 333; mistress of western Mediterranean, 357; rival of Rome, 358; in Sicily, 360; resources, 361; First Punic War, loses Sicily, 365; loses Sardinia, 366; Second Punic War, loses Spain, 370-384; Third Punic War, 387-390; blotted out, 390; rebuilt by Octavius, 397 note; territory colonized by Gracchus, 428; capital of Vandal kingdom, 595.
- Cā'rus**, 494.
- Cās'pi-an Sea**, 49, 60.
- Cassius** (cash'i-us), 424, 466, 471.
- Cassius, Spu'ri-us**, 312 note, 322, 325.
- Caste**, none in Egypt, 12; in India, 12 note; tendency to, in Roman Empire, 576.
- Catholic church**, 565. See Church.
- Cāt'i-lin'e**, 452.
- Cā'to**, Mār'cus Por'ti-us, 418, 420, 523, 532.
- Cato**, the Younger, 451, 461 note.
- Ca-tū'l'us**, 524.
- Cau'ca-sus**, 60.
- Cau'dine Forks**, battle of the, 332, 351.
- Celts**, 597, 598.
- Censors**, 320, 324 note, 345, 347, 420.
- Census**, of Servius, 286; of Caesar, 464; of Augustus, 475, 476.
- Centralization**, term explained, 557 note.
- Centuries**, Army of, 286; Assembly of, see Roman Assembly.
- Cē'os**, 129 *a*.
- Cer-a-mi'cus**, 182.
- Cē'rēs**, 88.
- Cer-y-nō'a**, 243.
- Chær-o-nē'a**, battle of, 216, 219, 220.
- Chāl'cis**, 91 and note, 118, 214.
- Chal-dē'a**, early home of civilization, 5; isolation of, 6, 7; ceases, 30; geography and fertility, 32 *a*; First Chaldean Empire, 33; yields supremacy to Assyria, 34; Second (or Babylonian) Empire, 35; society and culture, 36-45; people, 36; cuneiform writing, 37; literature, 38; science, 39; calendar, 39; industry, 40; architecture and sculpture, 41; society, 43; legal codes, 44, 46 *b*; religion and morality, 45; commerce, 43, 49, 50; emigration of Abraham, 52. See Babylon.

References are to sections.

- Chalons** (shāl-lōū'), battle of, 600, 603.
- Champollion** (shōū-pōl-yōū'), 4.
- Charlemagne** (shārl'e-mān), 608, 634; accession and character, 667; wars, 669-671; ideal, 672; defensive wars against the Slavs, 673; revives Roman Empire in West, 674, 675; Empire of, 676-684; place in history, 685.
- Charles Mar-tel'**, 650, 656, 664.
- Charms**, Chaldean, 39.
- Ḫhō'ops**, king of Egypt, 15.
- Ḫher-so-nēse'**, 140 and note.
- Chester**, 354 note.
- Chiefs, Council of**, Homeric, 83, 84, 93, 94; origin of Spartan senate, 97; of Athenian Areopagus, 104; Roman, 282, 284; German, 586, 587.
- China**, early civilization, 3, 6, 67, 226; trade routes to, 513 note.
- Ḫh'os**, 160.
- Christ**, birth of, 253, 476, 478; crucifixion, 479.
- Christianity**, outgrowth of Hebrew religion, 57, 58; persecutions of, 482, 485, 487, 490, 495, 540, 541, 542; inner sources of power, 538; debt to Empire, 539; Constantine makes favored religion, 560; steps in victory, 561; Julian's attempt to overthrow, 562; persecutes pagans and heretics, 563, 567; reaction of its victory over the Empire, 568; reaction from the barbarians, 568, 632; in Dark Ages, 632. See Church and Heresies.
- Ḫhry-sōs'tom**, 567, 579 b.
- Church**, the, organization, 539, 541 b, 565; growth of creeds, 566; heresies, 566; persecution by, 567; attitude toward pagan learning, 580; and barbarians, 632; Great schism—Greek and Latin churches, 660. See Christianity.
- Church of St. Mary of the Angels**, 567.
- Cicero**, 416, 451, 452, 454, 468, 470; "Age" of, 524.
- Cilicia**, 64; pirate state in, 450.
- Cim'bri**, in Italy, 434, 435.
- Ci'mon**, 158, 162, 163, 173, 180.
- Cin'a-don**, 203 note.
- Cin-cin-nā'tus**, 326 note, 350.
- Cin'na**, 440, 451.
- Cis-āl'pine Gaul** (Gāl'i-a Cis-āl-pī'na), 255, 333, 369, 373, 384, 416, 454, 457, 458.
- Cities**, in Egypt, 12; in Chaldea, 32 c, 33, 38; in Phoenicia, 51; in Asia Minor, 59 a, 134; excavated at Troy, 73 a; in Macedonian Empire, 224; built by Seleucus, 231; under Roman Empire, 500, 513, 514.
- Citizenship**, Athenian, 120, 122, 170, 174, 178, 179, 204; Spartan, 98, 203, 210; Roman, 273, 274, 305; extended to Latins, 331; rights, 335; classes, 336; decrease in Second Punic War, 404; distinction between citizens and subjects intensified, 412; Gracchi try to extend over Italy, 424, 430; Drusus' attempt, 436; social war, 437; extended to "Italians," 438; to Cisalpine Gaul, 457; to Gaul and Spain, 465; to other provincials by Claudius, 481; to all free inhabitants of the Empire, 495.
- City-state**, the, of the Greeks, 80, 81, 82; government of, 93-95; decline, 201; failure, 212; Roman, 253, 338.
- Ci-vi'lis**, 511.
- Civilization**, definition of, 1; Oriental, 3; progress of, in valleys of the Nile and Euphrates, 5; in Egypt, 10, 11-20; union of Egyptian and Chaldean, 30; Chaldean and Assyrian, 36-45; spread by Phoenicians, 50; expansion under Persian rule, 61-64; Oriental progress summarized, 65-67; European and Oriental contrasted, 68-69; Greek typical of European, 70-71; prehistoric in Greece, 72; Mycenaean, 74; Achaean, 75; unity of Greek, 87; Greek to 500 B.C., 127-130, 134; battle of Greek and Oriental in Persian wars, 152; Athenian, 168-191; merging of East and West, 223; Hellenism the active element in Graeco-Oriental culture, 224; expansion in Graeco-Oriental world, 228 and note, 235-

References are to sections.

- 240; Roman, 252-254; later in Rome than in Greece, 256; Etruscan, 260; Adriatic divided Latin from Greek, 400; wider home won for Roman, by Caesar, 454 *b*; in Britain, 485; adopted by Germans, 578; Mohammedan, 647.
- Clan**, in early Greece, 78, 79; clan villages, 80; in Athens, 104, 115, 119 *b*, 120, 121; Roman, 267 *b*, 268, 276; German, 586.
- Claudian**, poet, 516.
- Claudius, Emperor**, 481, 508, 515.
- Claudius II**, 494, 495, 545, 548.
- Claudius Nero**, 382.
- Cla-zôm'e-nae**, 207.
- Cleisthenes** (clis'the-nēs), 117, 180; reforms of, 118-126; mentioned, 141, 172, 174, 179, 204, 310 note.
- Clement, Saint**, 547.
- Cle-ôm'e-nēs**, reforming king of Sparta, 249, 250.
- Clē'on**, Athenian demagogue, 197.
- Cle-o-pā'tra**, 21 *f*, 232, 461, 472.
- Clēr'uchs**, Athenian colonists, 118, 170, 179, 336.
- Clients**, Roman, 273, 274, 277.
- Clī'vus Cap-i-to-li'nus**, 519.
- Clodowig** (clō'do-vio), see Clovis.
- Clotilda**, wife of Clovis, 618.
- Clovis**, 617, 618, 619, 628, 630.
- Clyde**, the, 485, 510.
- Cni'dus**, battle of, 206.
- Code**, the, of Justinian, 613 and note.
- Cog-no'men**, 383 note.
- Cōl'chis**, 50.
- Cōl-i-sē'um**, 519, 521, 528 note.
- Cōl'line Gate**, battle of the, 442.
- Cologne** (kō-lōn'), 596.
- Cō-lō'ni**, 575. See Serfs.
- Colonization**, Phoenician, 50; Greek, 89-92; Athenian cleruchies, 118, 170, 199; in Macedonian Empire, 224; early Roman, 304 *a*, 312, 332; "Latin" colonies, 339, 350; in Cisalpine Gaul, 360; extended by Caius Gracchus, 428; Caesar's, 464; Augustus's, 475.
- Colonnades**, in Greek architecture, 127, 181, 182.
- Co-lum'ban, Saint**, 623 note.
- Column**, in Egyptian architecture, 15; in Greek architecture, 127, 181.
- Comedy**, Roman, 523.
- Comitia Cen-tū-ri-ā'ta**, see Roman Assembly.
- Comitia Cū-ri-ā'ta**, see Roman Assembly.
- Comitia Tri-bū'ta**, see Roman Assembly.
- Comitium** (co-mish'i-um), 271.
- Commerce**, early routes of, 7, 30, 221 *c*; in Chaldea and Assyria, 43, 44, 49; Phoenician, 49; Greek, 71 *c*, 91; in Athens encouraged by Peisistratus, 116; growth in Athens, 118, 192; stimulated in Graeco-Oriental world, 225 *a*; Etruscan, 260; on the Tiber, 264; Roman, after Second Punic War, 404; under Empire, 513.
- Com-mer'ci-um**, 335 *a*.
- Com-mō'dus**, 491, 493, 495.
- "Companions"** (German institution of), 587.
- Com-pur-gā'tion**, 641.
- Con-nū'bi-um**, 335 *b*.
- Conon**, 206.
- Constans**, 562.
- Constantine, the Great**, 519, 521, 542, 548, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562.
- Constantine II**, 562.
- Constantine IV**, repulses Mohammedans, 655.
- Constantine VI**, 674, 676.
- Constantinople**, 559; threatened by Goths, 589; by Slavs, 611, 655; by Persians, 655; by Saracens, 655.
- Constantinople, Patriarchate of**, 565.
- Con stān'ti-us**, 558.
- Constantius II**, 562.
- Constitution**, of Egypt, 12; of Chaldea and Assyria, 42, 44; of Homeric Greece, 82-84; of Sparta, 97, 249; of Athens, Eupatrid, 103-108; Solon's, 110-114; of Cleisthenes, 119-126, 141; of Athenian Empire, 172-180; of the Four Hundred in Athens, 199; of Philip II in Greece, 216; of cities in the Macedonian Empire, 224; of Achaean League, 244; of Lycian Confederacy, 244

References are to sections.

- note; Roman, in regal period, 282-284; in early Republic, 293-298, 302, 307, 308, 310-312; of united Italy under Rome, 334-356; perfected Republican, 345-349; decay, 410; of Sulla, 444, 449, 453; of Caesar, 463; of Augustus, 473, 478, 496-502; of Diocletian, 548-557; of Teutonic tribes, 586, 587; of new Teutonic states, 643; of Charlemagne's empire, 681.
- Consular tribunes**, 320.
- Consuls**, Roman, 291, 292; character of office, 293-298; admission of plebeians to the office, 320-325; functions, 347; under the Empire, 498.
- Cor-cy'ra**, 91, 143, 160, 192 note, 367.
- Cor-dō'va**, 656.
- Co-rin'na**, 129 *a*, 191 *b*.
- Corinth**, 92 note, 95, 129 *a*, 147, 178; Hellenic Congress at, 143, 144; jealous of Athens, 153, 164, 165, 192 and note, 200; jealous of Sparta, 206; Congress of, under Philip, 216; in Achaean League, 247, 250; destroyed by Rome, 397 and note; rebuilt by Caesar, 397 note, 464; sacked by Goths, 545, 500.
- Corinthian order of architecture**, 127, 520.
- Corinthian War**, 206-207.
- Corinth, Isthmus of**, 109 note, 144, 151, 164, 165, 247.
- Cor-i-o-lā'nus**, 326 note.
- Cornelia**, 421, 431.
- Corsica**, 358, 366, 369.
- Cos**, 228.
- Council of Achaean League**, 244.
- Council of Five Hundred**, Athenian, 174.
- Council of NI-caē'a**, 566 and note.
- "**Council of the Plebs**," 318 note.
- Cras'sus**, 447, 449, 453, 455.
- Cretan alphabet**, 74 note.
- Crête**, 74 note, 143.
- Crimea**, 662.
- Crīt'i-as**, leader of the Thirty at Athens, 204.
- Crōē'sus**, king of Lydia, 59 *a*; and Cyrus, 60, 134; and cities of Asia Minor, 134.
- Culture**, 6 note. See Civilization.
- Cu-nāx'a**, battle of, 205.
- Cunc-tā'tor**, see Fabius.
- Cu-nō'i-form writing**, 33, 37, 38, 62 note; used by Phoenicians, 50.
- Cū'ri-als**, 572, 573, 576.
- Cū'ri-as**, Roman, 268, 276, 278, 283.
- Cū'ri-o**, Caesar's lieutenant, 467.
- Cū'ri-o, M.**, 350, 420.
- Curule Office**, 345, 346, 347, 411.
- Cy'lon**, 107, 108.
- Cynics**, 238.
- Cy-nos-cēph'a-lae**, battle of, 392, 399.
- Cyp'ri-an, Saint**, 547.
- Cyprus**, 49, 74, 207, 232.
- Cy-rē'ne**, 91.
- Cyrus, the Great**, 60, 62, 134.
- Cyrus, the Younger**, 205.
- Dacia**, 487, 495, 509, 545, 553.
- Dāg'o-ber't**, 648, 649, 668.
- Da-mās'cus**, 657.
- Dante** (dān'te or dān'tā), 525.
- Danube**, 60, 230, 485, 487, 490, 495, 503, 507, 510, 563, 582, 589, 592, 605, 611.
- Da-rī'us Cod-o-mān'nus**, 221 *b*, 221 *c*.
- Darius, the Great**, conquests of, 62, 136; organization by, 63, 64, 223; war with Greece, 136 and note, 137, 138; death, 142.
- Dark Ages**, the, 626, 627; the church in, 632; moral preaching in, 632 and note; barbarian invasions and, 628-633.
- Dā'tis**, Persian general, 138.
- David**, king of the Hebrews, 7, 54.
- Debt**, laws concerning, in Athens, 105, 111 *b*; in Rome, 304, 307; Licinian Laws, 322; Caesar's law, 464.
- Dēc'arch-ies**, under Spartan protection, 202 and note.
- De-cēm'virs**, Roman, 108 note; 313-318, 327.
- Dē'ci-us**, 494, 495, 542.
- "**Decretals of Isidore**," 666.
- Dedan**, 49.
- Delos, Confederacy of**, foundation and constitution, 157; work and

References are to sections.

- growth, 158; change in character, 159; becomes the Athenian Empire, 159, 160; revolt of Thasos, 161.
- Delos, Slave Market**, 418.
- Del'phi**, 87 c, 92, 117, 229.
- Delphic Oracle**, 87 c, 92, 117 and note, 143, 147.
- De'marchs**, 121.
- Dēmes**, Attic, 121, 122, 170.
- De-mē'ter**, 88.
- Democracy**, definition of, 68 a, note; germs of, in Homeric Greece, 82, 84; tyrants pave way for, 95, 131 c; Greek definition of, 97; Athens a democracy, 118-126, 131 e, 172-180, 204; parties of democracy in Athens, 140, 141, 162, 163; Athens mother of Ionian democracy, 160; attempted overthrow in Athens, 198, 199; democracy in Greece overthrown by Sparta, 202, 204; in Thebes, 209, 211; in Magna Graecia, 218; in Achaean league, 244; in Rome, in form, 346, 349; among early Teutons, 586.
- De-mōc'ri-tus**, 186.
- De-mōs'the-nēs**, Athenian general, 197; Athenian orator, 214.
- De-si-dē'ri-us**, 671.
- Despotism**, see Absolute Monarchy.
- Di-ān'a**, 88.
- Di-cās'ter-ies**, in Athens, 172 c, 176.
- Dictatorship**, Roman, 297, 324, 345, 347; obsolete, 443 note; Sulla's permanent, 443; Caesar's, for life, 463.
- Di'gest**, the, 613 note.
- Di'o-cēse'**, 552, 553; ecclesiastical, 565.
- Di-o-clē'ti-an**, 495, 519, 575, 588; and Christianity, 542; reorganization of Empire, 548-557; abdication, 558 note.
- Di-o-dō'rus**, 525.
- Di-ōg'e-nēs**, the Cynic, 238.
- Di'on**, 218 note.
- Di-o-nys'i-us**, tyrant of Syracuse, 218.
- Dionysius**, historian, 267, 525.
- Di-o-nŷ'sus**, 116, 183; theater of, at Athens, 184.
- Disk-thrower**, statue of, 187.
- Divination**, Chaldean, 39; Etruscan, 260 note.
- Dome**, the, in architecture, 520, 521.
- Do-m'i'ti-an**, 485, 510, 521.
- "**Donation of Constantine**," 666.
- "**Donation of Pippin**," 666.
- "**Do-nothing Kings**," 648.
- Dō'ri-ans**, invade Greece, 85, 89, 96, 102; contrasted with Ionians, 86; mythical origin, 87 b; in Peloponnesus, 86, 192; in Sicily, 218.
- Doric order of architecture**, 127, 182.
- Dō'rus**, fabled ancestor of the Dorians, 87 b.
- Drā'co**, 108 note, 113, 313.
- Drama**, Greek, 120, 183, 184; Roman, 523.
- Druids**, 454 note.
- Drusus**, tribune, champion of Italians, 437.
- Drusus**, tribune, rival of Gracchus, 430.
- Dŷ'arch-y**, 496.
- Dying Gaul**, statue, 229, 237.
- East, Diocese of the**, 553.
- East, Prefecture of the**, 553.
- East Anglia**, 597.
- Ebro**, the, 372, 373, 671.
- Ec-bāt'a-na**, 221 c.
- Economic conditions**, definition of, 105 note; in Egypt, 12, 22, 23, 27, 28; in Chaldea and Assyria, 40, 43, 44, 46 b; in Phoenicia, 51; in Greece, 1000 B.C., 76-77; oppression by Eupatrids in Athens, 105; dealt with by laws of Solon, 111; in Graeco-Oriental world, 225 a; of Plebeians at Rome, 304; Roman and Italian society, 350; decline during Punic Wars, 404, 405, 408, 410; reforms by the Gracchi, 431; decay after Gracchi, 431; in third century, 546; in fourth century, 569 and note; in Charlemagne's Empire, 680.
- Edicts**, imperial, as a source of law, 497 note.
- Education**, in Chaldea, 38, 39; in Persia, 61; in Sparta, 99; in Athens,

References are to sections.

- 184, 187; under Roman Empire, 518-519; decline in fourth century, 580, 581; monasteries and, 637; Mohammedan, 657; in Charlemagne's Empire, 667, 683. See Schools.
- E-gē'ri-a**, 268.
- Egypt**, early history of, rediscovered, 4; home of early civilization, 5, 68; isolation of, 6, 30; history of, 8-29; physical geography, 8-9; territory, 8; "the gift of the Nile," 9, 32 *a*; political geography, 10; people, society, civilization, 11-20; population, 11; social classes and government, 12; position of woman, 13; the industrial arts, 14; fine arts, 15; literature, 16; science, 17; religion, 18; belief in immortality, 19; morality, 20; political outline, 21; reduced by Assyria, 21 *d*, 34; Phoenician merchants in, 49, 50; Hebrews in, 21 *c*, 52; absorbed by Persia, 132; revolts against Persia, 140, 165, 166; welcomes Alexander, 221 *b*; one of the great powers in the Graeco-Oriental world, 228, 241; under the Ptolemies, 230, 232; one of Great Powers in third century *b.c.*, 357; intercourse with Rome, 391, 392, 393, 394; Roman protectorate, 398, 399; Caesar in, 461; Antony in, 472; Roman province, 473; diocese of, 553.
- Elbe** (ēlb or ēl'be), 507, 670, 673.
- Elections**, in Homeric Greece, 83; in Sparta, 97 and note; in Athens, 93, 106, 112 *c*, 114, 123, 173; in Achaean League, 244; in early Rome, 296, 302, 311, 321, 324; under perfected Republican constitution, 346; abolished or transferred to the senate under the Empire, 496; in cities under the Empire, 500.
- Elgin marbles**, 182 note.
- Elis**, 87 *c*, 248.
- Elishah**, 49.
- E-loy'**, Saint, 632.
- E-lŷs'i-um**, 188.
- Embalming**, Egyptian, 19.
- Em-pēd'o-clēs**, 186.
- Empire**, definition of, 32 *c* note; Egyptian, 21 *c*; Chaldean, 33; Assyrian, 34; Babylonian, 35; Hebrew, 54, 63 note; Lydian, 59 *a*; Median, 59 *b*, 60; Persian, 60-64; character of Oriental, 68 *c*; growth of Athenian, 153-160, 164, 165, 169-191; of Alexander, 248-251; of Theodoric, 608, 609; of the Merovingians, 620, 647-650; of early Carolingians, 664-668. See Roman Empire, Greek Empire, Empire of Charlemagne.
- Empire of Charlemagne**, preparation for, by early Franks, 620, 647-650, 664-668; by wars of Charlemagne, 670, 673; revival of "Roman Empire" in the West, 674-676; reasons, 674; coronation of Charles, 675; theory, 676; contrasted with Greek Empire, 677; contrasted with old Roman Empire, 678; social and political conditions in, 680-683; place in history, 684. See Charlemagne.
- En'ni-us**, 523.
- England**, see Britain.
- E-pam-i-nōn'das**, 210, 211.
- Eph'e-sus**, 90, 127, 129 *a*, 130.
- Eph-i-āi'tēs**, 146, 162, 163, 172, 175, 180.
- Eph'ors**, Spartan, 97, 98, 99, 151, 249.
- Epic Age** in Greek poetry, 128.
- Ep-ic-tē'tus**, 526, 529, 537.
- Ep-i-cu-rē'an-ism**, 238, 524.
- Ep-i-cū'rus**, 238.
- E-pī'rus**, 70, 71 *a*, 219, 228, 333.
- Eq'ui-tēs**, early Roman, 286; later aristocracy, 404, 405, 417.
- Er-a-tōs'the-nēs**, keeper of the Alexandrian library, 240.
- Er-ech-thē'um**, 182.
- Er-s'tri-a**, 135; captured by Persia, 138.
- E-sar-hād'don**, 34.
- Es'qui-line Hill**, 271 note.
- Essex**, 597.
- Ethiopia**, 9, 21 *f*; subdued by Egypt, 21 *a*, 21 *c*, 32 *c* note; revolts, 21 *d*.
- Etruria**, 327, 329, 336.

References are to sections.

- Etruscans**, in early Italy, 260, 261, 265, 341; Rome and, 271, 272, 326; gladiatorial games from, 260, 406.
- Eu-bōē'a**, 91, 146, 193; trouble with Athens, 118; attacked by Persia, 138; revolts against Athens, 166, 167; taken by Thebes, 211.
- Euclid**, 240.
- Eu-dō'xia**, 603.
- Eu-pā'trids**, at Athens, 104, 105; early loss of power and attempts at overthrow of, 106-108; Solon and overthrow of, 109-114.
- Eu-phrā'tēs**, 37, 224, 225 b; early home of civilization, 5, 59, 65; contributions to civilization of Egypt, 10; valley subdued by Egypt, 21 c, 30; "soul of the land," 31 note; geography, 32; Persia and, 60; Roman control to, 450, 506; separates Empire from Parthians, 455; crossed by Trajan, 487; boundary, 488; attacked by barbarians and Persians, 490, 503, 545.
- Eu-rīp'l-dēs**, Greek tragedian, 183, 224; quoted, 78; portrait bust, 183.
- Europe**, contrasted with Asia, 68-69; typified by Greece, 70-71.
- Eu-rīm'e-don**, battle of the, 158.
- Eu-sē'bi-us**, 579 b.
- Eu-trō'pl-us**, 579 a.
- Eux'ine Sea**, 64.
- Ex-ārch'ate of Ravenna**, 615, 663.
- Ex'or-cist**, 565.
- Explorations**, in the east, 4, 73; in Egypt, 10 note; in Chaldea, 33; in Assyria, 34; in Greece, 73, 74 and note; at Troy, 73 a; at Mycenae, 73 b; at Pompeii, 484.
- Ezekiel**, describing the grandeur of Tyre, 49.
- Fa'bi-an policy**, 374 note, 379.
- Fa'bi-us** (Q. Fabius Maximus), 374, 379.
- Fabius Pictor**, 267, 523.
- "**Fall of Rome**," 569, 578, 604 note.
- Faus-tī'na**, bust of, 530.
- Feudal system**, in Egypt, 12; in medieval Europe, 587.
- Finns**, 545, 598, 599.
- Fire-making**, stages of, 1.
- Flam-i-ni'nus**, 392, 407.
- Flavian Caesars**, the, 483, 485, 492
- Florence**, 591.
- Flo-ri-ā'nus**, 494.
- Folk-moot**, see Assembly.
- Forth**, the, 485, 510.
- Forum**, the, 271, 439 note.
- Four Hundred**, the, at Athens, 198, 199.
- Frankish Mark**, the, 671.
- Franks**, 582; raids of, in third century, 545; heathen conquerors, 585, 617; establishment in Gaul, 592, 596, 603; at Chalons, 599; advance under Clovis and his sons, 616-619; empire of, under later Merovingians, 620; causes of success, 616; conversion to Catholicism, 618; morals in seventh and eighth centuries, 620; divisions of empire, 620; rivalry of Austrasia and Neustria, 647; "Do-nothing kings" and mayors of the palace, 648; Testry-victory of Austrasia, 649; under Charles Martel, 650, 664; repulses Mohammedans, 656; Carolingian dynasty, 664; alliance with papacy, 665; under Charlemagne, 668 ff. See Empire of Charlemagne.
- Freya**, 585.
- Frieze** (frēz), in Greek architecture, 127; figures from the Parthenon, 182.
- Gā'dēs**, see Cadiz.
- Ga-lā'ti-a**, 232.
- Gal'ba**, 483.
- Gā'len**, 527.
- Ga-lē'ri-us**, 558.
- Gal-li-ō'nus**, 494.
- Gāl'lus**, 494.
- Gaul**, 91, 255, 539, 596, 600, 603; road through, 386; Germans in, 434, 435, 455; Caesar conquers, 454-455; provincial assemblies in, 502; Romanization, 513; enfranchisement, 515; Alemanni in, 545; Franks in, 545; prefecture, 563; serf risings in, 575; Vandals in,

References are to sections.

- 592, 593; Burgundians in, 593, 594. See Franks.
- Gauls**, invasion of Greece, 229, 242, 243; in Italy, 260, 261, 326; sack Rome, 267 *a*, 312 note, 322, 327, 328; threaten Italy, 368; Hannibal and, 373; slaves, 418; conquered by Caesar, 454, 455.
- Gā'za**, siege of, 221 *b*.
- Ge'ner'al**, 595, 603.
- Gēs'lon**, tyrant of Syracuse, 133 *d*, 143, 218.
- General**, office of, in Athens, 172 *a*, 173, 174, 180; in Achaean League, 244, 245, 246, 247.
- Gēs'n'e-sis**, 33.
- Gens**, *pl.* gentes, see Clan.
- Ge-nū'cl-us**, 312.
- Geography**, of Egypt, 8-10; of the Tigris-Euphrates states, 31-32; European and Asiatic contrasted, 69, 71 *e*; special features of Greek and their influence, 71; Greek study of, 225 *b*, 240; Roman study, 527; of Rome and Italy, 255-258, 262-266.
- Geometry**, Egyptian, 17; Chaldean, 39; Greek, 130; Euclid, 240.
- Germans**, early attack, 434, 435; in Caesar's time, 454; check Romans at Teutoberg, 478, 507; attack renewed in third century, 545; filter into Empire, 575, 578; home in fourth century, 582; leading peoples, 582; culture, 583; character, 584; religion, 585; Arians, 585; political organization, 586, 587; burst the barriers, 588 *ff.*; attacks no more formidable than those repulsed earlier, 569; numbers of invaders, 628; West Goths, 589-592; Burgundians, 594; Vandals, 595; Franks, 596; Saxons, 597; contrasted with Slavs, Celts, and Huns, 598; repulse Huns, 599-601; Teutonic generals in Italy behind puppet emperors, 602-603; Teutonic masters of Italy, 604; East Goths, 605; kingdom of, in Italy, 606-609; Lombards in Italy, 614-615; Frankish state, Clovis and later Merovingians, 616-620; Saxon conquest of Britain, 621-624; effect of conquest, Dark Ages, 626-627; preservation of some Roman civilization by, 628-633; reverence for Rome, 630; relation to conquered peoples, 631; church and, 632; adopt idea of the Empire, 634; see Teutonic law; political institutions in new states, 643; contributions to Europe, 645. See Franks and Empire of Charlemagne.
- Gibraltar**, Straits of, 49.
- Gideon**, 53.
- Gilda**, in Roman Empire, 514, 572, 574, 576.
- Gladiatorial games**, 406, 411, 480, 482, 528, 532, 567.
- Gnōs'tics**, 566 note.
- Gor-di-ā'nus I**, 494.
- Gordianus II**, 494.
- Gordianus III**, 494.
- Gör'gi-as**, 186 note.
- Gō'shen**, 52.
- Goths**, 418, 495, 582; West Goths (Visigoths) in Dacia, 545; cross Danube, 563; in Empire, 589; under Alaric, 590; sack Rome, 591, 603; Visigothic state in Spain, 592, 595; at Chalons, 599; Ostrogoths on Danube, 605; conquest of Italy, 606; kingdom of Italy under Theodoric, 606-609; destroyed by Belisarius and Narses, 612; small numbers of, 628.
- Gracchus, Calus**, 413 note, 426-431, 456.
- Gracchus, Tiberius**, 420-425.
- Graeco-Oriental World**, the, 219-251; mingling of east and west by Alexander, 219-226; conquests of Alexander, 219-222; results of Alexander's work, 223-226; Hellenism the active element in, 224; to the Roman conquest, 237-240; the political story, 227-230; Wars of the Succession, 227; situation in the third century B.C., 228; Gallic invasion, 229; final decline, 230; single states in outline, 231-234; Syria, 231; Egypt, 232; Macedonia, 233,

References are to sections.

- Rhodes and Pergamum, 234; society, 235-240; general culture, 235; literature, 236; art, 237; philosophy, 238; libraries and museums, 239; science, 240; European Greece, 241-251; Achaean League, 243, 251; contact with Rome, 257; conquest by Rome, 391-399.
- Graeco-Roman World**, the, 399, 400, 456 ff.
- Gran'icus**, battle of the, 221 a.
- Greek Church**, the, 660 note.
- Greek drama**, 129 b, 183, 184.
- Greek education**, 187.
- Greek federations**, age of, 241-251; Achaean, 243-251; Aetolian, 242, 251; Lycian, 244 note; Olynthian, 244 note. See Peloponnesian league; Delos; Rhodes.
- Greek fire**, 635 note.
- Greek philosophy**, 130, 186, 235, 238.
- Greek religion**, 78, 87, 88, 188, 238; compared with Roman, 278.
- Greeks**, 64; place in ancient history, 3; in Egypt, 21 e and note; receive Oriental civilization from the Phoenicians, 50; history of, 68-218; introductory survey, 68-71; contrasted with Orientals, 68-69; Greece typical of Europe, 70-71; physical geography, 69, 71; character of civilization, 71; prehistoric Greece, 72-84; sources of information, 72-73; Homer and archeology, 72, 73; Mycenaean culture, 74; Archaean culture, 75; society of the Heroic Age, 76-84; economic features, 76-77; the tribal organization, 78-81; the city-state, 80, 81; early political organization, 82-84; from the Dorian emigration to the Persian wars, 85-131; Dorian migration, 85-86; gap in the evidence after Homer, 85; "races," 86; unity of culture, 87, 131 a; table of deities, 88; colonization and expansion, 89-92; colonization of the Aegean, 89-90; wider colonization, 100-126; intellectual development and social life, 127-130; art, 127; poetry, 128, 129; philosophy, 130; summary to 500 B.C., 131; the Persian Wars, 60, 132-152; condition of Greece at time of attack, 133; conquest of Ionia, 134; Ionian revolt and Athenian aid, 135; first two attacks on Greece, 136-139; from Marathon to Thermopylae, 140-141; Athens a naval power, 141; the third and main attack, 142-152; preparation for, 143; lines of defense and plan of campaign, 144; loss of Thessaly, 145; Thermopylae, loss of central Greece, 146; Themistocles, 147; battle of Salamis, 148; temptation of Athens, 150; Plataea, 151; meaning of Greek victory, 152; division of Hellas into two rival leagues, 154; Athenian supremacy, 153-200 (see Athens); Peloponnesian War, 192-200; causes, 192; fall of Athens, 200; from fall of Athens to fall of Hellas, 201-218; decline of the city-state, 201; Spartan supremacy, 202-210 (see Sparta); despotism, 202-204; March of the Ten Thousand, 205; league against Sparta, 206; peace of Antalcidas, 207; Thebes and Athens war with Sparta, 209; Leuctra, 210; Theban supremacy, 211-212; Epaminondas, 211; anarchy, 212; subjected to Macedon, 213-217; the history of Hellas merged in that of the Graeco-Oriental world, 217 (see Graeco-Oriental world); the western Greeks, 218; Hellenizing the East, 223, 224; Greek cities in the Orient, 224; reaction of Alexander's conquests on Hellas, 225; federal period in Greece, 241-251 (see Achaean League); dominance of Macedonia, 241; civilization compared with Roman, 252-254; geography of, compared with Italian, 255-257; Magna Graecia falls to Rome, 333; eastern Greek cities friendly to Rome, 391; Roman "allies" defended by Rome against Antiochus, 393; petty quarrels among, 394; rearrangements by Rome, 397; diocese, 553; Alaric in Greece, 690.

References are to sections.

- Greeks in Italy**, 257 note, 260, 261, 341. See *Magna Graecia*.
- Gregory II (Pope)**, 662.
- Gregory III (Pope)**, 662.
- Gregory of Tours** (tūr), quoted, 619.
- Gun'do-bald**, 594.
- Gým'nā-si-a**, Athenian, 182.
- Hadrian, Emperor**, 488, 497 note, 515, 542, 555, 579.
- Hadrian, Pope**, 662 and note.
- Hadrian's Wall**, 488, 510.
- Hal-i-car-nās'sus**, 185.
- Hā'lys River**, 59 a.
- Ha-mil'car Barca**, 366, 370, 371.
- Ham-mu-rā'bi**, king of Babylon, 44, 46 b.
- Hanging Gardens of Babylon**, 41.
- Hān'ni-bal**, 231, 410; character, 371; at Saguntum, 372; invasion of Italy, 373; Cannae, 374; fails to win Italians, 375; neglected by Carthage, 377, 379; at the gates of Rome, 380; recall, Zama, 383; death, 387 note.
- Hār'mosts**, Spartan, 98, 202, 204.
- Hā-roun' al Raschid**, 679 note.
- Hasdrubal**, the Barcide, 378, 382, 383.
- Hasdrubal**, Carthaginian general in Third Punic War, 389 and note.
- Hebrews**, 31; in Syria, 7; in Egypt, 21 d note, 52; the Assyrian captivity, 34 and note, 55; destruction of Sennacherib, 34; the Babylonian captivity, 35, 53, 56, 58, 61; language Semitic, 36 note, 51; alphabet, 50; political history, 52-56; age of the patriarchs, 52; settlement in Canaan, and age of the Judges, 53; kings and prophets, 54; division and decline, 55; priestly rule, 56; mission of, 57-58; faith in one God, 57, 58, 61; extension of the faith, 58; in Alexandria, 239.
- He-gi'ra**, the, 653.
- Helen**, of Troy, wife of Menelaus, 72.
- Hēl'ias**, 70, 87 b, 89, etc. See *Greeks*.
- Hellen**, mythical ancestor of Hellenes, 87 b.
- Hel-lō'nēs**, 70, 74, 87 b, 134, 217. See *Greeks*.
- Hēl'les-pont**, the, 137, 142 and note, 158, 221.
- Hēl'ots**, 98, 162, 202 note, 203.
- Hel-vē'ti-l**, 454.
- Hephaestus** (he-fēs'tus), 88.
- Hep'tarch-y**, the, 597.
- Hē'ra**, 88.
- Her-a-clēi'tus**, 130.
- Her-āt'**, 224.
- Her-cū-lēs'ne-um**, 484.
- Heresies**, in the church, 566. See *Arian heresy*, *Gnostics*.
- Hermann**, 507, 511.
- Her'mōs**, 88; statue of, 182 note.
- Hermits**, 635.
- He-rōd'o-tus**, quoted, 11 and note, 21 e note, 32 a and note, 61, 74 note, 117 note, 134 note, 136 note, 139, 140 note, 141 note, 142 note, 151 note, 155; place in literature, 185.
- Heroic Age**, of Greece, 76.
- Her'u-ll**, 604.
- Hē'si-od**, 129 b.
- Hes'ti-a**, 88.
- Hierarchy**, in government, 552, 555.
- Hī'ē-ro I**, of Syracuse, 218.
- Hiero II**, of Syracuse, 358, 360, 365.
- Hī-er-o-glŷph'ics**, Egyptian, 16; on the Rosetta stone, 4, 21 e; sound-symbols, 16. See *Cuneiform writing*.
- Hīm'e-ra**, battle of, 150.
- Hindoos**, see *India*.
- Hindukush Mountains**, 222, 373.
- Hip-pār'chus**, son of Peisistratus, 117; the scientist, 240.
- Hip'pi-as**, son of Peisistratus, 117, 138.
- Hippo**, 579 b.
- History**, definition of, 1; divisions, 3. *Hīt'tles*, 7; and Egyptians, 21 d, 54.
- Homer**, 72-76, 84, 85, 87, 89, 129 a, 182 note, 187, 188 note, 191 b, 219, 267 note.
- Ho-nō'ri-us**, 564, 590, 591, 592, 603 604.

References are to sections.

- Höp'lites**, rise to political power, 106, 107, 170; in battle of Marathon, 138; at Thermopylae, 146.
- Horace**, 409, 475 note, 525.
- Ho-rä'ti-an Law**, the, 311 note.
- Ho-rä'ti-us**, 292 note.
- Hor-tén'ei-an Law**, the, 346 c.
- Hos-ti'l'i-us Tül'lus**, 268.
- Hün'nen-schlächt**, 600.
- Huns**, impel Goths against the Empire, 589; Attila's invasion, 598-601; race, 598; West rallies against, 599; Chalons, 600; and Ostrogoths, 605.
- Hÿk'sos**, or Shepherd Kings in Egypt, 21 b, 21 c, 21 d note, 52.
- Hy-mët'tus**, 116.
- Hy-për'bo-lus**, 197.
- Hy'pha-sis River**, 222.
- I-a-pÿg-i-ans**, 261.
- I-con-o-cläs'tic question**, the, 660.
- Ic-ti'nus**, 182.
- Il'i-ad**, 72, 73 a, 84, 87, 128, 219.
- Il'i-um**, 72.
- Il-ÿr'i-a**, 213, 220, 367, 391, 500.
- Im'bros**, 207.
- Immortality**, believed in by Egyptians, 19, 22, 26; by Assyrians, 45; by Greeks, 188, 238.
- Im-per-ä'tor**, Caesar's title, 463; Augustus's title, 473.
- Imperator Caesar Augustus**, title, 497.
- India**, early civilization in, 3, 6, 67; caste in, 12; commerce of, 49; Persia in, 60; Alexander the Great and, 222, 224 b, 225.
- Indian Ocean**, 225 b.
- Indus River**, 60, 222, 224, 225 b, 228, 455.
- Industry**, Egyptian, 12, 14; Chaldean, 40; Greek, 77; Italian, demoralized by Punic Wars, 376, 404; thrives under the Empire, 475, 514; demoralized in Empire by plagues, 546; decrease in fourth century, 570, 573, 574, 575, 576.
- In-ex'pi-a-ble War**, the, 366.
- Inferiors**, at Sparta, 203, 249.
- Inscriptions**, ancient, 4; on walls of Egyptian temples, 15, 16, 23; of Assur-Natsir-Pal, 47 b; Assyrian, 33, 37; Spartan, at Thermopylae, 146; Etruscan, 260.
- In'ter-rë's'gës**, 284.
- Ion**, 87 b.
- I-ö'ni-a**, Phoenicians in, 49; colonized by Greeks, 90; early center of art, 127; poets of, 129 a; rise of philosophy in, 130; leads in early Greek culture, 131 f; conquest by Persia, 134; revolts, 135-137; war to free from Persia, 154-160; Athens assumes leadership, 156; Delian league, 157-160.
- Ionian Revolt**, the, 135; relation to Persian attack on Greece, 136.
- Ionians**, a Greek "race," 86; mythical origin, 87 b; driven out of Peloponnesus by Dorians, 90-102; colonization of Ionia, 90; democracy among, 95; in Sicily, 86, 218; in Attica, 102 and note; inhabitants of Ionia, see Ionia.
- Ionian order of architecture**, 127.
- Ip'sus**, battle of, 227, 231.
- Iran** (ë-rän'), Plateau of, 34, 59 b, 60.
- Ireland**, 623.
- I-rëne'**, 600 note, 674.
- Iron**, none in Egypt until 800 B.C., 14 note; in Greece, 75; Etruscan, 260.
- Iroquois** (ir-o-kwä'), the, compared with early Germans, 583.
- Is'e-as**, 243.
- Iskandar**, 224 and note.
- I-söc'ra-tëg**, 160, 186 note.
- Israel**, Kingdom, 55; in captivity, 34, 55. See Hebrews.
- Is'sus**, battle of, 221 b.
- Italians**, race, 260, 261; name of Rome's "Allies" in Italy, 341; fidelity to Rome in Punic War, 375, 379; attempts to extend citizenship to, 424, 430, 437; social war, 437; secure citizenship, 438.
- Italy**, Greek colonies in, 70, 86 note, 91, 133 a, 160, 218; geography, 255-258; classical meaning of "Italy," 255; peoples, 259-261; unification by Rome, 326-333; under Roman

References are to sections.

- rule, 334-356; invaded by Hannibal, 373-383; decline of peasantry in, 408, 410; evils of oligarchic misgovernment in second century B.C., 412-413; slave revolts in, 419; attempts to extend Roman citizenship in, 424, 430, 437; social war, 437; becomes part of Roman state, 438; civil war in, 442; Caesar's campaign against Pompey in, 459; prosperity restored by Augustus, 475; prefecture of, 533; diocese of, 533; Alaric in, 590, 591; Vandal invasion, 595; Hun invasion, 601; in fifth and sixth centuries, 602-615; from Alaric to Odovaker, 602-604; kingdom of East Goths in, 605-609; Theodoric the Civilizer, 607; reconquered by the Empire, 612; Lombards in, 614-615; final break-up of Italian unity, 615; attempt of Lombards to reunite, frustrated by popes, 663, 665; Franks in Italy, 665.
- I-ú'lus**, 451.
- Jacob**, 52.
- Ja-níc'ú-lum**, Mount, 272, 517.
- Jā'nus**, Temple of, 473 note.
- Javan**, 49.
- Jax-ár'tēs** River, 60, 224.
- Jeph'thāh**, 53.
- Jerome**, Saint, 579*b*, 580.
- Jerusalem**, sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, 35; sacked by Romans, 56, 483.
- Jerusalem**, Patriarchate of, 565.
- Jews**, dependent kingdom, 450; rebellion subdued by Titus, 483, 571. See Hebrews.
- Jor-dā'nes**, see Jornandes.
- Jor-nān'des**, 600 note.
- Joseph**, 52.
- Jo-sē'phus**, 483 note, 526.
- Joshua**, 53.
- Jō'vi-an**, 563.
- Judah**, Kingdom of, 34, 35, 55. See Hebrews.
- Judea**, 56, 58, 483, 539.
- Judges**, of Hebrews, 53.
- Jūg'e-ra**, 322, 422.
- Ju-gurth'a**, 433.
- Julian**, 562, 579*a*, 588.
- Julian Caesars**, the, 477-482, 492.
- Ju-li-ā'nus**, 494, 495.
- Juno**, 88.
- Jupiter**, 88; temple of, 519.
- Jury**, Athenian, 176.
- Jus-tín'i-an**, 595, 612, 613.
- Justinian Code**, the, 613.
- Jūtes**, 597.
- Juvenal**, 405, 527, 529.
- Kā-di'jah**, 652.
- Kān-da-hār'**, 224 note.
- Karlmann**, 664.
- Kār'nak**, temple at, 12; aisle in the ruins at, 15; capital from, 15.
- Kent**, 597.
- Khuniatonu** (kōō-ni-a-tō'nōō), king of Egypt, hymn by, 25.
- King priest**, in Rome, 292.
- Kingship**, see Absolute Monarchy, Teutonic kingship.
- Kit'i-on**, 49.
- Knights**, Roman, see Equites.
- Kō-rān'**, the, 652.
- Lac-e-dae-mō'ni-ans**, see Sparta.
- La-cō'ni-a**, Spartan supremacy in, 96, 101, 207, 210; classes in, 98, 192; Athenians ravage coasts of, 165; invaded by Thebes, 211.
- Lac-tān'ti-us**, 547.
- Landholding**, in Egypt, 12 and note; in Chaldea, 46*b*; in Sparta, 98, 249; in early Athens, 105; Solon's reforms concerning, 111*a*, 111*e*, 112, 114, 120; at Rome, by plebeians, under the kings, 301; plebeians and the public land in the early Republic, 304*a*, 312; Licinian Laws, 322; granted to poor, 350; seized by equites, 404 note, 409; attempted by reform, 420, 422-425; Caesar's reforms, 464.
- Language**, Semitic, 36 note; Greek, 87*a*; use at Rome, 525-527; Latin a common language for western scholars, 644*c*; divergence between written and spoken in Teutonic kingdoms, 627*b*; Romance languages, 627 note.

References are to sections.

- Lā-ōc'ō-ōn**, statue of, 238.
Latin Church, see Church.
Latin civilization, see Roman.
Latin colonies, 339, 375, 412, 435.
Latin Right, the, 339, 412; attempt to confer on all Italians, 430.
Latins, 260, 326; Rome a "mark" of, 265; tribes of, 270; wars and alliances with Rome, 272, 326, 331; rights at Rome, 339, 412.
Latin War of 338 B.C., 331.
Lā'ti-um, 260, 264, 266, 270, 271, 329, 336.
Laws, Chaldean, 44, 46 b; of Lycurgus, 96, 97; of Draco, 108 and note; of Solon, 110-114; at Rome, Valerian, 295 b; unwritten, 303; as to debt, 304; Publilian, 311; Horatian, 311 note; Twelve Tables, 313-318; Valerio-Horatian, 317 note; Hortensian, 346 c; Licinian, 322; of the Gracchi, 422-425, 428; of Caesar, 464. See Roman Law, Teutonic Law.
Lay'ard, 37.
Leaders of the People in Athens, 173, 180.
Lebanon Mountains, 49.
Legion, the, described, 353; compared with phalanx, 353, 382. See Army.
Lem'nos, 207.
Leo, Pope, 601.
Leo III, Pope, crowns Charlemagne, 675.
Leo the Isaurian, Emperor, 655, 660, 662.
Le-ōch'a-rēs, Greek sculptor, 220.
Le-ōn'ī-das, 146, 516.
Le-o-tŷch'ī-dēs, king of Sparta, 155 note.
Lep'ī-dus, 469, 472.
Lēs'bos, 129 a, 160.
Leuctra, battle of, 210, 211.
Libations, in Greek worship, 78.
Libraries, at Nineveh, 37; Chaldean, 38; in Graeco-Oriental world, 239; at Alexandria, 239.
Libyan desert, 6.
Libyans, invade Egypt, 21 d; subjects of Carthage, 361, 366.
Li-cŷn'ī-an Ro-gā'tions, 322, 323, 404 note.
Li-cŷn'ī-us, Emperor, 558, 561.
Licinius Stolo, tribune, 322, 323.
Ligurians, 261.
Literature, Egyptian, 16; Chaldean, 38; Oriental contrasted with European, 68 b; early Greek Epic Age, 87 a (see Homer); in Athens of Pelsistratus, 116; Lyric Age, 128, 129; drama, 129 b, 183; the age of Pericles, 183-186; Alexandrian Age, 236; Greek influence on Roman, 407; Roman before Age of Cicero, 523; in Age of Cicero, 524; Augustan Age, 475, 525; first three centuries A.D., 516, 526-527, 547; decline in fourth century, 579; attitude of early Christians toward pagan, 580; German, 583.
Livius An-dro-nī'cus, 523.
Livy, 267, 292, 301 note, 307, 351, 383, 525.
Locris, 165, 242.
Loire (Iwār), 656.
Lombards, 582; in Italy, 614-615; and the popes, 662, 663; conquered by Pippin, 665; by Charlemagne, 671.
Lombardy, 615.
Long Walls of Athens, 153 note, 165, 182, 193; demolished, 200; rebuilt, 206.
Long Walls of Constantinople, 611.
Lot, use of, in elections, 112 note, 114 and note, 173.
Louvre (Iōōvr), 237.
Lucan, 526.
Lu-cē'ni-ans, 260.
Lū'cer-ēs, 271, 273.
Lū'ci-an, 527.
Lu-crē'ti-us, 524.
Lyc'ī-an Confederacy, 244 note.
Ly-cur'gus, 96, 99 note, 101, 249.
Lyd'ī-a, 59 a, 60, 62, 64, 132, 134, 135.
Ly-di'a-das, 247, 248, 249 note.
Lyric Age in Greek poetry, 128, 129.
Ly-sān'der, 197, 200, 204.

References are to sections.

- Mac-e-dō'ni-a**, 91 note, 136, 169; under Theban influence, 211; conquest of Greece, 213-217; people and king, 213; growth under Philip II, 214; army, 215; Chaeronea and Congress of Corinth, 216; result of Macedonian conquest, 217; under Alexander, 219 ff. (see Alexander); one of the great powers of the Graeco-Oriental world, 228; Gallic invasion, 229; condition at 220 B.C., 230; history in outline to the Roman conquest, 233; supremacy in Greece after Alexander, 241, 243; losses through the Achaean League, 245, 247, 248; supremacy restored, 250, 251; one of five Great Powers in third century B.C., 357, 367; aids Hannibal, 377; jealous of Rome, 391; First Macedonian War, 391; Second, 392; a dependent ally of Rome, 392; Third Macedonian War, Macedonia a Roman Province, 396, 399; Mithridates in, 399; diocese of, 553.
- Macedonian army**, 215, 223.
- Macedonian Wars**, first, 391; second, 392; third, 396.
- Ma-crī'nus**, 494.
- Mae-cē'nas**, 475 note, 521 note.
- Mae'li-us, Spu'ri-us**, 312 note, 424.
- Magic**, Chaldean, 39; Etruscan, 260 note.
- Magism**, 61.
- Magna Graecia**, 91, 130, 133 a, 150; in fifth and fourth centuries, 218; and Rome, 230, 257 note, 260, 333, 352; influence on Roman literature, 523.
- Mag-nē'si-a**, battle of, 231, 393, 396 note, 399.
- Mam'er-tī'nes**, 360.
- Mān'e-tho**, 4.
- Man-i-chae'ans**, 566 note.
- Mān'li-us**, consul in Latin war, 351.
- MĀn'li-us**, defender of the Capitol, 312 note, 424.
- Man-ti-nē'a**, broken up into villages by Sparta, 208; restored, 211; battle of, 210 note, 211.
- Mār'a-thon**, battle of, 138, 140, 141, 142; importance, 139, 152.
- Mar-cel'lus**, 379, 382 note.
- March of the Ten Thousand**, the, 185, 205.
- Mar-co-mān'ni**, 545 note.
- Mar-dō'ni-us**, 137, 138, 142, 150, 151.
- Mar'grāves**, 681 a.
- Mā'ri-us**, 403, 431, 456, 582, 588; in Jugurthine War, 433; saves Rome from Cimbri and Teutones, 434, 435; retirement, 436; civil war, 439; proscriptions, 440; death, 440; trophies restored by Caesar, 451.
- Marselles (mar-sāl')**, 91.
- Martial**, 526.
- Martin, Saint**, 579 b.
- Mas-sil'i-a**, 91, 396, 519.
- Mas-si-nis'sa**, 387, 388, 438.
- Mau-ri-tā'ni-a**, 657 note.
- Mayfield**, 643 c, 648, 681 e.
- Mayor of the Palace**, 648.
- Max-Im'i-an**, 550, 558.
- Mēc'ca**, 652, 653.
- Mēdes**, 139 note; capture Nineveh, 34, 59 b; in Plateau of Iran, 59 b, religion of, 161.
- Mē'di-a**, 34, 35, 60, 132, 228, 471.
- Medicine**, Chaldean, 39; Greek, 240; Roman, 527.
- Me-di-ē'val history**, 635 note.
- Med-i-ter-rā'ne-an Sea**, 3, 6, 9, 33, 34, 133 a, 166, 234; Phoenician navigators in, 49; Phoenician colonies on coast of, 50; importance to European civilization, 65, 69 d and note; Greek colonies, 70, 74, 91, 131 b; Alexander on the coast of the, 221 b; won by Rome, 357-390; Egypt granary of, 392; duty of Rome to police, 402; trade ruined by pirates, 450; Pompey in, 450; under Empire, 513; Gothic fleets in, 545; Vandals in, 595.
- Meg-a-lōp'o-lis**, 211, 247, 251.
- Mēg'a-ra**, captures Salamis from Athenians, 109; poets of, 129 a, 129 b; in Persian War, 147; Athenian alliance, 164 and note; treachery of, 166; commercial interests, 192; enters Achaean League, 247.
- Mēg'a-ris**, 165.
- Mē'li-ans**, 197 note.

References are to sections.

- Mēm'phis**, 10, 15.
Mē-nān'der, 236, 523.
Men-e-lā'us, 76.
Mē'nēs, king of Egypt, 10.
Mercenaries, War of the, 366, 370.
Me-ro-vīn'gī-ans, name explained, 620; Empire of, 620.
Mē'sheck, 49.
Mes-o-po-tā'mī-a, 31, 32 c, 509.
Mes-sā'na, 360.
Mes-sē'nē, 211.
Mes-sē'ni-a, 96, 162, 192, 211.
Met-a-mōr'pho-ses, of Ovid, 525.
Me-tau'rus, battle of the, 382.
Mēs'tics, treatment of, at Athens, 120, 122, 153, 170, 171, 179, 204.
Met'o-pē, 127, 182.
Metropolis, of a Greek colony, 92.
Met-ro-pōl'i-tan, see Archbishops.
Middle Ages, the, 635 note.
Mī-lān', 550; Edict of, 561.
Mī-lē'tus, 71 b, 90, 91, 95, 127, 130, 155 note, 191 b.
Mil-tī'a-dēs, 138, 140, 158, 180, 516.
Mil'vi-an Bridge, battle of the, 558, 561.
Mis'si Do-mīn'i-ci, 681 b.
Mith-ri-dā'tēs the Great, 439, 441, 450.
Mithridatic Wars, the, 450 note.
Mnēs'i-clēs, 182.
Modern history, definition of, 1.
Mōē'si-a, 507.
Mo-hām'med, 651, 652, 653, 654.
Mo-hām'me-dān-ism, 651, 652, 653; conquests of, 654; attacks on Europe, repulsed, 655; conquest of Spain, 656; repulse at Tours, 656; later Mohammedanism, 657.
Monarchy, definition of, 68 a note; origin, 80; Greek, 82; gives way in Greece to oligarchy, 93, 131 c; in early Rome, 282; under the Empire, see Roman Empire; among Teutonic barbarians, 586; development in Teutonic states, 643 a.
Mo-nās'ti-cism, origin, 635, 636, 637; monastic vows, 637; industry of monks, 637; and learning, 637; "regular" clergy, 638.
Money, none in ancient Egypt, 12; iron, in Sparta, 99; abundance in Greece after Alexander, 225 a; Roman, copper to 264 B.C., 350; lack in later Roman Empire, 569; lack in Empire of Charlemagne, 680.
Moors, 11 note, 418, 545, 657.
Morality, Egyptian, 20, 22-24; Chaldean and Assyrian, 45; Persian, 61, 152; Athenian, 188, 189; Roman, 351, 352; decline due to wars and economic changes, 404-411; in Empire, 528-537; of early Christianity, 538-543; of fourth century, 569 note.
Moses, 53, 652.
Mō'sul, 657.
Mount Athos, 137, 138, 142.
"Mountain," the, party in Athens, 115, 119 b, 121.
Mūn'da, battle of, 461.
Municipal government, under the Empire, 500.
Mu-ni-cip'l-a, Roman, 336 b, 412, 438, 514, 553, 572.
Museum (mū-sē'um), Plato's, at Athens, 239; Ptolemy's, at Alexandria, 239.
Myc'a-lē, battle of, 156.
My-cē'nae, 76, 82, 89; Gate of Lions at, 73 a; bronze pitcher from, 73 b; excavations at, 73 b; bronze dagger from, 73 b.
Mycenaean Culture, 74-76.
Myths, Greek, 87 c and note, 188 note; Roman, borrowed, 278.
Myt-i-lē'nē, 197 note.
Nāē'vi-us, 523.
Naples, Bay of, 479, 484, 604.
Narbonne (nār-bōn'), 519.
Nār'sēs, 612, 614.
Nature worship, Egyptian, 18; Chaldean, 45; Greek, 87 c; Roman, 278.
Nau-pāc'tus, 160.
Nau-sic'a-a, 76 note.
Navy, growth of Athenian, 141, 146, 153, 157-160, 165, 171, 196; Carthaginian, 358, 361; value of sea-power in Punic Wars, 632; Roman, 361, 362 note, 377.

References are to sections.

- Nāx'os, 159-160.
 Ne-āp'o-lis, 160.
 Ne-ār'chus, 225 b.
 Neb-u-chad-nēz'zar, 35, 55; prayer of, 48.
 Nē'co, king of Egypt, 21 e, 232.
 Negroes, in Egypt, 11 note.
 Nē'pos, 524.
 Nero, 482, 530, 540, 542.
 Nēr'va, 486.
 Nē'tad, battle of, 601.
 Neus'tri-a, 647, 649, 650.
 Ni-cāē'a, Council of, 566.
 Ni-cēne' Creed, the, 566.
 Nic'i-as, 197, 198.
 Nic-o-mē'di-a, 550.
 Nile, 4, 30, 31, 32, 37, 221 b, 224, 232; early home of civilization, 5, 59, 65; valley of, the real Egypt, 8; importance to Egypt, 9, 10, 17.
 Nineveh, 32 c, 34, 37, 62, 221 c; palace of, described, 41; commerce of, 43.
 Nobles, Roman, 345, 402, 405; later European, 587, 643 b. See Aristocracy.
 Norsemen, 582.
 Nor-thūm'bri-a, 584, 597.
 Nū'ma, 268, 473 note.
 Nu-mer-i-ā'nus, 494.
 Nu-mīd'i-a, 387, 433, 461.
 Oc-tā'vi-us, tribune, deposed by Gracchus, 423.
 Octavius Caesar, see Augustus.
 O-dē'um, 182.
 O-do-vā'ker, 604, 606.
 O-dys'seus, 72, 76, 77, 84, 188.
 Od'ys-sey, 72, 73 a, 74 note, 76 and note, 77, 128, 188 and note.
 Oe-nō'phy-ta, battle of, 165.
 Oligarchy, definition of, 68 a note; origin, in Greece, 82, 83, 93; overthrown by tyrants, 94, 95; in Athens, 103-105; overthrow in Athens, 106-114, 118, 131 c, 140; struggle with democracy in Greece, 133 b; set up by Sparta in subject cities, 202; in Thebes, 200, 211; in Rome, 301, 345; misgovernment by, 402, 403, 411, 420; overthrow, 471.
 O-līm'pi-a, 71 b, 87 c, 182 note.
 Olympiad, 87 c.
 Olympias, 219.
 Olympic games, 87 c, 129 a note.
 Olympus, 87 c, 144, 182 note.
 O-lŷn'thi-ac Confederacy, 242 note.
 Olynthus, 91.
 Ordeal, Trial by, 641.
 O-rēs'tēs, 604.
 Oriental history, introductory to Greek history, 3; outline, 4-67; summary of, 65-67; contrasted with European, 68-69, 71 e.
 Or'i-gen, 547 note.
 O-r'i'gi-nēs, of Cato, 523.
 Os'ti-a, 272.
 Ostracism, 126; of oligarchic leaders at Athens, 140; of Aristides, 141, 147; of Cimón, 163; of Themistocles, 180.
 Os'tro-goths, see Goths.
 Otho, 483.
 Ovid, 525.
 Oxus River, 222.
 O-zy-mān'di-us, 29.
 Pāē'tus, 530.
 Pagans, 567 note.
 Painting, Egyptian, 15; Greek, 127, 237.
 Pal'a-tine Mount, the, 268, 271.
 Palestine, 53.
 Pallas Athene, see Athene.
 Pal-mŷ'ra, 495 note, 513.
 Pam-phy'l'i-a, 158.
 Pan-Hellenic Confederation, proposed by Athens, 154.
 Pan-nō'ni-a, 507.
 Pan'the-on, 520, 521.
 Pā'pa-cy, claim of Roman bishops to headship, 658; doctrine of Petrine succession, 658; advantages of Rome, 659; freed from rivals in the East, 660; growth into temporal power, 661; rebellion against Empire, 662; and Lombards, 663; alliance with the Franks, 663.
 Papal States, the, 666 and note.
 Pa-pīn'i-an, 495.
 Papyrus, 4 note, 12, 15, 16; of Pta-hotep, 24; used by Chaldeans, 37, 38.
 Pā'ros, 129 a, 140.

References are to sections.

- Par-rh'ā'si-us, 237.
 Par'the-non, 128, 182, 183 note, 190 note.
 Par'thi-ans, 231, 441, 455, 471, 506; humbled by Trajan, 487; in third century, 545.
 "Partnership Emperors," 550, 559, 563.
 Patriarch, in organization of church, 565.
 Patriarchs, Hebrew, 52, 58.
 Pā-tri'ci-ans, Roman, 268, 273; organization, 275-277; struggle with plebeians, 300-325.
 Paul, 398 note.
 Pau-sā'ni-as, historian, 527.
 Pau-sā'ni-as, king of Sparta, 155 note, 156.
 Peace of Antalcidas, 207.
 Peace of Callias, 167.
 Peasantry, Egyptian, 12, 27; Chal-dean, 43; Assyrian, 43; Roman, 570, 575.
 Pediments, in Greek architecture, 127, 182.
 Pel-rāō'us, 153, 157 note, 158, 165, 173, 182, 193, 200, 204, 206, 208, 248.
 Pel-sis-trāt'i-dae, 117, 291.
 Pel-sis'tra-tus, 116, 117, 120, 127, 129 b, 134 note, 183.
 Pe-lōp'i-das, 209 and note, 211.
 Pel-o-pon-nē'si-an League, 133 b, 144, 146, 147, 149, 154, 156, 166, 192, 193, 206, 207.
 Peloponnesian War, 167, 192-200, 206; causes, 192; resources and plans, 193; plague in Athens, 194; twenty-seven years of war, 195; Athenian naval supremacy, 195, 196; new leaders, 197; Athenian disaster in Sicily, 198; rule of the Four Hundred in Athens, 199; Sparta betrays Asiatic Greeks to Persia, 200; Aegospotami, 200; surrender of Athens, 200.
 Pel-o-pon-nē'sus, 85, 86, 89, 96, 102, 133 b, 144, 164, 165, 211, 248, 249, 250, 590.
 Pe-nā'tēs, 78.
 Pen-tēl'i-cus, 138.
 Per'ga-mos, 235.
 Pergamum, 234, 392, 393, 398.
 Per-i-ān'der, tyrant of Corinth, 95, 129 a.
 Periclēs, 162, 163, 167, 170, 183, 211; builds up a land empire for Athens, 164, 165; constitution of empire, 172-180, 426; portrait bust, 180; and intellectual and artistic Athens, 181-191; funeral oration of, 190; and Peloponnesian War, 193, 194; death, 197.
 Per-i-ōē'ci, 98, 192, 210, 249.
 Persecution, Religious, of Christians, by Nero, 482, 540; by Domitian, 485; by Trajan, 487, 540, 541; by Aurelius, 490, 540, 541; by Severus, 495; by Decius, 495; summary of early, 540; causes, 541; by Diocletian, 549, 567; by the church, 565, 567.
 Per-sēph'o-ne, head on coin, 358.
 Per-sēp'o-lis, 221 c.
 Per'seus, 396, 397.
 Persia, 21 c, 21 f, 35, 50, 56, 141; history of, 59-64; geography, 59; rise and extent of empire, 60; religion, morals, and society, 61; champions civilization against Scythians, 62, 65; post roads, 64; war with Greece, 132-152; condition at time of attack, 132; conquers Lydia, 134; conquers Ionia, 135; first two attacks on Greece, 136-139; revolt of Egypt, 140; third attack on Greece, 142-152; preparation, 142; significance of defeat, 152; expelled from Aegean, 154-159; revolt of Egypt, 165, 166; peace of Callias, 167, 169; aids Sparta against Athens, 198-200, 201; war with Greece renewed, 205, 206; revolt of Cyrus the Younger, 205; the "Ten Thousand," 205; war with Sparta, 205, 206; allied with Thebes and Athens, 206; Peace of Antalcidas, 207; attacked by Alexander, 220, 221; fall of the empire, 221; new kingdom, third century, 545, 548, 550, 562; in fifth and sixth centuries, 610, 612; conquered by Mohammedans, 651, 654.

References are to sections.

- Persian Gulf**, 31, 32 *a*, 49.
Persian Wars, 132-152, 171, 175, 180, 243; two antagonists, 132-133; beginnings of, 134-135; conquest of Ionia, 135; revolt of Ionia and Athenian aid, 135; first two attacks on Greece, 136-139; relation of Ionian revolt to Persian attack, 136; first expedition, Mount Athos, 137; second expedition, Marathon, 138; from Marathon to Thermopylae in Athens, 140-141; the third attack, 142-152; Persian preparation, 142; Greek preparation, 143; Greek lines of defense and plan of campaign, 144; loss of Thessaly, 145; Thermopylae, loss of central Greece, 146; strategy of Themistocles, 147; battle of Salamis, 148; temptation of Athens, 150; Plataea, 151; meaning of Greek victory, 152; league of Plataea, 154; war to free Ionia, 154-159; peace of Callias, 167; war revived in Asia, 205-207; peace of Antalcidas, 207.
Per'ti-nax, 494, 495.
Phæd'rus, 189 *e*.
Phalanx, Theban, 210; Macedonian, 215 and note; compared with Roman legion, 363; conquered by legion, 392.
Pha-lê'rum, 153.
Phâ'raohs, of Egypt, 12.
Phar-nâ'ces, 461.
Phar-sâ'lus, battle of, 460, 462, 472.
Phê'don, king of Argos, 95 note.
Phid'ias, 182 and note, 191 *b*.
Philip II, king of Macedonia, 211, 213; portrait, 213; aims and methods, 214; army, 215; invades Greece, 216; force in history, 217; assassinated, 219, 220.
Philip V, 233, 377, 391, 392.
Phi-lip'pi, battle of, 471, 472.
Phi-lip'pics, of Demosthenes, 214.
Phi-lip'pus, 494.
Phi-lis'tines, 7.
Phil-o-pôe'men, 251.
Philosophy, Greek, 130, 186, 235, 238; of Marcus Aurelius, 490, 527, 536; of Epictetus, 537; in third century, 547.
Pho'cis, 133 *b*, 165, 242.
Phoe-ni'cians, 7, 21 *e*, 49-51, 133 *a*, 141, 206; language, 36 note; Assyria and commerce of, 43; leaders of navigation, 49; importance of, 50, 65, 74; alphabet, 50; political and social conditions, 51; Alexander, 221 *b*; influence on Etruscans, 260.
Phor'mi-o, 196 note, 197.
Phrâ'try, the Greek, 79; compared with Roman curia, 276.
Phryg'ia, 64, 227, 398 note.
Physical geography as a factor in historical development, 5, 6, 7, 9, 31, 32, 49, 52, 69-71, 86, 255-258, 262-266.
Picts, 510.
Pillars of Hercules, 49 and note.
Pin'dar, 129 *a* and note, 220.
Pip'pin of Hêr'istal, 649.
Pippin the Short, becomes king of Franks, 664; establishes temporal power of the pope, 665.
Pirates, 171, 221 *b*; 264, 402; Phoenician, 49; Greek, 77; Illyrian, 367, 391; Cilician, 402, 450.
Plague, at Athens, 194; in Europe under Empire, 490, 546.
"Plain," the, party in Athens, 115, 119 *b*.
Pla-tâe'a, aids Athens at Marathon, 138; battle of, 151, 152, 153, 156, 163; League of, 154, 161; and Athens, 160, 166; in Peloponnesian War, 197 note.
Plato, 186, 188, 189 *c*, 189 *d*, 189 *e*, 239, 538, 580.
Plau'tus, 523.
Ple-bê'ians, Roman, 268, 274; outside patrician state, 277; secure some political rights, 285-289; struggle with patricians, 300-325.
Plebiscite (pleb'i-sit), 311.
Pliny the Elder, 526.
Pliny the Younger, 501, 527, 529, 541 *b*; and Christians, 540.
Plô-ti'nus, 547.
Plutarch, 99 and note, 218 note, 219 note, 246 note, 350, 425, 527, 530, 532.

References are to sections.

- Pnyx**, 174, 182.
Po, valley of the, 255, 260, 368, 373, 435, 615.
Pōl'e-march, 103, 125, 293 note.
Poles, 598 note.
Political, term explained, 105 note.
Pōl'l-o, 533.
Po-lyb'i-us, 228, 355 note, 358, 362, 363 note, 390, 397 note, 523.
Pom-pē'l, 484, 500.
Pompey the Great, 403, 447-453, 455, 456, 459-461.
Pōn'ti-fex Māx'i-mus, 463, 497.
Pontiffs, Roman, 280, 324.
Pōn'ti-us, the Samnite, 332, 351, 442.
Pontius Pilate, 540.
Pontus, 228, 439, 441, 450, 471; diocese, 553.
Pope, origin of name, 659 *d* note.
Pōr'phyr-y, 547.
Pōr'se-na, 292 note.
Portico, in Greek architecture, 181, 182.
Po-sei'don, 88.
Post roads, Persian, 64. See Roman roads.
Prāe'fect-ūre, a government in Italy, 336, 340, 369.
Prāe-nes'te, 266, 443.
Prāe'tor, 293 note, 324 note, 345, 347, 369, 433 note.
Prae-tō'ri-an Guards, 473 note, 479, 481, 493, 495, 499, 548 *b*.
Prax-it'e-lēs, 182 note; the Hermes of, 182.
Prehistoric life, 1; in Greece, 72-84.
Priesthood, in Egypt, 12, 17; of Hebrews, 56; in early Greece, 78, 80; of city in Greece, 93; Roman, 280; Christian priests, 565 note; pagan German, 586.
Prin'ceps, title Augustus, 473.
Prin'ci-pāte, 496. See Roman Empire.
Privy Council, of Hadrian, 488, 497 note; of Diocletian, 535.
Prō'cōn-sul, office, 356; power, 463, 497.
Prophets, Hebrew, 54, 58.
Prop-y-lāe'a, of the Athenian Acropolis, 182.
Proscriptions, of Marius, 440; of Sulla, 443; of second triumvirate, 470.
Pro-tēc'tō-rāte, defined, 392 note; Roman attempt at, in East, 391-394; protectorates transformed into provinces, 395-398.
Provence (prō-vāns'), 454 note.
Province, the, 454 note.
Provinces, Roman, first, 369; Spanish, 385; of Africa, 390; in East, 395-398; evils of senatorial rule in, 414-417; need of Empire for, 457; Caesar's reforms for, 465; under Empire, 502, 548; subdivided by Diocletian, 550, 551, 553.
Psam-mēt'l-chus, king of Egypt, 21 *e*.
Ptāh'ho-tep, Egyptian noble, precepts of, 24.
Ptolemy I, of Egypt, 232, 239.
Ptolemy II (Philadelphus), 21 *f*, 232, 239.
Ptolemy III, 228 note, 232.
Ptolemy, astronomer, 527.
Pūb-ll'i-an Law, 311.
Pul, see Tiglath-Pileser II.
Punic Wars, 230, 231, 233, 357 *ff*.; issue at stake, 359; First, 360-365; Second, 370-384; Third, 387-390.
Punjab, the, 60 note, 222, 231.
Pu-pl-ō'nus, 494.
Pūd'na, battle of, 396, 399.
Pýramids, Egyptian, 15.
Pyrenees, crossed by Hannibal, 373.
Pýr'rhus, 333, 358, 410; coin of, 333.
Py-thāg'o-ras, 130.
Pyth-a-go-rēs'ans, 130.
Quād-riv'i-um, the, 518.
Quaes'tor, 295 *a*, 324, 347.
Quin'til'i-an, 526.
Quir'i-nal, 271.
Rād'o-gast, 591, 603.
Ra-mē'sēs II, 21 *d*, 27; colossi of, 25.
Rām'nēs, the, 271, 273.
Ravenna, 591, 602, 607, 614; Exarchate of, 615.
Red Sea, 61, 52, 232, 513.
Re-gil'lus, 222 note.

References are to sections.

- Räg'ū-lus**, 363.
- Relief sculpture**, definition of, 12 note, 15; specimens of Egyptian, 10, 12, 14, 20; Assyrian, 40, 43; Athenian, 182 and note; Roman, 487.
- Religion**, Egyptian, 18, 19, 25; Chaldean, 45, 46 *a*, 48; Assyrian, 45, 47 *a*; Phoenician, 51; Hebrew, 57, 58; Persian, 61; Oriental, 63, 66; in early Greece, 78, 87 *c*, 188; in Athens, 188, 238; Roman, 260, 278-281; political value, 281, 476; Carthaginian, 358; under Roman Empire, 529; see Christianity; German, 584, 585.
- Representative government**, not a feature even of the Greek federations, 244; none in Rome, 336 *a*, 458; assemblies in provinces of Empire, 502; to grow out of Teutonic assemblies, 645 *d*.
- Rex Sa-crō rum**, 292.
- Rhāē'ti-a**, 507.
- Rhē'gi-um**, 100.
- Rhine**, the, 454, 485, 490, 495, 503, 506, 545, 548, 582, 593, 597.
- Rhōdes**, 206, 228, 234, 235, 392, 393, 397, 398.
- Rhōne**, the, 373.
- Rik'1-mer**, 604.
- Roland**, Song of, 671 note.
- Roman Assembly**, 282, 283; comitia curiata, 276, 277 note, 283; formal, 346; centuriate, 287, 288; controlled by consuls, 293; elections in, 295, 296; plebeians in, 302; control of senate, 321; loses influence, 346; plebeian, 309-312, 318 note; by tribes, 310, 337, 339, 343, 346, 347, 360, 423, 424, 430; passes away under Empire, 496, 515.
- Roman auxiliaries**, 353.
- Roman camp**, 354.
- Romance languages**, 627 note.
- Roman colonies**, 336 *a*.
- Roman emperors**, in person of Augustus, 473, 496; power of, 497; good government by bad emperors, 512; attitude toward early church, 542; "barrack emperors," 493-495; "partnership emperors," 550-551; Oriental character after Diocletian, 556; summary of reigns, 478-496, 549, 558-559, 562-563, 603-604, 612; worship of, 476, 540, 541 *a*.
- Roman Empire**, conditions leading to, see Rome; despotism a medicine for, 458; civil war, Caesar and Pompey, 459-461; work of Caesar, 462-467; form of Caesar's government, 463; Julius to Octavius, 468-472; (see) Augustus, 473-476; empire established, 473; in first three centuries, 477 ff.; story of, 477-495; two centuries of order, 478-492; Julian Caesars, 478-482; Flavian, 483-485; Antonines, 486-491; general character, 492; "barrack emperors," 493-495; constitution of early empire, 496-502; republican forms, 496; power of emperor, 497; gradual growth, 496; succession, 499; local administration, 500-502; imperial defense, 503 ff.; army (which see), 503-505; frontiers, 506-510; society, first two centuries, 511 ff.; peace and prosperity, 511-514; forms of industry, 514; world becomes Roman, 515-517; citizenship extended, 515; social unity, 516, 517; education, 518, 519; universities, 518; architecture, 520-522; literature, 523-527; morals, 528-537; Christianity, 538-543; decay of empire in third century, 544-547; renewal of barbarian attacks, 545; decline of population, 546; decay in literature, 547; Diocletian's reorganization, 548-557; Constantine and victory of Christianity, 558-561; Constantine to Theodosius, 562-564; fourth century, 565-581; church in, 565-568; society, 569-578; growing exhaustion, 569; classes, 570-576; crushing taxation, 577; infusion of barbarians, 578; literature and science, 579-581; and Franks in Gaul, 596; in fifth and sixth centuries, 602-615; story, 602-604; East Goths, kingdom in Italy,

References are to sections.

- 604-609; idea survives in West, 634; contributions of, 644; final division into East and West, 564. See Roman Empire in the East, and Roman Empire in the West.
- Roman Empire in the East**, final separation from the West, 564; West Goths in, 589-590; nominal rule over Italy under Zeno, 604; East Goths in, 605; Slavs in, 611; Orientalized, 610; revival under Justinian, 612; reconquests of Africa and Italy, 612; Justinian Code, 613; loss of Italy, except the South and the exarchate, 614, 615; decay and new revival in eighth century, repulse of Mohammedans by Constantine IV and by Leo III, 655; loss of Asiatic provinces to Saracens, 655; loss of Africa, 654, 655; iconoclastic agitation in, 660; attempts to maintain control over Rome, 661, 662; failure, 662; relation to the Empire of Charlemagne, 676, 677, 679.
- Roman Empire in the West**, separation from the East, 564; crumbles away — causes, 569; (see Germans); idea survives in Dark Ages, 634; contributions to Europe, 644; revival by Charlemagne, 674-678. See Empire of Charlemagne.
- Roman family**, 275, 278, 312 note.
- Roman governor**, of province, 415, 416; under Empire, 465, 501, 548 a, 552, 554.
- Roman Law**, early, 253, 254, 266 note; Twelve Tables, 315; codification begun by Caesar, 464; sources of imperial, 497 note; gentler spirit in first and second centuries, 533, 535; further development by great jurists in third century, 495, 547; Justinian's codification, 613; importance, 613 note; in church codes, 632.
- Roman legion**, see Army and Legion.
- Roman names**, 383 and note.
- Romano-Teutonic Europe**, 582-685.
- Roman roads**, 344, 386, 475, 487, 505, 513; in Britain, 485, 510, 621.
- Roman Senate**, 268, 284, 293, 294, 298, 302, 309, 321, 323, 346, 376; the guiding power, 348; decay, 411; and the Gracchi, 423, 424, 425, 430, 431; Sulla restores rule to, 444; Augustus and, 473; Domitian and, 485; the Antonines and, 486; decline after Diocletian, 556.
- Roman triumph**, 351 and note.
- Rome** (mentioned in Greek history), 3, 18, 21 c, 169, 218, 225 a; and Egypt, 21 f; and Judea, 56; decemvirs, 108 note; sacked by Gauls, 229; and Graeco-Oriental world, 230-234, 251.
- Rome** (history), place in history, 252-254; geography, 255-258, 262-266; Etruscan influence, 260, 406; legendary history, 267-269; conclusions as to regal, 270-299; growth, 270-272; classes, 273-277; plebeians make way into Assembly, 285; census of Servius, 286; Assembly of Centuries (which see), 287; plebeian gain, 289; life king replaced by consuls, 290-292; contributions of regal Rome to the Republic, 299; class struggles in early Republic, 300 ff.; position of classes, 301-306; steps in struggle, 307 ff.; tribunes, 307-309; rise of plebeian Assembly, 310-312; decemvirs and written law, 313-318; social fusion, 319; plebeians admitted to consulship, 320-325 (see Licinian Rogations); unification of Italy, 366 ff.; progress before 367 B.C., 326-327; sacked by Gauls, 327; advance to 266 B.C., 328 ff.; Latin War, 331; Samnite wars, 332; Pyrrhic, 333; Italy under Rome, 334 ff.; Roman state, extent, 334; rights of citizens, 335; classes of, 336; subjects, 338-344; policy toward subjects, 343; roads, 344; perfected Republican constitution, 345 ff.; political machinery, 346-348; democratic theory and aristocratic practice, 349; society, 350-352; influence from Magna Graecia, 352; army, 353-356; winning of the West, 357 ff.; First Punic War,

References are to sections.

- strength of parties, 361; becomes sea power, 363; wins Sicily, 365; between Punic Wars seizes Sardinia, 366; Adriatic a Roman sea, 367; conquest of Cisalpine Gaul, 368; provincial system begun, 369; Second Punic War, 370 ff.; Hannibal in Italy, 373; Cannae, 374; fidelity of Latins and Italians, 375; grandeur in disaster, 376, 378, 379; Hannibal at the gates, 380; invasion of Africa and victory, 383, 384; Rome in Spain, 385-386; Third Punic War, 387 ff.; seeks pretext, 387; destroys Carthage, wins Africa, 388-390; Rome in the East, 391 ff.; First Macedonian War, 391; Second, 392; Syrian War, 393; protectorates become provinces, 395-398; sole Great Power, 399; two halves of Roman world, 400; new strife of classes, 401 ff.; evils of period after Second Punic War, in Rome, 404-411; decay of yeomanry, 408, 409; decay of constitution, 410, 411; Rome and subjects, 413; Rome and provinces, 414-417; slavery, 418-419; Cato's attempt at reform, 420; the Gracchi, 421-430; work overthrown, 431; new character of Roman history, biographical, 432; Jugurthine War, 433; Marius saves from Cimbri, 434-435; disorders and Social War, 436, 437; Italy enters Roman state, 438; Marius and Sulla, 439; Marian massacres, 440; Sulla in East, 441; return, civil war, 442; Sullan massacres, 443; restores senatorial rule, 441; Pompey and Caesar, 446-455; Pompey's leadership, 447-452; expansion in East, 450; new leaders, 451; Catiline, 452; rise of Caesar, 453-454; expansion in West, 454; break with Pompey, 455; founding the Empire, 456-476. See Roman Empire.
- Rome, city under Empire, fire, 482, 540; "patriarchate," 565 note; sacked by West Goths, 591, 592; by Vandals, 595; by East Goths, 612.
- Röm'ū-lus, 18, 268.
- Romulus Au-gūs'tu-lus, 602, 604.
- Roncesvalles (rōns-väl'), 671 note.
- Ro-sēt'ta stone, 4, 62 note.
- Roumania, 509.
- Rubicon, 459, 462, 467, 498.
- Runes, 583 note.
- SĀ'bīnes, 260, 265, 268, 271, 272, 326.
- Sacred Mount, the, 307, 317.
- Sa-gūn'tum, 372.
- Sa-hā'ra, 9.
- SĀ'is, 17.
- SĀ'l'a-mis, 193; Athenian war for, 109; battle of, 141, 147, 148, 150, 196; significance of, 152.
- SĀ'l'lust, 524.
- Sām'nites, 260, 330, 331.
- Samnite Wars, 332, 442.
- Sām'ni-um, 332.
- SĀ'mos, 130, 156, 160, 199.
- Samson, 53.
- Samuel, 53.
- San Vi-tā'le, Church of, 607.
- Sappho (sāf'o), 129 a, 191 b.
- Saracens, 655; defined, 657 note.
- Sardinia, 74, 358, 366, 369, 370.
- Sār'dis, 64, 135, 207.
- Sār'gon, the Elder, 33.
- Sār'gon II, 34, 55; palace of, 41.
- Sās sän'i-dāe, the, 545.
- Satrap, Persian, 21 f, 63; in Asia Minor, 200, 205; Assyrian, 34, 63.
- Saxons, 582; heathen, 585, 621; in Britain, 597; slow advance, 621; conversion, 623; on continent in wars with Charlemagne, 670.
- Schliemann (shlē'män), discoveries of, 73; importance, 74.
- School of the Palace, the, 683.
- Schools, under Roman Empire, 619; early Christians and, 580; disappearance at coming of Teutons, 626; monastic schools, 626; Arabian, 657; Charlemagne's, 683.
- Schüch'härrüt, 74.
- Science, Egyptian, 17, 21 c; Chaldean, 39, 40; early Greek confounded with philosophy, 130; in the age of Pericles still bound up with philosophy, 186; Alexandrian Age, 239-

References are to sections.

- 240; Roman, 527, 547, 579; early Christians and, 580; decay, 581; Saracenic, 637.
- Scipio, Lucius**, 393 note.
- Scipio, P. Cornelius S. Aemilianus**, the Younger Africanus, 389, 390, 392, 393, 410, 420, 421.
- Scipio, Publius Cornelius, S. Africanus**, 378, 380, 383.
- Scribes**, in Egypt, 12; in Chaldea, 38.
- Sculpture**, Egyptian, 11, 15, 19; Chaldean, 41; Assyrian, 41; Oriental contrasted with European, 68 *b*; Greek, 157, 224; Athenian, 182, 187; in Graeco-Oriental world, 237. See Relief Sculpture.
- Scyros**, 207.
- Scythians**, in Assyria, 34, 229; repulsed by Persians, 61, 62.
- Sea Power, Importance of**, in Punic wars, 362, 377.
- Se-ges'ta**, 160.
- Se-jā'nus**, 479 note.
- Se-leu'ci-dae**, rulers of Syria of the house of Seleucus, 231.
- Se-leu'cus**, general of Alexander, and king of Syria, 231.
- Sēm'ites**, 36.
- Semitic language**, 36 and note, 51.
- Seneca**, 482, 526, 530, 533.
- Sen-nāch'e-rib**, 34, 35.
- Sēp'tu-a-gint**, 239.
- Serfs**, Roman, 572, 575, 576.
- Ser-tō'ri-us**, 440, 443, 448, 449.
- Ser'vi-a**, 507, 598 note.
- Ser'vi-us Tūl'l-us**, 268; wall of, 271; census, 285, 286; tribes of, 310 note.
- Se-vē'rus, Sep-tim'i-us**, 494, 495, 545.
- Shaft**, use in architecture, Doric, 127; Ionic, 127.
- "**Shaking-off of Burdens**," 111.
- "**Shore**," the, party in Athens, 115, 119 *b*, 121.
- Sicily**, part of Hellas, 70; Greek colonies in, 86 note, 91, 133 *a*, 160; poets of, 129 *a*; Carthaginian War in, 150, 169, 201; Athenian disaster in, 198; in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., 218; Carthage in, 358; Roman interest in, 333, 356; Roman, 365; government (first Roman province), 369; corn supply from, 408; Verres and, 416; slave wars in, 419, 434; Vandals in, 595.
- Sicyon** (sīsh'i-on), freed by Aratus, 245.
- Sī'don**, 49, 51.
- Sī-mōn'i-dēs**, 129 *a*.
- Slavery**, Egyptian, 12; Greek, 77; in Sparta, 86, 98; in Athens, 105, 111 *c*, 111 *d*, 170, 191 *a*; Roman, 334, 406, 410; extent, 418; slave risings, 419, 434; protection of slaves by Empire, 481, 489, 490, 514, 528, 533; one cause of falling population, 546; Christianity and, 567; and serfdom, 575.
- Slāvs**, 545, 598, 599, 611, 673.
- Society**, of Egypt, 11-13; of Assyria and Chaldea, 43; Persian, 61; Oriental contrasted with European, 68 *a*; early Greek, 72, 76-84; in Sparta, 97-99, 249; in Athens, 105, 106, 112-115, 120, 169-191; Greek, to 500 B.C., 127-130; of Macedonia, 213; in Graeco-Oriental world, 224, 225 *a*, 235-240; Roman, early, 350-352; after Second Punic War, 404; in early Empire, 511-543; demoralized, 546; in fourth century, 569-578; approach of caste system, 576; Teutonic, 583.
- Sōc'rā-tēs**, 183, 190, 191 *b*, 204, 238; philosophy of, 186, 188; death, 186; quoted, 189 *c*, 189 *e*.
- Sog-di-ā'na**, 222.
- Solissons** (swā-sōā'), battle of, 617.
- Solomon**, 54, 55, 63 note.
- Sō'lon**, and a priest of Saīs, 17; in Egypt, 21 *e* note; and overthrow of Eupatrids, 109-114; character and rise to notice, 109; constitution of, 110-114, 115, 119 *a*, 120, 126, 172, 173, 176, 204; and Peisistratus, 116; poet, 129 *a*.
- Sōph'ists**, 186 and note.
- Sōph'o-clēs**, 183; portrait statue, 183; quoted, 189 *b*.
- Sound-symbols**, Egyptian, 16 and note; used by Phoenicians, 50.

References are to sections.

- Spain**, Phoenicians in, 49, 50; faced by Italy, 257, 258; Carthaginians in, 370-372; in Second Punic War, 373, 376, 378, 382; becomes Roman, 383, 384; war for independence, 385; Romanization, 386; Cimbri and, 435; Sertorius in, 443, 448; Pompey in, 449; Caesar in, 452, 458, 460; citizenship to Spanish communities, 465, 515; schools in, 519; Franks in, 545; Gothic kingdom, 592; Vandals and, 593, 595, 603; Justinian and, 612; Saracenic conquest, 656; partly recovered by Charlemagne, 671.
- Sparta**, 71 *b*; leading Dorian city, 86, kings in, 93, 95 note; rise of, 96-99, 131 *d*; early Sparta, 96; need of reform, 96; growth, 96; political constitution, 97; classes, 98, 177; social institutions, 99, 191 *b*; contrast with Athens, 99, 102; helps Athens drive out the tyrants, 117, 118; at war with Argos, 133 *b* and note; recognized head of Greece, 133 *b*; refuses to aid Ionia, 134 and note, 135; Persian heralds, 138; excuse for absence from Marathon, 138; in Persian War, 143-151; leader, 143-149; refuses to aid Athens, 150, 151; protests against Athenian Walls, 153; head of proposed Plataean league, 154; loses prominence, 155; withdraws from defense of Asiatic Greeks, 156, 157; strife with Athens, 161-167; jealousy, 161; purpose to attack Athens, 161; asks aid from Athens, 162; open quarrel, 163; Thirty Years' Truce, 167; Peloponnesian War, 192-200; causes, 192; resources and plans, 193; new leaders, 197; buys Persian aid by betraying Asiatic Greeks, 198, 200; destroys Athenian Walls, 200; Spartan supremacy, rule of harmosts and decarchies, 202-210; decay at home, 202-204; wars and leagues to the peace of Antalcidas, 205-207; aid Cyrus against the Persian king, 205; Agesilaus invades Persian Empire, 205; Corinthian War, 206; loss of maritime empire, 206; Peace of Antalcidas, 207; from the betrayal of Hellas to Leuctra, 208-210; arrogant rule, 208; revolt of Thebes, 209; Leuctra, 210; citizens decreased to 1500, 210; war with Thebes, 211; humbled, 211; refuses to join Achaean League, 248; war with the league, 249, 259; socialistic reforms of Agis and Cleomenes, 249, 250; Macedonian conquest, 250; sacked by Goths, 545, 590.
- Spar'ta-cus**, 419, 449.
- Spartan Assembly**, 97.
- Spartan harmosts**, 202.
- Spartan senate**, 97.
- Sphinx**, the, 15.
- State**, definition of, 10 note.
- Stephen, Pope**, 665.
- Ste-sich'o-rus**, 129 *a*.
- Stil'i-cho**, 590, 591, 603, 604.
- Stō's**, definition, 180.
- Stō'i-clam**, 238, 490, 520.
- Strā'bo**, 525.
- Strāsburg**, battle of (Julian's), 562; (Clovis'), 617.
- Strōm'bo-li**, 609.
- Succession, Wars of the**, 227, 357.
- Sue-tō'ni-us**, 527.
- Stil'la**, 403, 433, 437, 439; in the East, 441; civil war, 442; massacres, 443; restores senatorial rule, 444; character and place in history, 445.
- Stil-pic'i-us**, 433 note, 456.
- Susa** (soō'sū), 64, 221.
- Syr'a-cuse**, 91, 133 *a*, 143, 197 note, 198, 218, 240, 326, 358, 360, 365, 377; sacked by Rome, 377 note, 384 note.
- Syria**, 5, 33, 38, 43, 59, 221 *b*; importance of, 7; Egypt in, 21 *a*, 21 *c*, 21 *d*, 32 *c* note, 54; prize of war, 32 *c*; in commerce, 49; Phoenicians and Hebrews, 49-58; Persia in, 60; character of civilization, 69 *d*; in Graeco-Oriental world, 228, 230, 232, 241; outline, 231; one of five Great Powers, 357; Antiochus' reign, 392, 393; war with Rome, 393; Roman protectorate, 398, 399; province, 450.

References are to sections.

- TĀc'i-tus**, emperor, 494.
Tacitus, historian, 479 note, 527, 529, 531, 540, 584, 586.
TĀl'mud, the, 45 and note.
TĀn'a-gra, battle of, 165.
Ta-rĕn'tum, 91, 333, 523.
Tar-quin'i-us, Lucius T. Cōi-la-ti'-nus, 292.
TĀr'quin the First, 268, 285.
Tarquin the Proud, 268, 271 note, 291, 292.
TĀr'shish, 49.
TĀr'tars, 222, 545, 598, 599.
Tar'tēs'sus, 49.
Taurus Mountains, 21 d.
Taxation, Egyptian, 12, 27; Hebrew, 55; Greek, 123; Athenian, 171; Roman, early, 286, 304 a note, 310, 325 b; after Cannae, 376; in provinces, 414, 415, 417; Caesar and, 464; imperial, 575; clergy exempt, 561; in fourth century, 570, 571, 572, 573, 577; none regular in Empire of Charlemagne, 680.
Tĕm'pe, Vale of, 144-145.
Temples, Egyptian, 12, 14, 15; Chaldean and Assyrian, 41; of Apollo at Delphi, 117; plan of Greek, 127, 182. See Parthenon, Wingless Victory, Tower-temples; Roman, of Janus, 473 note; many built by Augustus, 475; in honor of Augustus, 476.
Ten Thousand Greeks, march of the, 185, 205.
Tĕ's, 129 a.
Terence, 523, 524.
Ter-pān'der, 129 a.
Tĕr-tūl'i-an, 547 note.
Tĕs'try, battle of, 647.
Teu'to-berg, battle of, 478, 507.
Teu-tō'nes, 434, 435, 582.
Teutonic Assembly, 586; affected by conquests, 643 c.
Teutonic contributions to Europe, 645.
Teutonic kingship, 643 a.
Teutonic Law, 594; codes of, 639; "personality," 640; methods of trial, 641; money payments, 642; "self-developing," 645 e.
Teutons. See Germans.
ThĀ'lĕg, 21, 130.
ThĀp'sus, battle of, 461.
ThĀ'sos, 161.
Theaters, Greek, 182; of Dionysus at Athens, 184; Pericles' policy as to, 184.
Thebes, in Egypt, 10, 21 c.
Thĕbes, in Greece, 138, 178; limited leadership in Boeotia, 101; invasion of Attica, 118; at war with Athens, 133 b; refuses to attend Congress at Corinth, 143; welcomes Xerxes, 147; in Peloponnesian War, 197 note, 200; jealous of Sparta, 208; war with Sparta, 209-211; Leuctra, 210; supremacy, 211-212; Epaminondas, 211; overthrow, 211, 212; Philip of Macedon, 216; destroyed by Alexander, 220.
The-mĭs'to-clĕg, 141, 147, 149 b, 153, 157 note, 173, 180, 197.
The-ōc'ri-tus, 236.
The-ōd'o-ric, East Goth, 604 note, 605, 606; "the Civilizer," 607; "empire" of, 608.
Theodoric, West Goth, 600.
Thĕ-ō-dō'si-an Code, the, 613.
Thĕ-ō-do'si-us I, 563, 567, 589.
Theodōsius II, 603, 613.
The-ōc'ri-tus, 236.
The-ōg'nis, 129 a, 188 note.
The-ōg'o-ny, 129 b.
Theology, in third century, 547; fourth century, 566, 579. See Heresies.
The-rām'e-nĕg, 204.
Ther-mōp'y-lae, 140, 143, 165, 248; battle of, 146, 147.
Ther-si'tĕg, 84.
Thĕ'seus, 80, 101.
Thĕ's'pis, 116, 129 b, 183.
Thessaly, 70, 71 a, 71 e, 133 b, 136, 144, 155 note, 164; taken by Persia, 145, 150; under Theban influence, 211.
Thi-bĕt', desert of, 60.
Thirty Tyrants, the, at Athens, 204, 209; in Roman Empire, 495.
Thirty Years' Truce, the, between Athens and Sparta, 167, 172, 192.
Thōr, 585.

References are to sections.

- 'Thoughts' of Marcus Aurelius, the, 490, 527, 545 note; extracts from, 536.
- Thrace, 91 and note, 118, 136; Athenian colonies in, 169, 171, 197; and Macedon, 213; Antiochus and, 393; diocese, 553.
- Thrasylbulus (thras-i-bōō'lus), 204.
- Thucydides (thoo-cid'i-dēz), 191 b; quoted, 98, 139, 153, 190; place as historian, 185; bust of, 185.
- Thu-rin'gi-a, 619, 649.
- Thutmoseis (thoo-mō'sis) III, 21 d.
- Ti'ber, 169, 253, 260, 264, 265, 271, 424.
- Ti-bē'ri-us, 479, 496, 498, 507.
- Ti-cl'nus, battle of the, 373.
- Tig'lath-Pi-lē'ser I, 34, 54.
- Tiglath-Pileser II, 34.
- Tigris-Euphrates states, 30-48; geography, 31-32; political outline, 33-35; society and culture, 36-45; Alexander in, 221 c.
- Tigris River, 21 c, 59 b; importance, 31; geography, 32.
- Ti-mō'le-on, 218 note.
- Tit'i-es, 271, 273.
- Ti'tus, 483, 484, 519, 521, 528 note.
- Tō'ga, Etruscan origin, 260.
- To-gār'mah, 49.
- Tō'tem-ism, Egyptian, 18.
- Tōt'i-la, 612.
- Tours (tōor), battle of, 579 b, 656.
- Tower-temples, 40, 41.
- Trā'jan, 487, 488, 501, 506, 509, 534, 541, 545; gladiatorial games of, 528 note; and Christianity, 540, 542.
- Tras-i-mē'ne, battle of Lake, 373, 420.
- Trē'bi-a, battle of the, 373.
- Trial by combat, 641.
- Tri-bal'ia, 213.
- Tribes, in early Greek society, 78-81; reforms of Cleisthenes in Athens, 121, 124, 125; Roman, 268, 270; three patrician, 273; of Servius, 310 note; twenty-one tribes, 310 note; thirty-five tribes, 337; assembly by, see Roman Assembly; German, 586.
- Trib'unes, 308, 309-311, 317, 323, 347, 430, 444.
- Trib-u-lic'i-an power, the, 463, 497.
- Tributary state, definition of, 7 note; Phoenicia an example, 51.
- Tri'glyph, 127 a.
- Tri-ūm'vir-āt-, "First," 453, 455, 469 note.
- Triumvirate, "Second," 469 note, 470.
- Triv'i-um, the, 518.
- Tro'ad, the, 73 a, 221 a.
- Trō'jans, 87.
- Troy, siege of, 72, 143; excavations at, 73 a; Greek council before, 84.
- Tū'bal, 49.
- Tu-rā'ni-ans, 598.
- "Twilight of the Gods," 584.
- Tŷne, the, 488, 510.
- Tyrants, Greek, 94, 95, 131 c; set up by Macedonia, 241, 243, 245, 247; in Athens, 115-117; in Magna Graecia, 133 a, 218; in Ionia, 135; the Thirty, in Athens, 204; in early Rome, 268, 290, 291.
- Tyre, 49, 51; siege of, 221 b.
- Tyr-rhēn'i-an Sea, 366.
- Tyr-tāē'us, 129 a.
- Tzar, 497 note.
- U'i-fl-ae, 579 b, 583, 585.
- U'i-pl-an, 495, 530, 535, 547.
- Universities, origin, 239; in Alexandrian Age, 239; in Roman Empire, 518, 540.
- Ur, in Chaldea, 33, 46 a; home of Abraham, 52.
- U'ti-ca, founded by Phoenicians, 50; capital of Roman Africa, 390; Cato at, 461 note.
- Vē'lens, 563, 589.
- Va-len-tin'i-an I, 563.
- Valentinian II, 563.
- Valentinian III, 603, 604.
- Va-lē'ri-an, 494, 542, 545.
- Valerian Law, the, 295 b.
- Valerio-Horatian Law, the, 311 note.
- Va-lē'ri-us, M., 307.
- Valerius, Pub-lic'o-la, 295 b.
- Vandals, 582, 592, 593, 595, 603, 628.
- Vāp'hi-o cups, the, 74.

References are to sections

- Varro**, consul, 376 note.
Varro, general of Augustus, 524.
Vē'li, 327 note.
Ve-nē'ti, 261, 601.
Venice, founded, 601.
Venus, 88; of Melos, 237.
Ver-cin-gēt'o-rix, 454 note.
Verden, Massacre at, 670.
Vergil, 236, 253, 475 note, 525.
Verona, battle of, 606.
Vēr'rēs, 416.
Ves-pā'si-an, 483, 518, 519, 521.
Vesta, 88.
Vestal Virgins, 280.
Vesuvius, 484, 526.
Village, Greek, 77, 80; Roman, 253;
 German, 583, 586.
Virginia, 316.
Vir-gīn'i-us, 316.
Vir-i-ā'thus, 385.
Vīs'i-goths, see **Goths**.
Vi-tāl'i-i-us, 483.
Vōl'e-ro, Pub-lil'i-us, 311.
Vōl'sci-ans, 260, 307, 327.
Volute, in Ionic order of architecture,
 127.
Vulcan, 88.
Vül'gāte, 579 b.
- Wars of the Succession**, 227, 229,
 238, 241, 242.
Wergeld (ver'gelt), 642.
Wēs'sex, 597.
Whit'by, Council of, 623.
Wingless Victory, temple of, 129,
 182, 183.
Wō'den, 585, 597.
- Woman**, photograph of Egyptian, 12;
 position of, in Egypt, 13; in Chal-
 dea and Assyria, 44; in early Greece,
 78 and note; in Sparta, 99, 191 b;
 in Athens, 113, 191 b; in Graeco-
 Oriental world, 235; in early Rome,
 275 note; position improved under
 Empire, 529, 530; among Germans,
 584.
"Works and Days," of Hesiod,
 129 b.
World-state, of the Romans, 253.
Worship of the Emperors, 476,
 540, 541.
Wrestlers, statue of the, 187.
- Xe-nōph'a-nēs**, 130.
Xēn'o-phon, 34, 185, 205 and note;
 quoted, 207.
Xerx'ēs, 142 and note, 145, 146, 147,
 148, 150, 221.
Xuthus (zōō'thus), 87 b.
- Yellow Sea**, 31.
Yeomanry, Roman, 350, 404, 408, 409,
 410.
York, 517.
- Zē'ma**, battle of, 383 and note, 399, 420.
Zend-Ā-vēs'ta, 61.
Zeno, Emperor, 604, 606.
Zeno, the Stoic, 238.
Ze-nō'bi-a, 495 note.
Zeus, 76, 87 c, 88, 180, 189 a, 238;
 statue at Olympia, 182 note.
Zeux'is, 237.
Zor-o-ās'ter, 61.
Zor-o-ās'tri-ans, 651.

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